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JOAN OF ARC AND CHARLES VII.

POPULAR HISTORIES OF THE GREAT NATIONS.

A POPULAR
HISTORY OF FRANCE

Condensed from the Text of

EMILE DE BONNECHOSE

*AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE FIRST YEARS OF THE
PRESENT REPUBLIC*

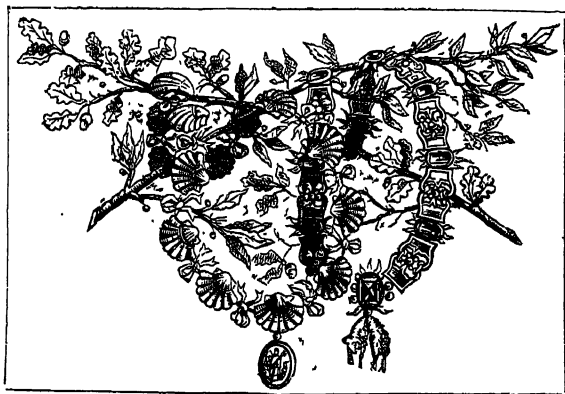
BY

H. W. DULCKEN, Ph.D.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

THE well-known and deservedly popular History of France by Emile de Bonnechose has been selected to form the basis of the present work because of its great intrinsic merits. It is in every way desirable that the English-speaking peoples, all over the globe, should become increasingly familiar with the history of the great French nation, with which they have been so intimately connected in the past, as friends and neighbours, with whom they have been, not unfrequently, in hostility, sometimes through misunderstandings which fuller knowledge and sympathy would have prevented, sometimes through the ambition and recklessness of kings and rulers, and sometimes undoubtedly for great principles. The extent to which the various French provinces, with their diverse peoples, influenced English, Scotch and Irish life and history at successive stages, and the reacting influences of the British nation and character upon France, cannot be comprehended without a study of the history of the French nation. English history alone gives but a one-sided view of matters, and few writers have been able to shake off the partiality of patriotism so as to be entirely fair to our neighbours and frequent opponents. Thus, the value to an Englishman's education of reading the romantic and varied narrative of French history, as told by a Frenchman of approved critical ability, can hardly be over-estimated.

In this work there is presented to the reader, in a compact yet interesting form, the story of France, the complex product of

Celtic, Teutonic, Greek and Roman races and civilisations. The character of the French people—impulsive, ardent, yet careful and thrifty; ever enamoured of an ideal perfection in the organisation of a state, and not unfrequently forgetting the practical and rushing into dangerous extremes; excited into marvellous efforts and lofty enthusiasm by a passionate love of glory; variable in its attachments, yet constant in its adhesion to those who consistently sacrifice personal interest to the good of France; admiring the decorative, the artistic, the spectacular, to a degree only faintly comprehensible by solid stolid Britons; emotional about “liberty, fraternity, equality” to a degree only felt by other nations about the sacred associations of religion, home and family—this extraordinary character will be found markedly illustrated by the story contained in the following pages. If its perusal lead many to a fuller understanding of and kindly feeling for the French people, the publishers will feel abundantly satisfied with the result of their undertaking.

The study of the work will be greatly facilitated by the numbering of the sections, the full contents which precede each of the chapters, and the side-headings, which show at a glance the principal subjects dealt with on every page. The very numerous illustrations have been selected with a view to the elucidation of the text by portraits of kings, ministers and prominent men, by pictures of buildings and cities which have figured conspicuously in French history, and many other subjects of interest. The author's narrative has been taken up where he left it at the Revolution of 1848, and the story of the Republic and Second Empire has been completed. Only the opening of the present chapter of French history is presented; for it is felt that our knowledge of the proceedings of the present Republic, the greater part of which are quite fresh in the memory, cannot yet be considered sufficiently complete—especially in regard to diplomatic affairs, which are usually kept secret for at least a generation—to enable an accurate record of recent events to be written.

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF GAUL.

I.—Gaul Before the Roman Conquest.

- I. GAUL: ITS EARLY INHABITANTS, THE GAELS, IBERIANS, PHOCEANS, AND KYMRYS; CHARACTER OF THE GAULS. 2. THE DIVINITIES OF THE GAULS: THE DRUIDS: THEIR POWER AND FUNCTIONS. 3. THE KINGS AND NOBLES: SOCIAL ORGANISATION. 4. EMIGRATION AMONG THE GAULS: THEIR COLONIES. 5. ABOLITION OF KINGLY POWER: INTESTINE DISCORDS; ROMAN COLONISATION IN GAUL; AQUÆ SEXTIÆ; GALLIA NARBONENSIS.

I. **T**HE vast territory contained between the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Ocean, and which is now almost entirely known as France, originally bore the name of Gaul. In the most remote periods it was occupied by the Celtic race of the Gaëls and by the Iberians. The Gaëls *Gaul: its early* formed the basis of the Gallic population, and drove *inhabitants.* the Iberians back into Spain. Still, the latter people did not entirely disappear from the soil of France, but partly occupied some southern countries, under the name of Aquitanians or Ligurians. The Phoceans, a people of Greece, eventually formed important establishments in the south of Gaul; and one of their colonies founded the city of Marseilles, or Massalia. Another nation, that of the Kymrys, made an irruption into Gaul about three centuries B.C., the greater part of them settling between the Seine and the German Ocean. These Kymrys are identical with

the Belgæ or Belgs mentioned by Cæsar, to whom he attributes a German origin. A portion of the Kymrys went even farther, and established themselves upon the seaboard as far as the mouth of the Loire, where they received the name of Armoricans, or maritime races. All these tribes are indistinctly designated in history by the name of Gauls. They were generally distinguished for frankness, courage, and generosity; they were hospitable, but intemperate; fond of sumptuous repasts, and ready for quarrels, which frequently ensanguined their banquets. They were divided into a multitude of smaller tribes or clans, constantly engaged in war with each other.

2. The Gauls originally adored the material forces of nature, ^{The Divinities} thunder, the winds, and the planets; but as they ^{of the Gauls:} advanced in civilisation they worshipped the moral ^{the Druids.} powers, and deified the virtues and the arts. Their best-known divinities are, Hesus, the genius of war; Teutates, the god of commerce and inventor of the arts; and Ognius, the god of eloquence and poetry. Their priests, called Druids, were divided into three orders: the *druids*, properly so called, who were the interpreters of the laws, instructors of youth, and judges of the people; next, the *vates*, or *ovates*, intrusted with the divinations and sacrifices; and, lastly, the *bards*, who preserved in their songs the reminiscences of national traditions, which they were forbidden to record in writing, and the exploits of their heroes. The power exercised by the druids was not solely religious, but political and social, for they were at the same time priests and magistrates. If any crime was committed, or a quarrel ensued about an inheritance, they decided it; and to them also belonged the right of rewarding and punishing.

3. Among the Gauls each tribe had, at the first, its special chief, ^{The kings and} who ordinarily assumed the title of king. These princes, ^{nobles.} almost absolute in war, were during peace subject, like the rest of the nation, to the despotic authority of the priests. Each tribe had also a species of military equestrian corps, composed of nobles or knights; and each of these nobles, according to his rank or standing, extended his protection to a number of retainers, men of free though inferior condition, who escorted him everywhere, followed him to the wars, and were ready to die or live for him. The mass of the population had no participation in public affairs. Matters affecting the common interests of the whole community were discussed at certain periods, in an assembly formed by deputies from the different tribes.

4. It was impossible for the numerous tribes, which were more ^{Emigration} occupied with war than with the cultivation of the ^{and colonies.} soil, to find sufficient resources among themselves. Several of them emigrated *en masse*, for the mere sake of change and conquest, or through want of food. Frequently, too, the tribes conquered in civil discords, abandoned their country, and sought fortune far away. Thus there arose, in various parts of the world, nations originating in Gallic colonies. One of these in Spain,

formed, by fusion with the natives, the celebrated nation of the Celtiberians, and others settled in different points of Great Britain, peopling, in the course of time, the entire southern seaboard of that island. The Gauls also burst into Italy on several occasions; one of their tribes, the Umbrians, invading that country about 1400 B.C. and establishing themselves in that portion to which the name of Umbria has adhered. In 590 B.C. Bellovisus, the nephew of a celebrated king of the Bituriges, (inhabitants of Berri), crossed the Alps, invaded the country to the north of the Po, and founded Milan. Subsequently the entire northern part of Italy, to which the Romans gave the name of Gallia Cisalpina, or Gaul on their side of the Alps, was settled by Gauls; and in 390 B.C. the Senones, a tribe that had fixed itself on the south bank of the Po, descended southward, encountered and defeated a Roman army on the banks of the Allia, captured Rome, and attacked the Capitol. Others made their way eastward as far as Pannonia, and thence, at a later date, into Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, and even Asia Minor, where they established themselves under the name of Galatians.

5. About 300 B.C., the royal government was abolished in most of the cities of Gaul, in the midst of sanguinary revolutions; the warriors and the druids fought for the ^{Roman Colo-} authority, and the whole of Gaul was weakened by ^{nisation in} Gaul. their divisions. This intestine contest was still going on when, about 150 B.C., the Greek inhabitants of Massalia, or Marseilles, invoked and obtained the assistance of Rome against some Gallic tribes in the vicinity. Thirty years later, the Romans, after assisting the people of Massalia a second time against their enemies, established themselves in the territory they had conquered in behalf of their allies, and built, to the north of Massalia, a city originally called Aquæ Sextiæ, which is, at the present day, Aix, the most ancient Roman colony founded in Gaul, 123 B.C. Eventually the Romans, taking advantage of disputes which had broken out between the Hædui, the Allobroges and Arverni, gained two great victories over them under the leadership of the consul Fabius. The second battle was fought near the Rhone, and was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history; one hundred and twenty thousand Gauls are said to have lost their lives, either in the waters of the river, or by the sword of the conquerors; a portion of the country of the Allobroges, Dauphiné, was reduced to a Roman province, as well as the entire seaboard of the Mediterranean as far as the Pyrenees. There the Romans founded (118 B.C.) a celebrated colony, that of Narbonne, and gave the name of Narbonensis to the vast and splendid province which they formed in the south of Gaul. They did not cross the limits of the colony until about the middle of the first century B.C. They had in the interval to repulse a formidable invasion of the Teutons, who were successfully checked by Marius, 102 B.C., near the city of Aix.

Forty years later, came Julius Cæsar, whose victories in Gaul made him absolute master, not only of that country, but of Rome herself.

II.—Conquest of Gaul by Cæsar.

1. GAUL IN CÆSAR'S TIME. 2. HELVETIANS AND GERMANS IN GAUL; CÆSAR'S VICTORIES OVER THEM. 3. EARLY CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL; FOUNDATION OF ROMAN RULE IN THE COUNTRY: DEFEAT OF THE BELGÆ, NERVII, ADUATICI, ETC.; INSURRECTION OF THE VENETI. 4. INVASIONS OF BRITAIN. 5. RENEWAL OF THE GALLIC WAR BY INDUCIOMARUS AND AMBIORIX; DEFEAT OF THE GAULS. 6. INSURRECTION UNDER VERCINGETORIX; CHECK OF THE ROMANS BEFORE GERGOVIA; DEFEAT OF VERCINGETORIX. 7. SIEGE OF ALESIA; CAPTURE OF THE CITY; FINAL CAMPAIGN AND SUBJUGATION OF GAUL.

1. In his immortal work, the "Commentaries," Cæsar has himself drawn the picture of the country, at the period when he arrived in it as Proconsul. "The whole of Gaul," he says, "is divided into three parts, of which one is inhabited by the Belgæ, another by the Aquitani, and the third by those whom we call at Rome, Galli, and who, in their language, call themselves Celti." These three great nations were divided, as we have already seen, into a multitude of independent states, in the majority of which royalty had been abolished for the last three centuries, and which were governed by an aristocratic assembly, called by the Romans the Senate, in which two factions disputed the power. One of the most frequent causes of discord was the choice of alliances which it was necessary to make, in the midst of the general conflagration frequently produced by the rivalry of two tribes. At the time of Cæsar's arrival the principal rival factions in Gaul were the Hædui and the Sequani, of whom the latter had gained for awhile the preponderance in the country by the assistance of Ariovistus, king of the Germans, whom they attached to them by presents and promises.

2. The future conqueror first displayed himself to the Gallic nations in the character of a protector. They were menaced by a formidable invasion. Three hundred thousand Helvetians, after burning their own towns, and ruining their own fields, so as to destroy all hope of return, had just invaded the country of the Sequani and the Hædui, and had already commenced an attack on the neighbouring Allobroges, when, summoned by these nations, Cæsar hurried up at the head of his legions, defeated the Helvetians in three sanguinary engagements, and drove them beyond the Jura, into the deserts they had themselves produced. Some time later, the Gauls conjured him to deliver them from Ariovistus and his Germans, who, called in by the imprudent Sequani, were now oppressing their own allies and the whole of trembling Gaul. Cæsar responded to their appeal and marched against the terrible Ariovistus. The Germans were totally defeated, and their army dispersed.

3. The domination of the Germans was succeeded by that of the Romans; and the Gauls or Celts perceiving that they had given themselves a master in this formidable auxiliary, applied to the Belgæ to deliver them from the Romans. The Belgians readily

entered into a league with the Gauls; but Cæsar had made an alliance with one of their most important tribes, the Remi; and, introduced by them into the heart of Belgium, he crushed the confederates on the banks of the Aisne with a frightful carnage, and then well-nigh exterminated the Nervii, people of Hainault, beyond the Sambre, and Aduatici, a people encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse. His lieutenant, Crassus, next subjugated Armorica, and already the whole of Gaul seemed conquered. But the resolutions of the Gauls were prompt and unforeseen. In the following year, 56 B.C., during Cæsar's absence in Illyria, the Veneti, relying on the situations of their towns, which were inaccessible by land and defended by an internal sea, the gulf of Morbihan, with whose ports, isles, and shoals the Romans were unacquainted, gave the signal for revolt, and the tribes of Armorica at once followed their lead, the Britons, also promising them assistance. Cæsar thereupon marched up from Illyria; and, having built a fleet at the mouth of the Loire, sternly repressed the revolt. While Cæsar was thus subjugating Armorica, his lieutenant Sabinus occupied, after several engagements, all the territory between that country and the Seine; and Crassus, being also victorious in the south, between the Loire and the Garonne, and from the latter river to the Pyrenees, the whole of Gaul was again conquered, or held in subjection.

4. After defeating 400,000 Usipetes or Teucteres at the confluence of the Rhine and the Meuse, Cæsar resolved to invade Britain, to punish the Britons for the assistance they had given the Veneti. He effected a landing and defeated the Britons in several engagements; but a tempest broke up and dispersed a portion of his fleet, and Cæsar found himself compelled to abandon the expedition and return to Gaul. This precipitate departure, in spite of several victories, resembled a flight; and Cæsar consequently returned the following year, 54 B.C., with several legions and a formidable fleet. He landed without impediment, sought and pursued the Britons into the interior of the island, fomented divisions among them, attacked, defeated and subdued them. He imposed an annual tribute on them, received their hostages, and returned with a multitude of captives, and without the loss of a single vessel.

5. The Gallic War, in which up to this time most of the nations had fought separately, appeared to be at an end; but they united, and it broke out again more terrible than ever. The two chiefs of the new confederation, which was first formed in Belgium, were Induciomarus, of the Treviri, of Treves, and Ambiorix, the Eburones, of Liège. The latter surprised in a defile, a legion on the march, and exterminated it, while the warlike tribes of the north, Cambresis and Hainault, compelled another legion, quartered among them, to seek safety in an entrenched camp, which was at once closely invested. Cæsar was a long way off, but he came in haste with only 7,000 legionaries, dispersed the multitude of Gauls, and liberated the camp. Winter suspended military

operations; but both sides prepared for a new war. So soon as spring set in, Induciomarus, the confederate of Ambiorix, marched against Labienus, who was quartered among the Remi; but the barbarian was defeated, and his head sent to the general. Cæsar completely crushed the Treviri; and then, marching through the whole forest of Ardennes, fell on the Eburones. In a few days this unfortunate people was annihilated, and the whole of northern Gaul appeared, for the time, pacified. In the same year the general assembly of the Gauls, presided over by Cæsar, was held at Lutetia, the capital of the Parisii.

6. As soon as Cæsar had re-crossed the Alps, all the nations of Gaul, stung into revolt by the barbarities committed ^{Insurrection} under Vercin- in Belgium, combined against the Romans under a ^{getorix.} young Arverucan or Auvergnat chief, named Vercingetorix. The rising commenced with the massacre of the Romans quartered in the city of Getabena, now Orleans, and soon after this Vercingetorix, who had taken possession of the fortified town of Gergovia, Clermont, and called on the Gallic tribes, to rise in self-defence, found himself at the head of a numerous and martial army, with which he prepared to march against the Roman legions scattered through Belgium. Suddenly it was learned that Cæsar had reappeared in Gaul, and was now carrying fire and sword into Arvernia. Vercingetorix turned back and flew to the defence of his native country, where the Arverni themselves burnt their cities, only Avaricum, Bourges, one of the handsomest cities in Gaul, being spared. This town Cæsar soon took by storm, and then proceeded, with his whole army, to besiege Gergovia, where Vercingetorix had arrived before him. Cæsar attacked it with his accustomed vigour; but Vercingetorix drove the Romans in disorder into the plain, where they were surrounded, and would have been destroyed, had it not been for the immortal tenth legion, which checked the advance of the enemy, and enabled the fugitives to re-enter their lines. This compelled Cæsar to raise the siege and retire beyond the Loire to obtain reinforcements. Vercingetorix, however, moved rapidly forward to intercept the retreat of Cæsar, and came up with him. A battle took place in which the Gallic leader was defeated, and obliged to seek safety, with the relics of his army, behind the walls of Alesia, one of the strongest places in Gaul, whither Cæsar immediately followed him.

7. The siege of Alesia is the most memorable event in the conquest ^{Siege of} of Gaul. Cæsar undertook it with forces inferior to ^{Alesia.} those of the besieged, and carried it on in sight of 200,000 Gauls, who had hurried up from all points to succour the city, which, being already closely invested, and suffering from the horrors of famine, despaired of deliverance. A supreme effort made by this immense army to crush the Romans and relieve the city, was frustrated by the German horse in Cæsar's pay, who took them in the rear just when the Romans were forcing them back in front. A panic terror seized on the Gauls, who fled in disorder, and fell in thousands beneath the swords of the victorious Romans.

Vercingetorix, being unable to prolong the defence of the city, surrendered to Cæsar, who sent him in chains to Rome. There he languished in prison for six years, and ultimately died by the hand of the executioner. Gaul never recovered from the great disaster it had undergone at the siege of Alesia. A last campaign sufficed for Cæsar to extinguish the smouldering revolt in all parts of the vast territory, and bring it completely under his power. Throughout the whole length of this terrible war, Cæsar had shrunk from no cruelty, however atrocious and unwarrantable, to accomplish his purpose; but once undisputed master of a country whose inhabitants he knew to be too brave to be held in slavery by rigour, he resolved to win them by entirely different conduct, and rendered their yoke easy. The country was reduced to the state of a Roman province, but Cæsar spared it confiscations and onerous burdens: the cities preserved their government and laws; and the tribute he imposed on the conquered was paid under the title of "military pay." Reckoning on their support for the execution of his ambitious plans, he enrolled the best Gallic warriors in his legions, conquered Rome herself by their help, and gave them in recompense riches and honours. Even the Roman Senate was opened to the Gauls.

III.—Gaul under the Roman Domination.

- I. RECONSTRUCTION OF GAUL: DIVISIONS UNDER AUGUSTUS, DIOCLETIAN, AND GRATIANUS: GAUL UNDER ROMAN INFLUENCE. 2. INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY: PERSECUTION OF MARCUS AURELIUS: ST. IRENÆUS AND ST. DENIS. 3. STATE OF GAUL UNDER THE EMPERORS: ATTEMPT TO SEPARATE FROM THE EMPIRE: THE GALLIC CÆSARS: INCURSIONS OF THE BARBARIANS: REVOLT OF THE SERFS. 4. WANE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE: ADMINISTRATION OF CONSTANTINUS CHLORUS, CONSTANTINE, AND JULIAN: APOSTACY OF JULIAN: POWER OF CHRISTIANITY.

I. THE Emperor Augustus, who gave an organisation to Gaul maintained the division of the country into four great provinces, but he changed their limits, and gave the name of Lyonnese, or Lugdunensis, to Gallia Celtica, which was restricted to the territory contained between the Seine, the Saône and the Loire; and detached from it on the east a territory to which he gave the name of Sequanensis, and joined to Gallia Belgica. The latter, when thus enlarged, had for its boundaries the Rhine, the Seine, the Saône and the Alps. Aquitania, hitherto enclosed between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, extended as far as the Loire; and, lastly, Gallia Narbonensis was comprised between the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, the Cevennes and the Alps. Eventually, under Diocletian, the Roman Empire was divided into four great prefectures. That of Gaul, whose chief city was Trèves, comprised three great dioceses, or vicarships—Britain, Spain and Gaul. The latter was divided for the last time at the beginning of the fourth century, by the Emperor Gratianus, into 17 provinces, containing 120 cities. Gaul remained for four centuries subject to the Romans. Everything there became Roman; there

were knights and senators, and the druids became priests of the Greek polytheism. The old national code of laws disappeared; and in the fifth century there was no trace of Gallic institutions in Gaul. The Gauls transferred to the arts of peace that intelligent activity which they had for so many years fruitlessly expended in war, and Roman Gaul was for a long time flourishing. The forests were cut down; roads were made; new cities were founded, while those already in existence increased in extent and opulence; Lutetia, afterwards known as Paris, becoming the residence of the Cæsars; and schools, which soon became flourishing, were established in several cities.

2. Christianity was introduced into Gaul, towards the middle of the second century, by some priests of the Church of Introduction of Christianity. Smyrna, whom the Bishop St. Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle St. John, sent to preach the Gospel in the Transalpine countries, placing at their head the illustrious Pothinus, first Bishop of Lyons. The pious missionaries settled in the latter city about the year 160, and diffused there the light of the Gospel. The Roman Emperors, however, were fiercely hostile to Christianity, and, amid the bloodthirsty persecutions that they ordered, no country counted more heroic martyrs than Gaul, and no Church was more fertilised by their blood than that of Lyons. The persecuting edict issued by Marcus Aurelius against the Christians produced the woes of that Church and its glory. The Bishop Pothinus, ninety years of age, was stoned by the people, but Irenæus, surnamed the Light of the West, collected at a later date the dispersed members of the Church of Lyons, and the Word of Christ was borne into the rest of Gaul, towards the middle of the third century, by seven pious bishops, who, leaving Rome for the most glorious of conquests, proceeded to various points of the Gallic territory, and all of them acquired the crown of martyrdom. Among these the most celebrated was St. Denis, who halted on the banks of the Seine at Lutetia. He was decapitated near that city on the Hill of Mars, Montmartre, and interred in the plain which still bears his name.

3. Gaul, subdued by the civilisation of Rome as much as by her ~~Gaul under the arms,~~ Emperors. was, under the first Emperors, tranquil and resigned. But, eventually, the country suffered greatly through the disorders of the Empire and the perpetual revolutions that shook it; and for nearly two centuries Gaul served as the battle-field for the generals who contested the Empire. Already the numerous and formidable tribes, formed into a grand confederation in Germany, had tried, on several occasions, to reach the left bank of the Rhine; and occupied, on the frontiers, the principal strength of the Roman armies. In this incessantly returning peril, and in the midst of the general disorder, the ties that connected the provinces to the Empire became daily relaxed; and towards the middle of the third century Gaul made an effort to detach itself. The legions of the prefecture of Gaul recognised as Emperor, about the year 260, one of their generals, of the name of Posthumus, of

Gallic origin, who was assassinated, and had, during thirteen years, several successors, known in history under the name of the Gallic Cæsars. Tetricus, who was the last of these, weary of power and its dangers, betrayed his army, and surrendered himself to the Emperor Aurelian. After the voluntary fall of the Gallic chief, barbarous hordes rushed upon Gaul, and ravaged it. Devastated



ROMAN GAUL, THE PORTA NIGRA AT TRIER.

by them on the one hand, and, on the other, crushed with taxes imposed by the various candidates to empire, and exhausted of men and money, the country at length fell into the most miserable condition; and so great was its desolation that freemen frequently made themselves serfs or slaves, in order to escape the obligation of bearing a share of the public burdens. A revolt of the serfs toward the close of the third century was crushed by Maximian; but his victory did not restore life to the Gallic nation, for the decaying Empire imparted its own distress to all the nations it had conquered.

4. Gaul breathed again, however, during a few years, under the protecting administration of Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, who was called to the imperial throne in 305, by the double abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. After him, Constantine, his son, was proclaimed Emperor by the army, and Christianity began its milder reign. Persecution ceased, and this prince, like his father, made great efforts to restore prosperity to the cities of Gaul, and security to its frontiers; but the dissensions which troubled the Empire upon his death drew down fresh calamities upon it. The barbarians drove back the legions entrusted with the defence of the Rhine, as far as the Seine; and terror reigned in the ruined cities of Gaul, until Julian, by a memorable victory, gained in 357, near Strasburg, over seven Allemannic kings or chiefs, freed Gaul for some time from the presence of the barbarians. He selected as his residence Lutetia; and employed, with indefatigable ardour, the leisure of peace to repair the ravages of war. But he only offered a temporary remedy for continuous evils, which were too profound to be cured by human hands. Julian himself ascended the imperial throne on the death of Constantius. The period of his elevation to the rank of Augustus was also that of his apostacy. He abjured Christianity, and, in his fury, attempted to destroy it. But the light of the Gospel made its irresistible sway felt by the new nations which God had reserved for the overthrow of the Empire. They completed the work of destruction commenced by civil discords, the want of industry, indolence, misery, the cowardice of the multitude, and the corruption of the higher classes. All that was condemned to perish was overthrown by the barbarians; but they stopped before the Christian Church, which they found erect and established, and which subdued them.

IV.—Invasions of the Barbarians—Destruction of the Western Empire (406—476).

1. THE GOTHs, HUNS AND GERMANs.: THE SUEVI AND SAXONS. 2. EVENTS WHICH MODIFIED THE STATE OF GERMAN TRIBES: ORIGIN OF ALLEMANNI, ANGLO-SAXONS, AND FRANKS. 3. FRIENDLY RELATIONS OF THE BARBAROUS NATIONS WITH ROME: SETTLEMENT OF FRANKISH TRIBES IN GAUL: THE SALIC FRANKS AND RIPUARIAN FRANKS. 4. DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE: HOSTILITY OF THE BARBARIANS TO ROME: THE SUEVI, VANDALS, AND VISIGOTHS: THEIR INVASION OF THE EMPIRE. 5. SUCCESSSES OF ÆTIUS: ATTLA AND THE HUNS. 6. INTESTINE STRIFE IN GAUL: MEROVIAS: CHILDERIC: TERMINATION OF THE EMPIRE: PETITION OF GAUL.

1. THE races that destroyed the Roman Empire were three in number; the Gothic race, the Tartar race, or Huns, and the Teutonic race. They were subdivided into a great number of peoples.

Up to the Christian era, the Goths and Tartars were unknown to the Romans; but this was not the case with the Teutonic nations, which occupied, so early as 300 B.C., the vast space contained between the Rhine,

The Goths,
Huns, and
German.

the Danube, the Oder, and the German Ocean. All the men of this race called themselves Germans—*wehr-manner*—a word in their language signifying men of war. In the end, the general denomination of Germany was applied to all the regions which they occupied. This people, however, have been divided, long prior to the Christian era, into two great factions, the Suevi and the Saxons, who were separated by the Hercynian forest, situated in the centre of Germany. These were the Germans, who, before invading the Roman Empire, sustained its attacks, for so lengthened a period, in their gloomy forests—the nation destined to expel the Roman conquerors from the soil of Gaul, and to found a new and great people by the admixture of Germanic and Gallic blood.

2. But before we observe the future masters of Gaul crossing in turn the Yssel, the Rhine and the Meuse, and thus advancing step by step as far as the banks of the Seine, it is important that we should notice the events which, in the second century of the Christian era, had modified the state of the German tribes. The great emigration of the Goths from north to south had just overthrown central Europe; and a part of the Suevi, expelled by them from the country of the lower Danube, went up toward the sources of that river, between the Hercynian forest and the Rhine. This country received from them the name of Suevia or Suabia; they formed there a confederation of the relics of several peoples of different races, who adopted the general title of *Allemanica*, or collection of men of all descriptions *Alle männer*. The territory of this southern confederation extended between the Rhine and the Hercynian forest, from the Maine up to the Helvetic Alps.

The peoples of Northern Germany, living to the north of the Hercynian forest, or the Saxons, were also shaken by the Gothic migration, although this territory remained intact. A part of these tribes, nearest to the Scandinavians, being subjected by the sons of Odin, themselves adopted the Odinic worship: they formed a body under the general denomination of Saxons, and this aggregation was joined by the Angles, who inhabited a country called Anglia, to the south of the Cimbric Chersonese. Such was the origin of the Anglo-Saxons, the future conquerors of Great Britain, who established themselves on the shores of the Elbe, the Baltic, and the German Ocean. Formidable pirates, they spread devastation along the coasts of Gaul, Great Britain, and Spain, as early as the third century.

Pressed between the imperial armies and several powerful confederations of nations of their own race, the Central Germans, settled between the Weser and the Rhine, also recognised the necessity of uniting for the common defence; and, towards the middle of the third century, a new confederation was formed in the countries comprised between the two rivers, under the name of Franks, *Franken*, a German word, whose meaning approaches to that of *ferox*, and signifies proud and warlike. These tribes, worthy of their name, were in fact the most celebrated among the barbarians for their

bravery, and it is from them that the French have derived their name. The Franks are mentioned in history for the first time in the year 241; and a few years later, in 256, a horde of this nation traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, ravaged Spain, and spread as far as Africa. Thus, in the third century of our era, three formidable confederations closed Germany, from the shores of the Baltic to the sources of the Rhine and the Danube, against the imperial armies and fleets—the Saxons in the north, the Franks in the west, and the Allemanni in the south, while the Goths were encamped on the left bank of the Danube.

3. All these nations, between which the Roman Empire of the West was eventually divided, did not attack it at the outset with the intention of destroying it. Impelled by violent and irresistible causes to cross its frontiers, they were all eager to have their conquest legitimated by imperial concessions and treaties which incorporated them with the Empire, whose powerful organisation and superior civilisation filled them with astonishment and admiration. The Franks were among the barbarians who also received great concessions of territory in Gaul long before the epoch assigned to their first invasion by a number of historians. Repulsed from the banks of the Weser by the Saxons, two of the principal tribes of the Frank confederation, the Angrivarii first, and then the Catti, emigrated in the third century, and drew nearer to the banks of the Yssel, the frontier of Batavia. The Romans gave these Franks the name of Salics, or Sali, according to all appearance from that of the Yssel, Isala, on whose banks they had been encamped for a long period. This people, by favour of the civil wars and revolts which agitated Northern Gaul at the end of the third century, crossed the river, and established themselves in Batavia. The Emperor Maximian, after attempting to expel them from the Empire, saw that it would be more advantageous to have their help in defending it; and, about the year 587, he allowed the Salic Franks to settle, as military colonists, between the Moselle, and the Scheldt, from Trèves, Augusta Trevirorum, as far as Tournay, Turnacum. A few years later, two other Frank tribes, the Bructeri and Chamavi, crossed the Rhine in order to support the claims of the usurper Carausius to the imperial throne. Constantius Chlorus and Constantine his son contended against them for a long time and the Emperor Julian, after conquering them, allowed them to found a military colony between the Rhine and the Meuse. These Franks were called Ripuarii, from the Latin word *ripa*, because they settled along the banks of the Rhine, one of the two great rivers which served the Roman Empire as a barrier against the barbarians.

4. The Salic Franks and Riparian Franks occupied nearly the same respective positions in the fifth century. At this period the Empire was divided between the sons of the great Theodosius, Honorius reigning at Rome, and Arcadius at Constantinople. Gaul formed part of Honorius's share; and under this weak prince the Western Empire gave way

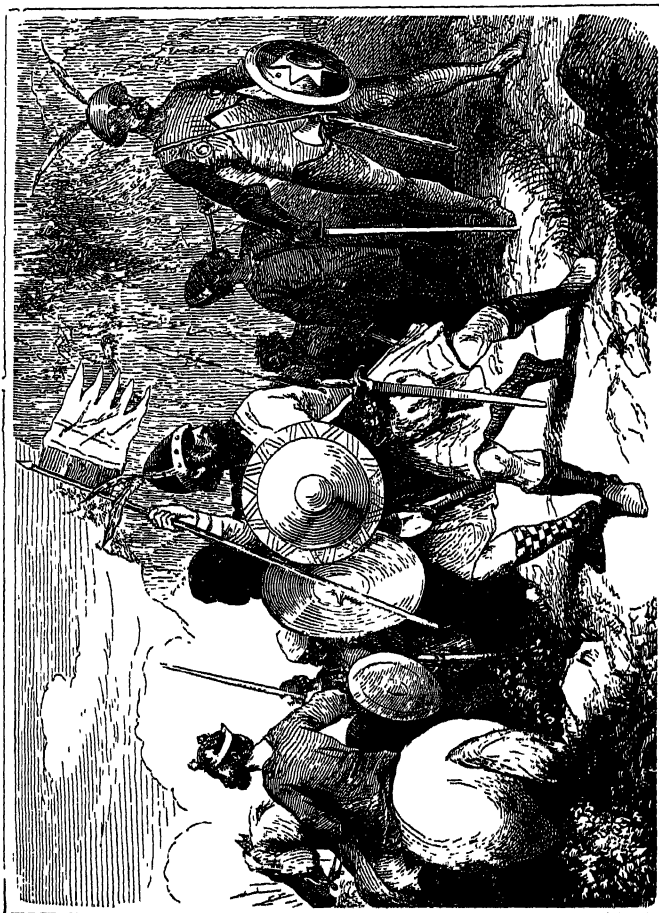
on all sides. A multitude of causes had hastened its dissolution, and anarchy was rampant in the State. The barbarians advanced to plunder that which they were badly paid to defend. In vain Rome humiliated herself so deeply as to become their tributary, endeavouring to stop by presents these fierce men, against whom she could no longer effect anything by her arms, or the majesty of her name. The work of destruction commenced, and in spite of a few fortunate days for the Roman arms, the invading flood never halted till it had swallowed up the Empire, and even Rome herself.

The Suevi and Vandals burst into Gaul in 406, and from that date up to 476, the epoch when a barbarian chief deposed the last emperor, Italy and Gaul were one vast scene of carnage and desolation, in which twenty nations of different origin came into furious collision.

The Suevi and Vandals were followed by the Visigoths, or Western Goths from the left bank of the Danube, who after ravaging one half of the two Empires, and sacking Rome, tore from the Emperor Honorius, who was invested in Ravenna, the concession of the southern territory of Gaul, situated to the west of the Rhone. The Western Empire was dismembered on all sides. The island of Britain had already liberated itself from the yoke of the Romans, and the Armorican provinces of Western Gaul rose in insurrection. About the same period, the Burgundians, a people of Vandal origin, crossed the Rhine, and in 413, founded, on Gallic territory, a first Burgundian kingdom between Mayence and Strasburg.

5. Valentinian III. succeeded Honorius in 424, and reigned in sloth and indolence at Ravenna, to which city the seat of the Western Empire had been transferred. Attila and the Huns. Ætius, who had been brought up as a hostage in the camp of the Visigoth conqueror, Alaric, commanded the Roman armies. This skilful general, the last whom Rome possessed, had fought with success, and had subjugated several barbarous tribes established in Gaul, the Franks, Visigoths, and Burgundians. But at this moment other barbarians poured over that country. The Huns, a Scythian people, the most cruel and savage of all, left the shores of the Euxine and followed Attila. Their multitude was innumerable. Guided by the instinct of destruction, they said of themselves that they were going whither the wrath of God called them. They entered Gaul, and fired and devastated everything before them as far as Orleans. They threatened Paris, and the Parisians attributed the salvation of their city to the prayers of Saint G  n  vi  ve. Still, the Romans and Visigoths, allied under the command of Ætius and Theodoric, compelled the Huns to retreat; Alaric fell back into Champagne, and there, near Ch  lons-sur-Marne, a frightful battle took place in the year 451, which was won by Ætius, and followed by a most awful carnage, in which it is said that 300,000 men perished. Merovig, chief of the Franks, joined the Romans and Visigoths on this sanguinary day, and contributed greatly to their victory by his exploits.

6. Gaul remained the scene of bloodthirsty struggles between the different tribes that occupied the country, and each moment of repose was followed by a new and frightful crisis. Termination of the Empire. Majorienus, proclaimed emperor in 457, had chosen as



BARBARIAN KING AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

his lieutenant in Gaul and master of the militia, Syagrius Ægidius, who belonged to one of the great families of the country, and was distinguished by the most eminent qualities. Merovæus, king of the Salic Franks, having died in 458, was succeeded by his son Child.

eric, who was proclaimed king in spite of his extreme youth, and soon afterwards dethroned and expelled by the people who had raised him on the shield. The Franks, no longer possessing a prince of the royal race, voluntarily subjected themselves to the Gallo-Roman, Ægidius, master of the militia, and recognised him as their chief. Ægidius, having been declared an enemy of the Empire by the Roman Senate, the Franks recalled Childeric, placed him again at their head, and helped in the overthrow of Ægidius. Childeric, at a later date, was himself invested with the dignity of master of the militia, and fought with glory for the Empire, against the barbarians who were rending it asunder. The Empire terminated its lenthened agony between the years 475 and 480. Gaul, upon the fall of the Empire, was divided between the Visigoths, under Euric, in the south; the peoples of Armorica, in the west; the Germans and Burgundians, in the east; and the Franks, in the north. The latter, still divided into two nations, the Salic and the Ripuarian, occupied nearly the same territory they had conquered, and the possession of which had been confirmed to them in the two previous centuries. The Ripuarian Franks, who occupied the two banks of the Rhine, extended on the French side of that river as far as the Scheldt. The Salic Franks occupied, between the Scheldt, the German Ocean, and the Somme, a territory which they had conquered under their king, Clodion, toward the middle of the fifth century. They were divided into three tribes or small kingdoms, the principal cities of which were Tournay, or Turnacum, Cambrai, or Cameracum, and Thérouanne, or Theruenna. The chiefs or kings of these tribes all belonged to the royal race of Clodion, and his son Merovæus. The tribe of Tournay had acquired the first rank and predominant influence under King Childeric.

A portion of Gaul, between the Somme and the Loire, had remained Roman, and maintained itself for some time after the fall of the Empire, independent of the barbarians. This rather extensive country was governed at that time by the Roman general Syagrius, son of the celebrated Ægidius, the ex-master of the imperial militia.

The Anglo-Saxons at this period, having invaded Great Britain, and established themselves in that island, a great number of the old inhabitants emigrated and settled at the extremity of the western point of Armorica, where they were kindly welcomed by the natives, who had a community of language and origin with them. French Brittany derived its name from these expatriated Britons. About the same period, a colony of Saxons, expelled from Germany, established themselves in Lower Normandy, in the vicinity of Bayeux; while another colony of the same people, hostile to the Britons, occupied a part of Maine and Anjou.

Such was the state of Gaul when, in 481, Clotvik, better known by the name of Clovis, son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovig, or Merovæus, who gave his name to his dynasty, was elected king or chief of the Salic Franks established at Tournay.



BAPTISM OF A BARBARIAN KING.



THE GODS OF THE NORTH—WOTAN AND HIS DAUGHTERS.

THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY IN GAUL.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF CLOVIS THE FRANK. 481-511.

1. INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH IN GAUL: REASONS FOR THE SUPPORT IT LENT TO THE FRANKS. 2. VICTORIES OF CLOVIS OVER SYAGRIUS AND THE ALLEMANNI; HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY AND SUBSEQUENT SUCCESSSES. 3. ATTACK ON THE VISIGOTHS; DEFEAT OF ALARIC II; THE FRANKS CHECKED BY THE OSTROGOTHS. 4. SUBJUGATION OF THE RIPUARIAN AND SALIC FRANKS; MURDERS OF SIGEBERT, CHLODERIC, RAGHENAUER AND CARARIC. 5. THE COUNCIL OF ORLEANS: CONCESSIONS TO THE CHURCH; DEATH OF CLOVIS AND PARTITION OF HIS DOMINIONS. 6. CHARACTER OF CLOVIS.

1. **T**HE success of the Franks in that part of Gaul which had remained subject to the Romans, was partly due to the state of oppression into which the Imperial Government had plunged the people. Other causes favoured their rapid progress in the countries occupied by the Visigoths and Burgundians. These were attached to the Arian heresy, while the nations they had conquered were maintained in the orthodox, or Catholic faith, by their bishops. The latter,

*Influence of
the Church
in Gaul.*

bound to recognise as their pattern and head the bishop of the Eternal City, and to contribute by the unity of religion to the unity of the Empire, still laboured, at the period of the conquest, to retain under the authority of Rome, by the bond of religious faith, countries in which the bond of political obedience was severed. The Visigoths and Burgundians did not recognise the authority of the bishops, who had greater hopes of a nation still pagan and free from prejudices, as the Franks were at that time, than of tribes who, already converted to Christianity, refused to acknowledge their creed or take them as guides. Clovis, elected chief of the Franks, soon seconded the wish of the bishops of Gaul by espousing Clotilda, daughter of Childeric, king of the Burgundians, the only woman of the Germanic race who at that period belonged to the Catholic communion.

2. The first enemy he attacked was Syagrius, the Roman general and governor of that part of Gaul still independent of the barbarians, whose capital was Soissons: Syagrius was vanquished, and the Franks extended their limits up to the Seine. Clovis next marched against the hordes of Allemanni, who were invading Gaul, and fought an action at Tolbiac. Defeated in the early part of the day, he promised to adore the God of Clotilda if he gained the victory: he triumphed, and kept his vow. Three thousand Frank warriors imitated their chief, and were baptized on the same day: it was thus that the Roman Church gained access to the barbarians. Clovis at once sent presents to Rome, as a symbol of tribute, to the successor of the blessed Apostle Peter, and from this moment his conquests extended over Gaul without bloodshed. All the cities in the north-west as far as the Loire, and the territory of the Breton *émigrés*, opened their gates to his soldiers. The Burgundian bishops supplicated him to deliver them from the rule of the Arian barbarians; and Clovis declared war against the Burgundian King Gondebaud, and made him his tributary, and a convert to Catholicism.

3. Six years later, Clovis meditated fresh conquests, and turned his attention to the fair southern provinces occupied by the Visigoths. He negotiated with the Catholic bishops of these provinces, and offered himself to the Catholic population of the country as a liberator and avenger. Then, marching southward, he terrified Alaric II. by the rapidity of his progress. This prince called to his aid his father-in-law, the great Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, who at that time was governing Italy with glory; and not daring, before the junction of their armies, to engage in a decisive action with the Franks, retreated before them. Clovis, however, hurrying on, defeated Alaric's army near Vouillé, three leagues to the south of Poitiers, and Alaric lost his life in the engagement. Before long, the greater portion of the country occupied by the Visigoths, as far as the sources of the Garonne, obeyed Clovis. Carcassonne checked his victorious army. A portion of his forces, under the command of his elder son, Thierry, marched into Arvernia, or Auvergne, in concert with the army of the

King of the Burgundians; and the combined armies subjugated the whole country as far as Arles, the capital of the Visigothic Empire, to which they laid siege. In the meanwhile, the Ostrogoths of the great Theodoric were approaching, and the Franks and Burgundians, retiring before them, raised the siege of Arles and Carcassonne. Peace was finally concluded, after a battle gained by the Ostrogoths. A treaty insured the possession of Aquitaine and Novempopulania, or Gascony, to Clovis; Theodoric, as the price of his services, claimed the province of Arles up to the Durance; the Burgundians kept the cities to the north of that city, with the exception of Avignon; and the monarchy of the Visigoths was reduced to Spain and Septimania, of which Narbonne was the capital.

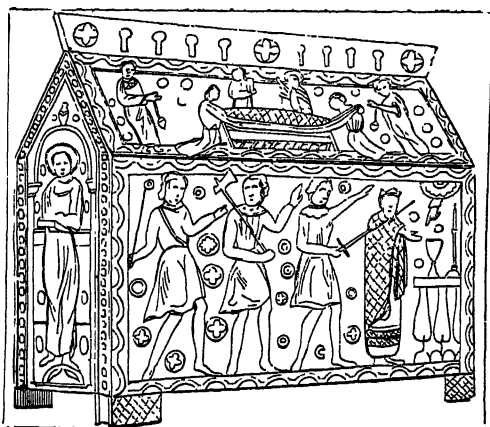
The Franks, thus checked in the south by the Ostrogoths, marched westward, and arrived at the country of the Armoricans, whose great towns submitted, and consented to pay tribute; the Breton settlers alone defended the nook of land in which they had taken refuge, and managed to retain their independence.

4. On his return from his warlike expedition into Aquitaine, Clovis fixed his residence at Paris. His attention was then turned to the north of Gaul, which was divided ^{Subjugation, of the} between the kingdom of the Ripuarian Franks, which ^{Franks.} extended along the two banks of the Rhine, and the kingdom of the Salic, or Salian Franks, who were enclosed between the Scheldt, the Somme, and the sea. Clovis held beneath his authority two-thirds of Gaul; but was still unrecognised by the tribes of his own nation, with the exception of the Salic tribe of Tournay, at the head of which he had gained all his victories. Tournay, where he had alone succeeded in propagating Christianity, had become a episcopal see. The Salic Franks of the two other kingdoms, Cambray and Therouanne, and the Ripuarian Franks, had remained attached to paganism. Clovis resolved to subjugate them all. Religion had neither repressed his ambition, nor softened his ferocity; and he employed cunning and violence to attain success. He incited Chlodoric, son of his ally, Sigebert, King of the Ripuarians, to assassinate his father, and proclaim himself king. Clovis, however, constituting himself avenger of the murder he had provoked, procured the assassination of Chlodoric; and then, marching hastily to Cologne, he declared that the murders of Sigebert and Chlodoric would expose the Ripuarians to great evils, unless they accepted his protection, and placed themselves under his laws. His words were listened to; and the Ripuarians proclaimed him their king. He then marched against the Salic tribes of Courtray and Therouanne, whose chiefs, Cararic and Raghenaher, had maintained their independence, and subjugated them, rather by the aid of treachery than by the force of arms. Having obtained possession of the persons of Raghenaher and his brother Ricaire, he slew them with his own hand, and soon after, caused Cararic and his two sons to be massacred in the city of Mans.

5. Among the later events of his reign was the convention of a

The Council general council at Orleans, of the bishops of the province of Orleans. vinces over which his authority extended. In this he confirmed the gift of immense dominions to the Church, and gave great privileges to the clergy, the bishops, in their turn, making numerous concessions which would serve to strengthen the power of the king. After the closing of the Council of Orleans, Clovis, on returning to Paris, busied himself with the propagation of Christianity among the Frankish tribes which he had recently subjected in Northern Gaul; and it is supposed that the same period should be assigned to the Latin edition which he issued of the Salic law, or, more correctly, of the customs of the Salian Franks, while modifying them so as to render them more in harmony with the new situation which he had made for his people in Gaul. The work of Clovis was now accomplished, and in the course of the same year, 511, he died at Paris, after bestowing fresh largesses on the clergy, and dividing his states among his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clothair, who were all recognised as kings.

6. In order to form a just estimate of the character of this king, **Character of Clovis.** we must carry back our thoughts to the age in which he lived. We are bound to remember that there were two men in Clovis—the barbarian chief and the Christian neophyte; and if, on one hand, we are surprised to find in some of his actions so many vestiges of barbarity, we are, on the other, astonished at what he did to elevate his people and himself to a higher stage of belief and civilisation. He was undoubtedly the instrument employed by Providence to lead the powerful nation of the Franks to Christianity, and to effect the fusion of the barbarous nations with the civilised peoples of the Roman world, a fusion which could alone be effected by means of religion, and which was not complete until the conquering people had adopted the faith of the conquered. He restored the shaken authority of the Church from the shores of the German Ocean to the Pyrenees, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the forests of Germany. Rome, grateful to Clovis, decreed him the glorious title of “Elder Son of the Church,” and he transmitted it to all his successors.



SHRINE REPRESENTING THE MARTYRDOM OF A BISHOP.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CLOVIS TO THAT OF CLOTHAIR I., 511-561.

- I. ROYALTY AMONG THE FRANKS: THE KING'S ANTRUSTIONS: HOW ROYALTY BECAME HEREDITARY: THE SONS OF CLOVIS: ADMINISTRATION OF THE CONQUERED PROVINCES. 2. THE LEGISLATIVE POWER: NATIONAL COMITIA: ABSOLUTE POWER OF COURTS OF JUSTICE: THE VARIOUS CODES OF LAWS IN FORCE. 3. SOCIAL GRADATIONS—THE LEUDES, FREEMEN, COLONISTS AND SERFS: THE CLERGY: TERRITORIAL ESTATES: GROWTH OF AN HEREDITARY NOBILITY. 4. EARLY ACTS OF THE SONS OF CLOVIS: CONQUEST OF THURINGIA: CONQUEST OF BURGUNDY: DEATH OF CLODOMIR: MURDER OF THE CHILDREN OF CLODOMIR: DEATH OF THIERRY I. 5. ATTACK ON THE VISIGOTHS: THEODEBERT IN ITALY. 6. DEATH OF THEODEBERT: DEATH OF CHILDEBERT: CLOTHAIR SOLE KING OF THE FRANKS: HIS DEATH.

I. **B**EFORE continuing the history of the Franks under the race of Clovis, it will be advisable to take a glance at their religion, laws and customs, and to explain the relations of the conquerors to the conquered. Royalty among the Franks was at once elective and hereditary: the title of king, in the German language (*könig*), merely signified chief, and was decreed by election. On the death of a king, the Franks assembled for the purpose of choosing his successor: and we have seen that they chose him from one family, that of Merovig, and that, when they had nominated him, they consecrated him by raising him on a buckler, amid noisy shouts. The chief

mission of the ruler they gave themselves was to lead them against the foe, and to pillage. He received the largest share of the booty, frequently consisting of towns with their territory, which constituted the royal domain, and the treasure with which the king recompensed his *antrustions* or *leudes*, the name given to the comrades in arms of the prince, who devoted themselves to his fortunes and swore fidelity to him. These *leudes* formed a separate class, from which the majority of the officers and magistrates was selected. When a king died, his sons inherited his domain; and being richer than their companions in arms, were in a better position than other persons to secure suffrages. It was thus that the supreme authority was handed down from father to son in the race of Clovis, at first by election, and then by usage, which in time became law. The sons of Clovis, having all been recognised as kings, each took up his abode in the chief city of his dominions, so that there were from this time four capitals, Paris, Orleans, Soissons and Rheims, from which the seat of power was subsequently transferred to Metz. All these capitals, residences of kings, were chosen to the north of the Loire, in a rather limited space, because the countries in which they were situated were alone considered the land of the Franks. The provinces to the south of the Loire were still filled with reminiscences of the Romans. The great cities, far richer and more populous than those of the north, and brilliant with the relics of imperial grandeur, struck the barbarous Franks with a stupid astonishment. They found themselves uncomfortable amid the ruins of the civilised world, and hence they only sojourned there with repugnance. They left their administration to the municipal bodies and the bishops, and contented themselves with occupying the country by bodies of troops, which kept it in obedience by the terror which they everywhere inspired. The Church was, at that time, the sole power that contended against barbarism, and the only curb on the ferocious passions of the conquerors.

2. The authority of the kings was purely military, and the legislative power belonged to the entire nation of the Franks. The *Legislative Power*. Franks, who assembled under arms in the month of March or May, whence these *malls*, or national *comitia*, have been entitled "the assemblies of the field of March" and "the field of May." They took place regularly every year in the early period of the conquest; but when the Franks, after becoming landowners, were rapidly scattered over the soil of Gaul, they neglected to assemble, the kings ceased to convoke them regularly, and the legislative power passed into the hands of the monarchs, their officers, and the bishops. Each city was administered by its own municipality, under the direction of the bishop, who was elected by the people and the clergy of his diocese. Justice emanated from the people. All the freemen in each district, designated by the name of *armans* or *rachimbourgs*, had the right of being present at the courts, where they performed the duties of judges, under the presidency of the royal officers, men

counts, or centurions. No subordination existed between the several courts, and no appeal was admitted. Each of the tribes that occupied the soil of Gaul retained its own laws. The Gallo-Romans continued to be governed, in their civil relations, by the Theodosian code, a collection of Roman laws drawn up by order of Theodoric I., and promulgated in 438; the Salian and Ripuarian Franks and the Burgundians each had a special code. The law which the Salian Franks obeyed, and which obtained from them the name of the *Salic law*, was not drawn up till after the conquest; but it was based on maxims long anterior to the invasion of Gaul by the Franks. This law, moreover, established offensive distinctions between the races of the Franks and Gallo-Romans. The reparation for the heaviest crimes was estimated in money; and, by consenting to pay a certain sum, any man could with impunity commit robbery, murder, or arson. In this species of composition the law always valued the life of a Frank at double that of a Roman. Churchmen, however, were respected, and enjoyed several privileges. Under the sons of Clovis, the penal laws became more severe, and the penalty of death was substituted in certain cases for fines. The law of the Ripuarian Franks, promulgated by Thierry I., established compensation for offences on principles similar to those of the Salic law. The law of the Burgundians, called the *loi Gombette*, after Gondebaud, its first author, was more favourable to the old inhabitants than the laws of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks; and admitted of no distinction between the Romans and the conquerors, for crimes committed against the person.

3. In Gaul, after the conquest, a distinction was made between the freemen as possessors of independent estates or *social gradations*, owners of benefices, the colonists, and the slaves or *serfs*. The first among the freemen, whether Franks or Gallo-Romans, were the leudes, or companions of the kings, and possessors of the royal favour; after the freemen, or owners of the soil, came the colonists, who cultivated it in consideration of rent or tribute; and, lastly, the serfs, some of whom were attached to the person of the master, and others to the soil, with which they were sold and handed over like cattle. The clergy, as we have seen, formed a separate and very powerful class. All the public offices which, to be properly filled, required learning and knowledge, were given to the clerks or churchmen, owing to their superior instruction; and in this way they found means to increase the wealth which they derived from the liberality and piety of the faithful. The territorial estates were divided, among the barbarians, into two chief classes, *allodia* and *benefices*, or *fiefs*. The *allodia* were estates free from any charge, and belonging entirely either to the conquerors or the conquered among the Franks: by virtue of the Salic law, they could not be inherited by females. The *benefices* were lands which the kings detached from the royal domain in order to reward their leudes. The possession of benefices entailed the obligation of military service; and, being only held for life, they

could be recalled. The offices of dukes and counts, possessed by the first lords, were not transmissible by right of inheritance to their children. But, after a time, the bravest warriors, enriched by the royal favour, formed a dangerous aristocracy: they became more powerful in proportion as the royal authority grew weaker, and, their claims having increased with their power, they rendered their domains and titles hereditary in their families. This usurpation on the part of the nobles was one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Merovingian dynasty.

4. Very devastating wars and frightful crimes marked the reigns of nearly all the descendants of Clovis. The sons of that prince divided his estates among themselves with barbarous ignorance, and this clumsy division was the source of sanguinary quarrels. Thierry resided at Metz, the capital of Eastern France; Clothair at Soissons; Childebert at Paris; and Clodomir at Orleans. The last three also shared among them the lands and cities conquered in Aquitaine. The first notable act of the new kings was the subjugation of the Thuringians, who had established a new monarchy on the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar. Thierry and Clothair marched against them, defeated them in two battles, assassinated the Thuringian princes, put a part of the nation to the sword, and attached Thuringia to the monarchy of the Franks. Sigismund, son of Gondebaud, who, forty years previously, assassinated Chilperic, the father of Queen Clotilda, was reigning at this time in Burgundy. The widow of Clovis made her sons promise to avenge the death of Chilperic, their grandfather. Clodomir and Clothair at once entered Burgundy, gained a battle, made King Sigismund a prisoner, and threw him down a well with his wife and children. Gondemar, brother of the conquered king, defeated and killed Clodomir, expelled the Franks, and was recognised as king by the Burgundians, over whom he reigned till the year 532. Clothair and his brother Childebert then attacked him, conquered him, and took possession of the kingdom. These two princes sullied their character by a frightful crime after the death of their brother Clodomir, King of Orleans, who had left three children of tender age, who were being brought up by their grandmother Clotilda. Clothair and Childebert coveted the inheritance of their nephews; and the former murdered two of them with his own hands. Clodoald, the third son of Clodomir, escaped from the fury of his uncles, became a monk, and founded the monastery of St. Clodoald, or St. Cloud. Thierry I., the eldest of the sons of Clovis, died in 534, after ravaging Auvergne, which had tried to shake off his yoke. His son, Theodebert, succeeded him.

5. The empire of the Goths was at this period beginning to decline. Attack on the Visigoths. The great Theodoric was no longer alive. He left his two grandsons, Athalaric and Amalaric, between whom he divided his empire. Athalaric had the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, with the provinces of Gaul up to the Rhone and the Durance. Amalaric, the son of Alaric II., reigned over the Visigoths

in Spain and Gaul, from the base of the Pyrenees as far as the Lot and the Rhone. This prince resided at Narbonne, and espoused Clotilda, daughter of Clovis. Clotilda was a Catholic among an Arian people. Outraged by the populace, she was treated still more cruelly by her husband. Her blood flowed; she staunched it with a veil, and a faithful servant conveyed to the Frank kings this blood-stained veil, as an appeal to their vengeance. Inflamed with fury at the sight, Childebert set out, and led an army of Franks to the frontier of Septimania, where he defeated the Visigoths. Amalaric fled in terror to Barcelona, and perished there by assassination. Childebert gave up Narbonne to pillage, and then returned to Paris, loaded with the spoils of the rich province; but as he neglected to secure the possession, it reverted to the Visigoths eventually. The Ostrogoths, after the death of Athalaric and his successor Theodatus, had selected as their ruler Vitiges, the most skilful of their generals. They were at that time engaged in a war with Justinian, the Emperor of the East, who asked the support of the Frank king, Theodebert I., son of Thierry I., against the Ostrogoths. Theodebert, equally appealed to by the latter to help them against Justinian, passed the Alps at the head of a numerous army, and received gold from both sides; then, breaking his engagements, he made a frightful carnage of both armies, ravaged Lombardy with fire and sword, and snatched Provence from the Ostrogoths.


6. Theodebert was meditating an invasion of the Empire of the East, when he died in 548, leaving the throne to his ^{Clothair sole} son Theodebald, who only reigned seven years. On the ^{King.} death of the latter, Clothair, his great-uncle, seized his kingdom: his other grand-uncle, Childebert, jealous of this usurpation, set up against Clothair his son Chramme, and at first supported him with his army, but himself soon fell ill at Paris and died. Clothair inherited his kingdom, pursued his own rebellious son, and had him burned alive, with his wife and daughters. He had now succeeded his three elder brothers, and held under his sway the whole of Roman Gaul, in which were comprised Savoy, Switzerland, the Rhenish provinces, and Belgium. Septimania alone remained to the Visigoths: Clothair's authority extended beyond the Rhine, over the Duchies of Germany, Thuringia and Bavaria, and the countries of the Saxons and the Frisians. He made no use of this colossal power, and the only memorial that remained of the two years during which he governed the monarchy of France alone was the murder of his son. Clothair was taken ill in 561, a year after this horrible execution, and, amazed at the approach of death, exclaimed, "Who is this King of Heaven who thus kills the great kings of the earth?"



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF CLOTHAIR I. TO THAT OF DAGOBERT I., 561-638.

1. REDISTRIBUTION OF FRANKISH TERRITORY: NEUSTRIA, AUSTRASIA AND BURGUNDY. 2. QUARRELS OF CHILPERIC AND SIGEBERT: DEATH OF SIGEBERT: ACCESSION OF CHILDEBERT II. TO THRONE OF AUSTRASIA. 3. DEATH OF CHILPERIC. 4. JEALOUSY OF AUSTRASIAN NOBLES OF THE ROYAL AUTHORITY: THE MAYOR OF THE PALACE. 5. CONSPIRACY IN FAVOUR OF GONDEVALD: FATE OF GONDEVALD AND HIS SUPPORTERS. 6. ALLIANCE BETWEEN GONTRAN AND CHILDEBERT: DEATH OF GONTRAN: DEATH OF CHILDEBERT. 7. ANIMOSITY OF FREDEGONDE AND BRUNHILDA: SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON NEUSTRIA: DIVISIONS BETWEEN AUSTRASIA AND BURGUNDY; DEATH OF THEODEBERT 8. DEATH OF THIERRY: CONSPIRACY AGAINST BRUNHILDA: MURDER OF SIGEBERT AND BRUNHILDA. 9. CLOTHAIR II. SOLE KING: COMPELLED TO SHARE HIS THRONE WITH DAGOBERT; SYNOD OF PARIS: DEATH OF CLOTHAIR II. 10. DAGOBERT'S REALM: UNITY OF THE FRANKISH MONARCHY. 11. DAGOBERT'S POWER: HIS MODERATION IN YOUTH AND EXCESSES IN AGE: EXPEDITION AGAINST THE WINDI: LAST ACTS OF DAGOBERT'S REIGN: HIS DEATH.

1.  CLOTHAIR I. left four sons—Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic and Sigebert—who divided his states among them. Caribert lived but a short while, and left no male child: from his death dates a fresh division among the three surviving brothers, which it is important to understand thoroughly. The vast country situated between the Rhine and the Loire was divided in two, as if a diagonal line were drawn from north to south, from the mouths of the Scheldt to the environs of Langres, near the sources of the Saône: the part situated to the west of this line was named Neustria (Neuster: west) and the other part, to the east, was named Austrasia (Ostro: east). Neustria fell, in the partition, to Chilperic, and

Redistribution
of Frankish
territory.

Austrasia to Sigebert. Burgundy formed the third great division of Gaul, and fell to the share of Gontran. Vast countries, afterwards conquered, were regarded as appendices of the Frank Empire, and it was arranged that a separate division should be made of them: these were Provence, Aquitaine, and Gascony. The first was attached to Austrasia and Burgundy, and was divided between Sigebert and Gontran; the second was divided into three parts, reputed equal, each of which formed a small Aquitaine; and lastly, Gascony was divided between Chilperic and Sigebert, to the exclusion of Gontran. The German provinces, governed by dukes nominated by the kings, were scarce taken into consideration in this division; they were allotted, with Austrasia, to Sigebert. The three brothers made a strange convention with regard to the city of Paris: owing to its importance, they promised that neither should enter it without the consent of his brothers. This celebrated division of the inheritance of Clothair I. was made in the year 567, and from this moment commenced the long and bloody rivalry between Neustria and Austrasia.

2. Chilperic and Sigebert distinguished themselves by their fratricidal hatred; and were surpassed in audacity, ambition, and barbarity, by their wives, whose names acquired a great and melancholy celebrity. Sigebert had married Brunhilda, daughter of the King of the Visigoths; and Chilperic, surnamed the Nero of France, jealous of the alliance contracted by his brother, put aside the claims of his mistress, Fredegonde, in order to espouse Galswintha, sister of Brunhilda. He had, at this period, three sons by his first wife Andovera, whom he repudiated, and imprisoned at Rouen. Shortly after his second marriage, he had Galswintha strangled, at the instigation of Fredegonde, and took the latter for his wife. Brunhilda swore to avenge her sister, and the enmity of the two queens caused streams of blood to flow.

After an unsuccessful war against his brother Sigebert, the King of Neustria submitted, asked for peace, and accepted a treaty, which he violated almost immediately afterwards by taking up arms again. Sigebert marched on Paris, which city Chilperic had seized, laid the environs of the city waste, took it by storm, and forced his brother to shut himself up in Tournay with his wife and children. The Austrasian army invested the latter town, and Sigebert declared that he would kill Chilperic; but he wished first to have himself elected King of Neustria. He proceeded to Vitry, where he was proclaimed King of Neustria but, in the midst of the rejoicings, two emissaries of Fredegonde stabbed the King with poisoned knives. He died, and his army dispersed; Chilperic regained his crown and Paris, into which city he entered as a victor.

The widow of the assassinated King Sigebert, Brunhilda, was still in that city with her two daughters and her youthful son Childebert. By order of Chilperic she was arrested, and kept as a prisoner, with her children, but young Childebert was let down in a basket from a window of the palace; and carried to Metz, where he was proclaimed King of Austrasia in 575, as Childebert II. King

Chilperic then sent Brunhilda with her two daughters, in exile to Rouen, where she was joined by Merovic, the son of Chilperic and the unfortunate Andovera, whom she married in secret. Chilperic, speedily informed of the marriage, took umbrage at it, and hastened to Rouen, where he separated the couple. Brunhilda regained her liberty, and fled into Austrasia; but Merovic was arrested by his father's orders, ordained priest, in spite of his protests, and exiled to the monastery of St. Calais, near Mans. Escaping from his guardians, he tried to join his wife, Queen Brunhilda, in Austrasia. But the Austrasian leudes drove him into Neustria, and at length, when just on the point of falling into the hands of his implacable father he committed suicide.

3. Chilperic, after his re-establishment on the throne, set no bounds on his ambition and cupidity. He invaded the states of his brother Gontran during a war that prince was waging against the Lombards, but Gontran after exterminating the Lombards, recaptured all the places which Chilperic had seized. Six years later, a new invasion of the Neustrians into Burgundy was repulsed, and Chilperic perished soon after, being assassinated, in the forest of Chelles, by the orders of Fredegonde. Of all the sons he had by this sanguinary woman, only one, Clothair, survived him. His mother undertook the guardianship of him, and, being menaced simultaneously by all her enemies whom her crimes had aroused against her, she placed herself, with her son, under the protection of King Gontran.

4. Brunhilda was at this period disputing the guardianship of her young son, Childebert II., with the nobles of Austrasia. The Frank kings had, up to this time, been accustomed to set one of their leudes over the officers of their house, as steward of the royal domains; this officer, who had the title of *major domo*, was at a later date called "mayor of the palace of the kings," and was merely their first officer. But after the death of Sigebert, the Austrasian nobles, jealous of Brunhilda's authority, elected one of their number mayor of the palace; and added to his functions that of presiding over them and watching the youthful king. Brunhilda tried in vain to oppose the haughty aristocracy, who claimed a share in the guardianship of her son; she therefore restrained herself till Childebert was of the age to govern by himself, and inspired him with a profound dissimulation. It was not alone in Austrasia that a reaction was visible against the descendants of Merovig. Royalty was no longer in Gaul what it had formerly been in the savage forests of Germany. The descendants of Clovis had gradually usurped an arbitrary and despotic authority over their own comrades in arms and the Frank aristocracy, which the aristocracy resisted; having acquired strength by becoming landowners. Hitherto floating, they had become fixed; they had acquired perpetuity with property, a multitude of freemen resorted to them for their support against the exactions of the treasury and royal officers; and this patronage spread in spite of the prohibitions of the kings. The Church itself, though

it had at first favoured the progress of the royal authority, grew weary of a despotism which no longer respected its immunities and privileges, and the bishops leagued themselves with the principal leudes.

5. A formidable conspiracy was entered into against the kings of Austrasia and Burgundy. The aristocracy desired a king who would be a passive instrument in their hands, and turned their attention to a natural and unrecognised son of Clothair I., of the name of Gondevald, who fearing the

Conspiracy in
favour of
Gondevald.



TOULOUSE.

supicious jealousy of the kings his brothers, had sought a refuge at Constantinople, at the court of the Emperor Maurice. This man was induced by some of the leudes of Burgundy and Austrasia to assert his claim to a share of the dominions of Clothair I., his father, and, on his arrival, was enthusiastically received in the south of Gaul. The insurrection spread the furthest in those parts of Aquitaine subjected to the Kings of Neustria and Burgundy. The most powerful men in those countries espoused the cause of Gondevald, who announced himself as heir of Clothair I. in those parts of Aquitaine dependent on Neustria and Burgundy, but

respected the claims of Childebert II. in Austrasian Aquitaine. Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other large towns opened their gates to Gondevald, and the larger portion of Gaul to the south of the Loire was gained over or conquered. Gontran, terrified by the progress of the revolution, invited his nephew Childebert II. to join him against Gondevald, and drew him into the alliance by adopting him as his heir.

On the approach of the formidable armies of Burgundy and Austrasia, defections commenced in Aquitaine, and Gondevald, abandoned by a great portion of the Aquitanians, was compelled to seek a refuge in the town of Comminges. After enduring a brief siege in this town, which nature and art had combined to render impregnable, his partisans, seduced by the gold and fair promises of Gontran, surrendered him to the besiegers, who put him to death. But this treachery was of no advantage to the traitors. The Austrasio-Burgundian army penetrated into the town, which they fired; and inhabitants, priests and soldiers all perished by the sword or by fire.

6. The two princes, uncle and nephew, then formed a new compact in a solemn assembly held at Andelot. The Alliance between Gontran and Childebert. common interests of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia were regulated there, and the survivor of the two Kings was recognised as the heir of the other. After this, King Childebert, encouraged by his successes in Aquitaine, the support of Gontran, and the genius of his mother, Brunhilda, shook off the yoke of his leudes, and put several of them to death. While the youthful Childebert was signalising his reign in Austrasia by blood-thirsty acts, old King Gontran was terminating his in Burgundy by reverses. His armies were defeated in Septimania, or Languedoc, by the Visigoths, and fell back in Novempopulania before the Vascons, the ferocious mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The old King died in 593, and Childebert, his nephew and adopted son succeeded him. He did not long survive his uncle, but after attempting an invasion of Neustria at the instigation of his mother, Brunhilda, in which he was unsuccessful, and other warlike expeditions, died in 596, leaving two sons of tender age, Theodebert and Thierry.

7. At this time the three kingdoms of the Franks recognised as Kings three boys. Clothair II. reigned in Neustria, Theodebert II. in Austrasia, and Thierry II. in Burgundy—the first under the guardianship of Fredegonde, the two others under that of their grandmother, Brunhilda. Animosity of Fredegonde and Brunhilda. The implacable hatred of these two queens rekindled hostilities; and in a great battle fought near Sens, by Fredegonde against the sons of Childebert, the Austrasians and Burgundians took to flight. Fredegonde entered Paris victoriously; reconstituted the old kingdom of Neustria in its integrity; and died, after triumphing over all her enemies, either by the sword or by poison. Excited by their grandmother, the two brothers, Theodebert and Thierry, formed an alliance against Clothair II., and the united Austrasian and Burgundian armies came up with the Neustrians at Dormeille,

in the country of Sens. Clothair was conquered, and the carnage was dreadful. Two years later, Brunhilda, at the head of the Burgundians, gained another victory over the Neustrians at Etampes. Clothair had all but fallen into her hands, when she learned that Theodebert, King of Austrasia, had treated at Compiègne with their common enemy, whom he had it in his power to crush. This peace saved the son of Fredegonde, but filled with rage the heart of Brunhilda, who, from this moment, only thought of punishing Theodebert. She armed Thierry against his brother and after a sanguinary war that lasted several years, between the Burgundians and Austrasians, the two armies met on the already celebrated plains of Tolbiac. Theodebert was conquered, and fled; but fell into the hands of his brother, who put his young son to death before his eyes, while Theodebert himself was murdered by the orders of his implacable grandmother.

8. Thierry died suddenly in the following year, leaving four sons of whom Sigebert, the eldest, was scarce eleven years of age. Brunhilda undertook to have him crowned alone, and to maintain the unity of his father's states by evading the custom of division. This attempt excited a rebellion, and the nobles summoned to their aid Clothair II., King of Neustria. Clothair was already on the Meuse, and marched upon the Rhine. Brunhilda proceeded to Worms with her great-grandsons, and sought support from the Germans. A portion of the Austrasian leudes had already passed over into Clothair's camp: the others flocked round their King, in order to betray him more easily. The most distinguished of the conspirators were two powerful Austrasian lords, whose children became, by intermarriage, the stem of the second royal dynasty of France. They were Arnolph, afterwards canonised as Bishop of Metz, and Pepin of Landen, a town in Hainault. Both Arnolph and Pepin, under the authority of the celebrated Warnacharius, Mayor of the Palace in Burgundy, aided the success of the famous plot whose object was the overthrow of Queen Brunhilda and her race. The combined Austrasian and Burgundian armies met the Neustrians on the banks of the Aisne in Champagne. The conspirators then declared themselves. Clothair II. was hailed as king by all the Franks, and three of Thierry's sons were surrendered to him. He had the young King Sigebert murdered, with one of his brothers: he exiled another to Neustria, but the fourth escaped him, and never reappeared. Lastly, the haughty Brunhilda herself fell into the hands of the son of Fredegonde, who had her fastened alive to the tail of a wild horse, and thus dragged to death.

9. After the death of Brunhilda, Clothair II. united under his sceptre the entire Frank monarchy, and was soon able to discover that the unity of his vast empire was only apparent. The nobles of Austrasia, in overthrowing Sigebert, had thought much less about raising Clothair than aggrandising themselves. They wanted a prince to reside among them, that they might direct him as they thought proper; and they forced the King

to share his throne with his son Dagobert, and give them the latter as their sovereign. Dagobert, who had scarce emerged from infancy, reigned under the guardianship of Arnolph, Bishop of Metz. The most celebrated event in the reign of Clothair II. was the council, or synod, of Paris in 615. The famous edict, which this assembly of bishops and nobles promulgated, forms an epoch in history; for it marked the success of the reaction of the latter against the kings, by shaking the system of arbitrary government, which the latter had tried to found. One of the chief articles



DWELLING OF A FRANKISH FARM VASSAL.

settled that the judges, or counts, should be always selected from the landowners of the parts where their jurisdiction would be exercised; and from this time, the dignity of count belonged nearly always to the richest proprietor in each county, and the royal choice had narrow limits. We know but little more about the reign of Clothair II. Sanguinary wars broke out between him and his

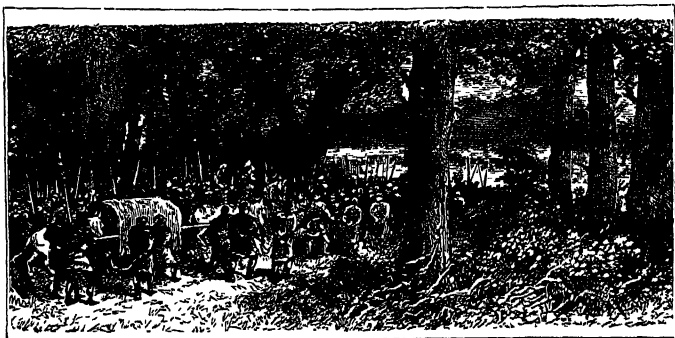
son Dagobert, whose independence he was compelled to recognise; and his life was extinguished in the midst of civil troubles. He died in 628, before he had been able to secure the establishment of his second son, Caribert.

10. The sceptre of Dagobert extended over the three great and powerful kingdoms of the Frank monarchy—Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy; and from these he detached Aquitaine, that is to say, the territory between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees, and gave it to his brother Caribert. The latter soon died, and his eldest son was assassinated, it is said, by a faction devoted to Dagobert, who resumed possession of his brother's states. The unity of the Frankish monarchy was thus once again restored.

11. If a Merovingian king could have arrested the fall of his dynasty, Dagobert would have had this glory. Not one of the kings descended from Clovis caused his power to be more respected, or displayed greater magnificence. In the early part of his reign, he did not allow his mind to be weakened by the luxury with which he surrounded himself, but devoted his time to useful occupations. He had the Salic and Ripuarian laws revised and written, as well as those of his Allemannic and Bavarian vassals. In the end, however, he gave way to debauchery and cruelty; he forgot the claims of justice, and imposed heavy tributes on his people. At the same time, his arms were not successful. The Windi, or Venedes, a Slavonic nation, had established themselves in the valley of the Danube, the great commercial route between Northern Gaul and Constantinople and Asia, where they massacred and plundered a large caravan of Franks. Dagobert marched against the Windi to take vengeance on them for the deed, but his army perished in the desert countries, and the power of the Franks was shaken through the whole of Germany.

Dagobert, from this time, confined his attention to keeping his own subjects in obedience. The Austrasians, ever ready to revolt, forced him to share his throne with his son Sigebert, three years of age, and give him to them as king, while another son, Clovis, was recognised as King of Neustria and Burgundy. In the last year of his reign, Dagobert repulsed an invasion of the Vascons, repressed a revolt in Aquitaine, and made a treaty with the Bretons, who recognised his supremacy.

In spite of the reverses of his arms against the Windi, and numerous causes of internal dissolution, Dagobert, who died in 638, remained to the end of his reign powerful and feared. He combined, like many of the princes of his race, a great fervour for religion, and a superstitious devotion, with licentious tastes. But despite all his vices, he surpassed in merit the majority of the princes of his family. When he died, a century and a half had elapsed since the elevation of Clovis to the throne of the Franks; and this period, marked by so much devastation and so many crimes, was the most memorable during the reign of the Merovingians.



CHAPTER IV.

SLOTHFUL KINGS.—DECAY AND END OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.—FROM THE DEATH OF DAGOBERT I. TO THE DEPOSITION OF CHILDERIC III. 638-752.

1. THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE: THEIR ASSUMPTION OF AUTHORITY: SIGEBERT II. AND CLOVIS II. 2. GOVERNMENT OF EBROUIN: REBELLION OF NEUSTRIA AND BURGUNDY. 3. ACCESSION OF CHILDERIC II.: HIS DEATH: DAGOBERT II. 4. PEPIN OF HERISTAL. STRUGGLE BETWEEN AUSTRASIA AND NEUSTRIA: MURDER OF EBROUIN. 5. THE MAYORALTY OF PEPIN: DEFEAT OF THE NEUSTRIANS: ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THIERRY AS KING. 6. THE WARS OF PEPIN. 7. HIS FAMILY: HIS DEATH. 8. RENEWED CONFLICT BETWEEN AUSTRASIA AND NEUSTRIA: CONQUEST OF NEUSTRIA BY CHARLES: ACCESSION OF THIERRY IV. 9. THE SARACENS IN GAUL: SUBMISSION OF EUDES TO CHARLES: DEFEAT OF SARACENS NEAR TOURS. 10. EXPLOITS OF CHARLES MARTEL: HIS DEATH. 11. PEPIN MASTER OF THE FRANKISH MONARCHY: END OF THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS. 12. EXTENT AND DIVISIONS OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

1. **A**¹³⁸**FTER** the death of Dagobert I., the Merovingian family only offers us phantoms of kings, brutalized by indolence and debauchery, and whom history has justly branded with the title of *rois fainéants*. By the side of royalty had grown up the magistrature of the Mayors of the Palace, who ultimately took advantage of the weakness of the Merovingians to usurp *de facto* the entire power. Elected by the leudes, they had for a long period been supported by them in governing the sovereigns; but, when their power was thoroughly established, they crushed the nobles, in order that there might be henceforth no other authority than their own: They then transmitted their office to their sons, and it was eventually regarded as the appanage of a family, in the same way as the sceptre seemed to belong by right to the race of Clovis. Dagobert, when dying, had

recognised Ega as mayor in Neustria, and Pepin of Landen in Austrasia; and had confided to them the guardianship of his two sons, the monk-like Sigebert II., and the debauchee Clovis II., between whom his states were divided. These, in their turn, were succeeded in office by their sons, Ega by Erkinwald and Pepin by



TAKING REFUGE IN THE STRONG CITIES.

Grimoald. On the death of Sigebert II., Grimoald had tried to get the sceptre into his family. He had the youthful Dagobert, son of Sigebert, conveyed to Ireland, concealed the place of his retreat, and dared to place the crown on the head of his own son; but the Austrasian nobles revolted against an authority which was independent of their choice. They put Grimoald and his son to death, and recognised as their master the weak Clovis II., King of Neustria, who very shortly after followed his brother Sigebert II.

to the grave, and left his sceptre and empty royal title to Clothair III., his elder son, who, on his accession, assumed sovereignty over the whole of his father's possessions.

2. The famous Ebrouin was at that time mayor of the palace in **Government of Ebrouin.** Neustria, but he did not succeed in long maintaining the apparent unity of the monarchy. The Austrasian lords required a king who, like his predecessors, should be subject to their influence. They summoned the youthful Childeric, second son of Clovis II., greeted him as King of Austrasia, and gave him for guardian the Mayor Wulfoald. The despotism of Ebrouin soon drove the nobles of Neustria and Burgundy into revolt under Leger, the Bishop of Autun. The able mayor of the palace at first subdued the rebellion, but the death of Clothair III. shook his power. He did not dare convene the nobles, according to custom, in order to elect a successor to this prince, who died childless; but he proclaimed as king, of his own authority, the youthful Thierry, third son of Clovis II. The lords of Neustria and Burgundy were no more willing than those of Austrasia to see the mayors usurp the right of election to the throne, and they offered the crown of the two kingdoms to Childeric II., King of Austrasia. Ebrouin, abandoned by all, was forced to take the tonsure, and was imprisoned in the monastery of Luxeuil. Thierry III. was led as a prisoner into his brother's presence, and confined by his orders at St. Denis.

3. Childeric II. removed his residence from Metz to Paris. This **Accession of Childeric II.** prince combined with the brutal passions of his degenerate race the energetic character of his ancestors. The nobles, most of whom he contrived to offend, formed a conspiracy against him, for inflicting on one of their order a dishonourable punishment reserved for slaves. The conspirators surprised the King, while hunting in the forest of Bondy, near the royal mansion of Chelles, and murdered him, with his wife and children. Ebrouin came out of captivity, and, taking from prison the weak Thierry, he obtained the support of the masses against the nobles, and exercised for a long time an uncontrolled power. A formidable opposition, however, was organised against Ebrouin in Austrasia. After the death of Childeric II., Dagobert, son of Sigebert II., was recalled from Ireland and placed on the throne. Imitating the last King, Childeric, in his treatment of the nobles, he was assassinated, and died without leaving an heir.

4. Among the murderers of Dagobert were several partisans and relatives of the old mayor, Pepin of Landen, whose **Pepin of Heristal.** grandson, the son of his daughter Logga, afterwards known in history as Pepin of Heristal, was recognised, during the interregnum which followed the death of Dagobert, as one of the chiefs of the aristocracy of the dukes and counts of Austrasia. The nobles triumphed in that country, and were crushed in Neustria and Burgundy. A multitude of exiles from these two kingdoms demanded vengeance of the Dukes of Austrasia upon Ebrouin, and a fresh collision took place. Neustria was victorious, but Ebrouin was unable to reap the fruit of his victory,

A lord, of the name of Ermanfroi, who had been proved culpable in his office, and threatened with death, anticipated Ebrouin, by cleaving his skull with an axe, and fled to Austrasia, where Pepin of Heristal loaded him with honours. Ebrouin, though he had no sceptre or crown, had reigned for twenty years, with a power that no king had exercised before him.

5. The feeble Thierry was still reigning in Neustria, when the mayor Waratho, and after him Berthair, succeeded Ebrouin in his important office. The reins of govern-
ment, on slipping from his powerful grasp, were re-
laxed in their feeble hands. Civil discord agitated Neustria; hope was re-aroused in the banished lords. They renewed their applications to Pepin of Heristal, who announced himself as the avenger of the Frank nobles and priests despoiled by the mayors of Neustria, and was proclaimed commander-in-chief. He encountered the Neustrian army at Testry, in the county of Vermandois, gained a great victory, and made prisoner King Thierry, whom he recognised as monarch of Neustria and Austrasia, governing in his name as mayor of the palace, after destroying the rulers of the party opposed to the nobles. After the death of Thierry, Pepin crowned in succession his two sons, Clovis III. and Childebert III., and then his grandson, Dagobert III.; but he was the real military chief, and sole grand judge of the nation of the Franks.

Mayoralty
of Pepin.

6. The empire of the Franks began to be broken up after the battle of Testry. The Saxons, Frisians, Allemans, Bavarians, and Thuringians, hitherto vassals of the
Merovingian kings, considered themselves the equals
of Pepin when they had contributed to his victory. Pepin con-
tended against them, and, almost to his death, had to sustain long and sanguinary wars on all the northern frontiers, while Burgundy and Provence shook off his yoke in the south. The men of Aquitaine rallied under the celebrated Eudes, Duke of Toulouse, and descendant of the Merovingian Caribert, brother of Dagobert I.. to whom they gave the title of king, and rendered themselves almost independent of the Frankish monarchy.

Wars of
Pepin.

7. Pepin had two sons, Drogon and Grimoald, by his wife Plectrude, and a third, of the name of Charles, by his
concubine Alpaide. Drogon died in 708, so Pepin
invested his second son, Grimoald, in the office of mayor of Neustria. An implacable hatred subsisted between the mothers of Charles and Grimoald, who became deadly foes. Grimoald was murdered when Pepin lay dying; he sprang from his death-bed, destroyed all the authors of the murder, and shut up his son Charles, whom he suspected of being an accomplice, in Bologna: then he established Grimoald's son Theodebald, who was hardly five years of age, as mayor of the palace. This energetic act exhausted his strength. "He died in 714," the annals of the Franks tell us, "after commanding for twenty-seven years and six months the whole Frankish people, with the kings subject to him—Thierry, Clovis, Childebert, and Dagobert."

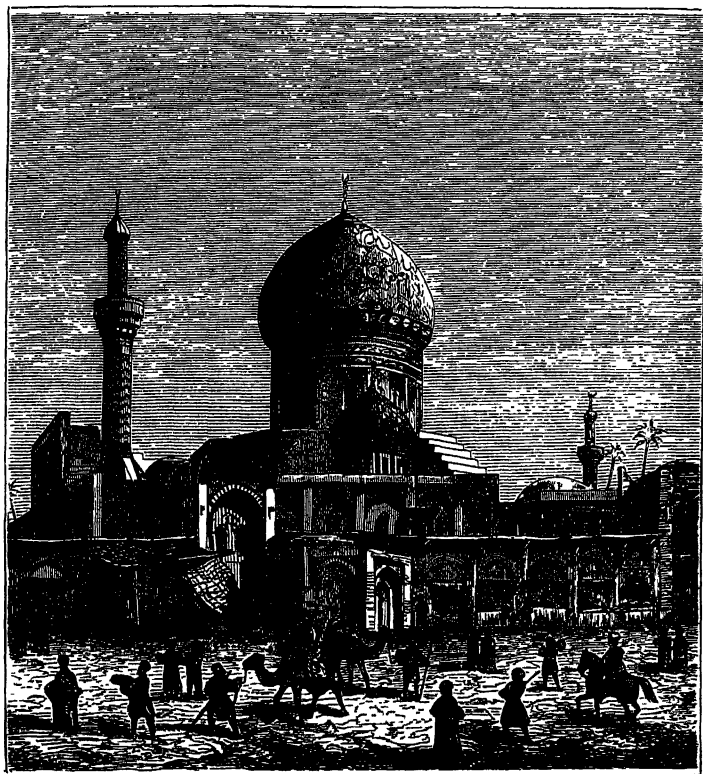
His Family.

8. The mighty Pepin left at the head of the monarchy two boys—one king, the other mayor—under the guardianship of the aged queen Plectrude, the grandmother of Theodebald. The Neustrians revolted against Plectrude and her grandson, and, choosing Raginfred as mayor of the palace, they attacked and disarmed Austrasia. Pressed on all sides, the Austrasians in their turn deserted Plectrude and her son. They took out of a monastery Charles, the natural son of Pepin, and recognised him as king. Still, the name of the Merovingians possessed a certain prestige; and on the death of Dagobert III. both factions elected a pretended member of this degenerate race as king, Chilperic II. in Neustria, and Clothair IV. in Austrasia. They nominally reigned, while the two real masters of these states, Raginfred and Charles, prepared for a struggle which terminated in favour of the latter, for by the memorable victory of Vincy, near Cambray, gained in 717, the whole of Neustria became his conquest. The Neustrians summoned to their aid Eudes, King of Aquitaine, but Charles defeated the allied troops of Neustria and Aquitaine near Soissons, and pursued them up to Orleans. Clothair IV., the puppet King of Austrasia, had just died, so Charles had Chilperic II., the imbecile King of Neustria, recognised as sovereign of the whole empire of Clovis; and on his death, two years later, he gave him Thierry IV. for a successor, and reigned alone in his name.

9. A terrible foe now menaced the empire of the Franks. Only a century previously, Mohammed had founded a new religion in Arabia; and already his armies had invaded Asia, Africa, and Spain, and were advancing into Gaul. Narbonne soon succumbed to the Arabs, and the Mussulmans next menaced Aquitaine, and the other possessions of King Eudes. This prince, however, with the aid of the people of Gascony, of whom he was the acknowledged sovereign, gained two victories over the Saracens, but his states being again menaced by Abd-ul Rahman, the leader of the Mussulmans in Spain, while he was still carrying on the war in the north of his states, against the invincible Charles, chief of the Franks, and feeling that he was too weak to contend against all these foes, and constrained to submit either to the Franks or Arabs, he proceeded as a fugitive to the martial court of Charles, recognised him as his suzerain, and obtained at this price the help of the Franks. Charles made a warlike appeal to all the warriors of Neustria, Austrasia and Western Germany; and the formidable army thus raised encountered and completely defeated the countless hosts of Abd-ul Rahman on October 10, 732, on the plains of Poitiers, near Tours. The Arabs evacuated Aquitaine immediately after their disastrous defeat, and this day, for ever memorable, on which it was said that Charles had hammered the Saracens, gained him the glorious surname of Martel, or Hammer, which posterity has retained. One of the results of this famous campaign was to restore the great province, or kingdom, of Aquitaine and Gascony to the monarchy of the Franks, by the oath of vassalage which King Eudes had made to his liberator.

10. Charles Martel now turned his arms against several tribes of Gaul that had ceased to obey the unworthy successors of Clovis. He subjugated the Burgundians, penetrated into Septimania, and, by the capture of two famous cities, Arles and Marseilles, completed the subjugation

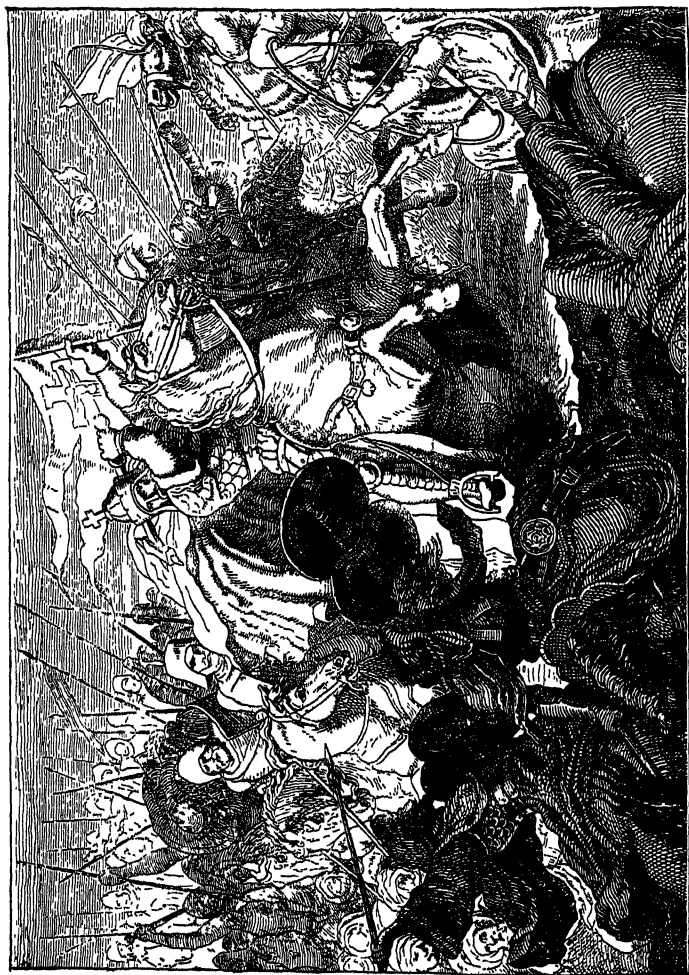
Exploits of
Charles
Martel.



MOSQUE OF AHMED KHIAGA AT BAGDAD.

of Provence to the monarchy of the Franks. Under his government the hitherto unchecked progress of the clergy in power and wealth was arrested in Gaul, for he was bold enough to confiscate part of the estates of the Church in order to furnish rewards for his warriors. He did not assume the name of King, but he appointed no successor to Thierry IV., son of Dagobert III., whom he had

crowned upon the death of Chilperic II. Death surprised him in 741, when he was undertaking an expedition into Italy, to succour



CHARLES MARTEL AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, 732.

the Pope against the Lombards; but, before expiring, he divided his authority among his three sons, Pepin, Carloman, and Griffo.

11. Pepin and Carloman dispossessed their brother, and divided the paternal heritage between them; but they soon saw that Charles Martel had not handed down to them with his power the prestige attaching to his formidable and famous name; and, in order to support their authority, they drew from the monastery the last of the Merovingians, who was proclaimed King of the Franks, by the name of Childeric III. Carloman soon after became a monk, and entered the monastery of Mont Cassin; while Pepin, under the title of Mayor of the Palace, remained sole master of the Frankish monarchy. Having gained the favour of the Pope by offering to defend the Holy See against the Lombards, he obtained permission from him to assume the title of king, and was crowned in 752. He then assembled the general comitia at Soissons, and, relying on his own power, the name of his ancestors, and the Papal sanction, he was elected King of the Franks. Childeric returned to his cloister, which his race never left again; and Pepin founded a second royal dynasty, which was called the Carolingian, after his father's name.

12. The power of the Merovingian kings had attained its apogee under Dagobert I. The Frankish Empire had at that time for its boundaries the German Ocean, the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, the Upper Danube, and the Rhine. The various nations inhabiting this vast territory recognised the authority of the Merovingian kings, some as being directly subject to them, others as tributaries.

The great divisions of the Frankish Empire directly subject to the Merovingian princes, were—Neustria, the country of the West, and Austrasia, country of the East, whose limits, as already described, varied but slightly during the whole existence of the dynasty; Burgundy, which also comprised Provence, and extended from the southern frontier of Austrasia as far as the Cevennes, the Mediterranean, and the Alps; and Aquitaine, enclosed between the Atlantic, the Loire, and the Garonne.

Round these great states were others governed by separate chiefs, who frequently gave the Frankish kings no other sign of submission beyond a slight tribute. These countries were—to the north of Austrasia, between the Rhine and the Weser, Frisia and Thuringia; to the east, Allemania and Bavaria; and to the west of Neustria, Brittany.

Two countries south of Aquitaine, still contended for independence: these were Septimania, Narbonensis Prima, which could not be torn from the Visigoths; and Vasconia or Gascony. This country, which occupied a portion of Novempopulania, Lower Languedoc, again formed, on the death of Eudes, a nearly independent state, which sustained, as we shall see in the reigns of the descendants of that prince, long wars against Pepin and Charlemagne.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CLODION, 428, TO THE DEPOSITION OF CHILDERIC III.,
THE LAST OF THE ROIS FAINÉANTE, OR SLOTHFUL KINGS, IN 754.

CLODION (428-443).	MEROVIG (448-458).	CHILDERIC I. (458-481).	CLOVIS I. (481-511) <i>Sole King</i> .
THIERRY I. <i>Austrasia</i> (511-534).	CLodomir, <i>Orleans</i> (511-524).	CHILDEBERT I., <i>Paris</i> (511-558).	CLOTHAIR I., <i>Soissons</i> : <i>Sole King</i> . (511-561).
THEODEBERT I., <i>Austrasia</i> (534-547).	CARIBERT I., <i>Paris</i> (561-577).	GONTRAN, <i>Burgundy</i> (561-593).	SIGEBERT I., <i>Austrasia</i> (561-575).
THEODEBALD, <i>Austrasia</i> (547-555).	CHILDEBERT II., <i>Austrasia and Burgundy</i> (575-596).		CHILPERIC I. <i>Soissons</i> (561-584).
THEODEBERT II., <i>Austrasia</i> (596-612).	THIERRY II., <i>Burgundy</i> (596-613).	CLOTHAIR II., <i>Soissons</i> : <i>then Sole King</i> (584-628).	
DAGOBERT I. <i>Austrasia</i> (628) : <i>Sole King</i> (631-638).		CARIBERT II., <i>Aquitaine</i> (628-631).	
SIGEBERT II., <i>Austrasia</i> (638-656).	CLOVIS II., <i>Neustria and Burgundy</i> : <i>then Sole King</i> (638-656).		
DAGOBERT II. <i>Austrasia</i> (673-678).	CLOTHAIR III., <i>Neustria</i> (656-670).	CHILDERIC II., <i>Austrasia</i> : <i>Sole King</i> (660-673).	THIERRY III., <i>Neustria and Burgundy</i> : <i>then Sole King</i> (673-691).
CHILPERIC II., <i>Neustria</i> : <i>Sole King</i> (715-720).		CLOVIS III., <i>Sole King</i> (691-695).	CHILDEBERT III., <i>Sole King</i> (695-711).
CHILDERIC III., <i>Last Merovingian King</i> (742-752).	DAGOBERT III., <i>Sole King</i> (711-715).	THIERRY IV., <i>Sole King</i> (720-737) : <i>after whom was an Interregnum of 5 years.</i>	



CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS COUNSELLORS AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

GAUL UNDER THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY, 752-814.

CHAPTER I.

PEPIN THE SHORT AND CHARLEMAGNE.—752-814.

1. PEPIN SUPPORTS THE POPES: HIS SECOND CONSECRATION BY POPE STEPHEN: RAVENNA CEDED TO THE POPES. 2. CONQUEST OF AQUITAINE: STRUGGLE BETWEEN PEPIN AND GUAIFER: DEFEAT AND MURDER OF GUAIFER. 3. PEPIN'S CHARACTER: HIS DEATH: HIS SUCCESSORS: CHARLEMAGNE. 4

CONQUEST OF THE LOMBARDS: SUBJUGATION OF THE SAXONS. 5. DEFEAT AT RONCESVALLES. 6. REVOLT OF THE SAXONS: CRUEL MEASURES OF REPRESSION: CONQUEST OF THE BAVARIANS. 7. EVENTS IN AQUITAINE: COUNCILS OF NICÆA AND FRANKFURT. 8. CONQUEST OF THE AVARES: CONQUEST OF THE SAXONS. 9. CHARLEMAGNE EMPEROR OF THE WEST: HIS LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS: SETTLEMENT OF HIS KINGDOM. 10. LAST YEARS OF CHARLEMAGNE: HIS DEATH. 11. HIS CHARACTER AND ACTS: ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING. 12. THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE; ITS EXTENT AND COMPONENT PARTS: THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER.

1. **P**EPIN, celebrated in history by the name of Pepin the Short, on account of his short stature, was the first to grant the Pontiff of Rome the right of disposing of crowns. The Lombards at that time possessed the whole northern part of Italy, and, at the time of his accession, King Astolph was contesting with Pope Zacharias the government of the city of Rome. Zacharias required a powerful supporter, and, counting on the help of Pepin, if he could render him favourable to his cause, he declared that the throne belonged to the man who performed the duties of king, even though he did not occupy it. Stephen II. succeeded Zacharias as Pope. Menaced by the Lombards, he went to Pepin and implored his support. The King treated him with the greatest honours, and the Pontiff consecrated him a second time, with his two sons, Charles and Carloman. In the sermon which Stephen preached on this occasion, he implored the Franks never to elect a king from any other family but that of Pepin, and excommunicated those who might be tempted to do so. From this time the papal power daily made rapid progress. The Popes soon believed themselves masters of the world; they demanded the obedience of the sovereigns whom they crowned and deposed according to their caprices; and streams of blood were shed in supporting or combating their arrogant claims. Stephen had implored Pepin's assistance against Astolph, King of the Lombards. The Frankish monarch collected an army, led it to Italy, was victorious, and ceded to the Pope the Exarchate of Ravenna.

2. Pepin successfully waged long and sanguinary wars with the Bretons, Saxons, Saracens, and Aquitanians. The latter, more especially, offered him a furious resistance. After the defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers, Duke Eudes remained at peace with Charles Martel, whose suzerainty he had recognised. He died in 735, leaving Aquitaine to his elder son Hunald, and Gascony to his second son Otto. Hunald despoiled his brother of the greater part of his states, and resolved to rend the bonds that subjected him to the Kings of the Franks. He, therefore, waged war against Carloman and Pepin, the sons of Charles Martel; in 745, however, when Pepin invaded Aquitaine at the head of a formidable army, Hunald laid down his arms, and swore fidelity to the Frankish kings. Ultimately he abdicated in favour of his son Guaifer, put on a monk's robe, and shut himself up in the monastery of the Isle of Ré, where his father Eudes lay interred. The war was suspended for several years between Guaifer and Pepin, but when the latter had brought the Italian war to a

Pepin supports
the Popes.

Conquest of
Aquitaine.

successful ending, and had annexed Septimania to the Frankish monarchy, he invaded Aquitaine. Then commenced a nine years' war, marked by frightful devastations, towards the close of which, Gualafer was assassinated by his countrymen. With him the name of Merovingians became extinct in history, and the grand-duchy of Aquitaine was again attached to the crown of the Franks.

3. Pepin bestowed great largesse on the clergy, and through his whole life displayed the greatest deference to them.

He frequently assembled the *comitia* of the kingdom, to which he always summoned the bishops, seeking to interest them in the success of his enterprises. His character may be summed up in a few words, by saying that he was brave, strong, moderate, and prudent. Before his death in 768, when he had reigned seven years, he asked the advice of his nobles in dividing his estates between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, and the result was that the assembly of nobles and bishops willingly recognised Charles as king of the west, and Carloman as king of the east. Ambition soon armed Charles and Carloman against each other. The death of the latter, which event took place in 770, stifled the germs of civil war, and Charles usurped the states of his brother, to the prejudice of his nephews. The whole nation of the Franks from this moment recognised the authority of Charles, for whom his victories and great qualities acquired the glorious surname of Great or Magnus, and who is only known in history by the name of Charlemagne.

Pepin's
Character.



CHARLEMAGNE.

4. During a glorious reign of forty-six years this prince extended his country's frontiers beyond the Danube, imposed tribute on the fierce barbarian nations, as far as the Vistula, conquered a portion of Italy, and rendered himself formidable to the Saracens. He first went into Italy, on the entreaty of Pope Adrian I., and marched to assist him against Didier, King of the Lombards, whose daughter he had himself married and repudiated. He made this king a prisoner, and put an end to the Lombard rule in Italy, which had lasted for two hundred and six years. Charlemagne, during this expedition, went to Rome, where he humbly presented himself to the Pope, whom he had saved, kissing each step of the pontifical palace. He believed himself called to subject to Christianity the barbarous nations of Europe, and when persuasion did not avail to the triumph of the

Conquest
of the
Lombards.

faith, he had recourse to conquest and punishments. The Saxons formed at this period a considerable nation, divided into a multitude of small republics. They were idolators, and among other acts of frightful cruelty towards the missionaries who had gone among them, they burnt the church of Deventer and all the Christians in it. Charlemagne heard of this and marched against them, and conquered them. After putting down several revolts against his authority, Charlemagne held a celebrated assembly at Paderborn, where he obliged all the Saxons to receive baptism, and divided their principalities among abbots and bishops. Hence dates the origin of the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany.

5. After conquering the Saxons, Charlemagne turned his arms against the Saracens. Civil wars had broken out among them in the eighth century, the Mussulmans being divided between the family of the Abassides, who resided at Bagdad, and that of the Ommiades, who governed Spain. The latter country, however, was agitated by factions, and one of them entreated the aid of Charlemagne against Abd-ul-Rahman, lieutenant of the Ommiade Caliph. On this Charlemagne sent two powerful armies into Spain, expecting that, according to promise, Saragossa would open its gates to his troops. Charlemagne's expectations were deceived; Saragossa did not open its gates; the faction who had summoned him to their aid rose against him and the king was compelled to order a retreat. The defiles of the mountains were held at the time by the Basque nation, who resided in Vasconia, a country governed by Duke Wolf II., son of Guaifer, and grandson of Hunald. This prince had inherited the hatred of his race for the family of Charlemagne, and when he saw the Frankish army, on its retreat, entangled in the defiles of Roncesvalles, he had it attacked by his mountaineers, who rolled stones and rocks down on it. The disaster was immense; the rearguard was destroyed to the last man; and here, too, perished the famous Paladin Roland, who is hardly known in history, though so celebrated in the romances of chivalry.

6. Charlemagne completed, in the following year, the conquest of Saxony, which had again revolted and defeated his lieutenants. He subjected it once again in 782, and, in order to keep it in check by a terrible example, he beheaded, on the banks of the Aller, four thousand five hundred Saxon prisoners. The Frisians, the Bretons of Armorica, and the Bavarians next revolted; they attacked Charlemagne simultaneously, and tried his power. They were, however, crushed by the Frankish monarch one after another, the nationality of the Bavarians being destroyed, as that of the Lombards had been.

7. Charles had given Aquitaine, with the royal title, to his son, Louis, under the guardianship of William Shortnose, Duke of Toulouse. Three other great provinces were equally subject to the authority of the young king. They were—on the east, Septimania, or Languedoc, on the west,

Novempopulania, or Gascony; and lastly on the south, the marches of Spain, as the provinces conquered by the Franks beyond the Pyrenees were called; and which were divided into the march of Gothia, which contained nearly the whole of Catalonia; and the march of Gascony, which extended as far as the Ebro into Arrogan and Navarre. This vast territory, bordered by the Loire, the Ebro, the Rhone, and the two seas, was attacked in 793 by the Saracen general Abd-ul-Malek, who defeated Duke William at the passage of the Obrin, made a great carnage in the Christian army, and returned to Spain with immense booty. Charlemagne deferred taking his revenge; he was occupied with Church matters, the opinions of the faithful being divided at the time between the second council of Nicæa, which, in 787, had ordered the adoration of images, and the council of Frankfurt, which condemned them in 497 as idolatry. Charlemagne energetically supported the decision of the last named council, but Pope Adrian, who, in reality supported the opinion of the council of Nicæa, avoided the expression of any view, and evaded the question in order not to offend his powerful protector.

8. Charlemagne next turned his efforts against the Avars, a people inhabiting the marshes of Hungary, who, after several disastrous expeditions had been undertaken to subdue them, were ultimately conquered by his son Pepin.

Conquest of
the Avars.

The Saxons had joined the Avars in this war; they had burnt the churches, murdered the priests, and returned in crowds to their false gods. Charlemagne then adopted against them a system of extermination; but the Saxons were not finally subdued till the year 804, after thirty-two years of fighting, revolt, and massacres. Charlemagne, in order to watch and restrain them the better, transferred his usual residence to Aix-la-Chapelle, which he made the capital of his empire.

9. Leo III. succeeded Adrian I. in 795 upon the pontifical throne. Priests conspired to drag him off it. Wounded and imprisoned by them, he escaped and fled to Spoleto, where he implored the help of Charlemagne, who made a last journey to Italy for the purpose of restoring Leo his crown. Charles, on Christmas day, was on his knees and praying in the Cathedral of St. Peter; the Pope went up to him and placed the imperial crown upon his head. The people straightway saluted him with the name of Augustus; and from that moment Charlemagne regarded himself as the real successor of the Roman Emperors of the West. After his coronation as Emperor, he had but insignificant wars to wage, and on attaining the supreme dignity, he also reached the end of his most difficult enterprises. During the last eight years of his reign he promulgated decrees and instituted numerous administrative, ecclesiastical, judicial and military institutions, which were all intended to strengthen the social order, and maintain all parts of his immense empire in union and peace. He convened, at the field of Mars, in the year 806, an assembly of the nobles of his kingdom, in order to arrange with them the par-

Charlemagne
Emperor.

۴۵ *PEPIN THE SHORT AND CHARLEMAGNE, 752-814.*

tion of his states between his three sons, Charles, Pepin and Louis. To the first he assigned the northern part of Gaul with Germany; to the second he gave Italy and Bavaria with his conquests in



Pannonia; the third had Aquitaine, Burgundy, and the marches of Spain. This division, consented to by the nobles and the people, was sanctioned by the Pope.

7. The last years of Charlemagne were saddened by domestic

sorrows. He had to blush at the irregularities of his daughters and lamented the death of his sons, Charles and Pepin. The first left no children, the second had a son, Bernard, to whom the Emperor granted the kingdom of Italy. He next wished to have the youngest of his legitimate sons, whom death had spared, Louis, King of Aquitaine, recognised as his ^{Last years} successor, and summoned him to the great September ^{of} Charlemagne assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle. There he presented his son to the bishops, abbots, counts and lords of the Franks, and asked them to recognise him as emperor. All consented. Then, desirous that his son's power should devolve on him from God himself, he laid on the altar a crown resembling his own, and after giving Louis an affecting exhortation about his duties to the Church, his subjects and relatives, he ordered him to take up the crown and place it on his brow. Charlemagne was attaining the close of his glorious career. He devoted the last months of his life to devotional works, and divided his time between prayer, the distribution of alms and the study of versions of the Gospels in different languages. He directed this task up to the eve of his death which was caused by fever toward the middle of January, 814. He had entered into his seventy-second year; he had reigned for forty-seven years over the Franks, forty-three over the Lombards and fourteen over the Empire of the West. He was interred at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Church of St. Mary, which he built.

11. The exploits and conquests of this great monarch, too often stamped with the barbarism of the age, are not his greatest titles to the admiration and respect of posterity. What really elevates him above his age is ^{His character and acts.} the legislative spirit and the genius of civilisation, both of which he possessed in an eminent degree. Charlemagne undertook to substitute order for anarchy, learning for ignorance, in the vast countries that obeyed him, and to subject to the laws and a regular administration, many nations, still savage, strangers to each other, differing in origin, language and manners, and with no other link among them than that of conquest.

The perpetual wars which Charlemagne waged in order to maintain the unity of his immense empire, and substitute in it civilisation for barbarism, originated from his victories themselves; and they rather bear testimony to the greatness of his efforts than to their success. His work remained incomplete, but his glory consists in having undertaken it; and if he did not complete it, it was because completing was impossible. Charlemagne understood that the most efficacious method of civilising a nation is by instructing it; he consequently sought to restore a taste for letters and the arts. He encouraged the laborious tasks of the monks, who preserved the celebrated writings of antiquity by transcribing them; he even obliged the princesses, his daughters, to occupy themselves in this task. He founded and supported schools in a multitude of places; he frequently inspected them himself, and examined the pupils.

He employed of preference, in affairs of state, those persons who were distinguished by their acquirements, and spared nothing to attract to his court men of letters and clever professors. Among those who enjoyed his favour, the most celebrated is the Saxon Alcuin, a prodigy of learning for the age in which he lived.

12. In the Empire of Charlemagne a distinction must be drawn between the countries directly subject to the Emperor and administered by his counts, and those which were only tributary. The former alone constituted the Empire properly so called, whose limits were—to the north, the German Ocean and the Baltic, as far as the Island of Rugen; to the west, the Atlantic, as far as the Pyrenees; to the south, the course of the Ebro, the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Ebro, in Spain, to that of the Garigliano, in Italy, and the Adriatic, up to the promontory of Dalmatia; to the east, Croatia, the course of the Theiss, Moravia, Bohemia, a part of the Elbe, and a line which, starting from the angle which the latter now makes when turning westward, would run along the western shore of Rugen.

The immense country comprised between these limits was administered by the free counts. We must, however, except the American peninsula or Brittany, which was only tributary, as well as the country of the Navarrese and Basques, situated between the Elbe and the Pyrenees; the States of the Church, or Patrimony of St. Peter, governed by the Bishop of Rome; Gaëta, Venice, and a certain number of maritime cities in Dalmatia, which were dependent on the Greek Empire of Constantinople.

Along these frontiers was a number of tributary states more or less in a state of dependence on the Emperor. The principal nations were—in Italy, the Beneventines; in Germany, several Sclavonic tribes on the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Baltic, up to the Oder. The sceptre of Charlemagne also extended, in the Mediterranean, though not without perpetual and sanguinary conflicts, over the Balearic Islands, Corsica, and Sardinia.

Some provinces upon the borders bore, as we have already stated, the name of *Marches*. They were—the Western March (*Austria*): the March of Carinthia (the Duchy of Friuli), to which were attached all the countries to the south of the Drave, and the two *Marches* of Spain, Gothia and Gascony.

Pepin ceded to the Bishop of Rome the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis: Charlemagne confirmed this gift. These two territories, joined to the city of Rome and the surrounding country, formed the state temporally governed by the Pope, which retained the name of the Patrimony of St. Peter. Authors are not agreed as to the conditions on which this donation was made; but the general opinion is that the Domain of Patrimony of St. Peter was considered, up to the reign of Louis the Débonnaire, or the Pious, a *fief* dependent on the Emperor.



CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THAT OF CHARLES THE FAT, 814-888.

- I. CHARACTER OF LOUIS I.: HIS REFORMS: THE RESULTS OF HIS WEAKNESS.
2. PARTITION OF HIS KINGDOM: REVOLT OF BERNARD: BERNARD'S PUNISHMENT AND DEATH: ASSAULTS ON THE EMPIRE.
3. LOUIS' SECOND MARRIAGE: FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF GERMANY: REVOLT OF LOTHAIR, LOUIS, PEPIN, AND THE NOBLES: IMPRISONMENT OF THE EMPEROR.
4. RESTORATION OF LOUIS TO POWER: SECOND REVOLT OF HIS SONS: PUBLIC HUMILIATION OF THE EMPEROR.
5. SECOND RESTORATION: FIRST MENTION OF FRENCH NATIONALITY: THIRD REBELLION AGAINST LOUIS.
6. NEW DIVISION: LOUIS AND PEPIN II, TAKE UP ARMS: DEATH OF LOUIS THE DÉBONNAIRE AT INGELHEIM.
7. THE ANARCHY UNDER LOTHAIR: DEFEAT OF LOTHAIR AND PEPIN: NEW PARTITION OF THE KINGDOM: GAUL NOW BEGAN TO BE KNOWN AS FRANCE.
8. INCURSIONS OF THE NORMANS: THE PIRATE HASTINGS: ROBERT THE STRONG, COUNT OF PARIS: POWER OF THE CLERGY: HINCMAR, ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS.
9. DEATH OF LOTHAIR I.: HIS SUCCESSORS: ORIGIN OF LORRAINE: CHARLES THE BALD, EMPEROR: EDICT OF MERSÉN.
10. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM: DEATH OF CHARLES THE BALD.
11. LAST DESCENDANTS OF CHARLEMAGNE: LOUIS THE STAMMERER: ELECTION OF CHARLES THE FAT: SIEGE OF PARIS BY THE NORMANS: DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT: HIS DEATH.

- I. **L**OUIS I., surnamed the Débonnaire and the Pious, son and successor of Charlemagne, was soon crushed by the burden which his father had left him. Unskilful in his conduct, and of weak character, but animated by a desire for

Character of
Louis I.

justice and a desire for the right, he hastened to order severe reforms; and ere he had established his authority on a solid basis, he punished powerful culprits, and tried to destroy a multitude of abuses by which the nobles profited. The oppressed nations found in him a just judge and indulgent master. He protected the Aquitanians, the Saxons, and Spanish Christians against the imperial lieutenants, and diminished their taxes, to the injury of their governors. He reformed the clergy, by obliging the bishops to remain in their dioceses, and subjecting the monks to the inquisition of the severe Benedict of Amasia, who imposed the Benedictine rule upon them. Lastly, giving the example of good manners, he tried to avenge morality by expelling with disgrace from the imperial palace his father's numerous concubines, and the lovers of his sisters. But he could not keep either his court or his warriors in obedience, and his weakness for his wives and children occasioned long and sanguinary wars.

Partition of
his Kingdom.

2. In the hour of danger, all those whose interests he had violently injured leagued against him. The first insurrection took place in Italy. The Emperor had shared the empire with his son Lothair, with the assent of the Franks assembled at the *comitia* of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817; then he gave the kingdoms of Bavaria and Aquitaine to his other two sons, Louis and Pepin; his nephew Bernard remaining King of Italy. The latter, whose father was the Emperor's elder brother, was jealous at the elevation of Lothair, for he hoped, after his uncle's death, to obtain the imperial crown as chief of the Carolingian family. A great number of malcontent lords and bishops invited Bernard to assert his rights, and collected troops. Louis marched to meet his nephew at the head of his soldiers of France and Germany. On his approach, Bernard, who was deserted by a portion of his followers, obtained a safe conduct from the Emperor, and went into his camp, with several chiefs of his army. Louis, persuaded by his consort Ermengarde, had Bernard's accomplices tried and executed, while the unfortunate King himself was condemned to lose his sight, and did not survive the punishment. His kingdom of Italy was given to Lothair. A few years later, the Emperor, in a national assembly held at Attigny, on the Aisne, did public penance for this crime. From this period he only displayed weakness. The frontier nations insulted the Empire with impunity; the Gascons and Saracens in the south, the Bretons in the west, and the Norman pirates in the north committed frightful ravages. Internal discord seconded their audacity: the imperial troops were defeated, and Louis saw his frontiers contracted in the north and south. In this way, the kingdom of Navarre was founded at the foot of the Pyrenees.

Kingdom of
Germany.

3. Ermengarde, the wife of Louis the Débonnaire, died in 818, and in 819 the Emperor espoused Judith, daughter of a Bavarian lord. He had by her a son called Charles, to whom at the Diet of Worms, held in 829, he gave

Suabia, Helvetia and the Grisons, which he formed into the Kingdom of Germany. This drew on Charles the enmity of Lothair, who looked with jealousy on the assignment of any portion of the imperial domains, which he looked on *de jure* as his own, to his young half-brother, although he had sworn to his father to maintain Charles in the possession of any share that might be assigned to him. Shortly after, the majority of the nobles and bishops and the Emperor's sons, Lothair, Louis and Pepin, jealous of the influence that Bernard, Duke of Septimania, and son of his old guardian, William Shortnose, exercised in the imperial council, declared war against the unfortunate Louis, who fell into the power of the rebels at Compiègne. Judith was confined by them in a convent; Bernard took to flight, and the Emperor was left under the direction of a few monks, while Lothair seized the government of the Empire.

4. The peoples were divided between Louis and his sons; the latter were supported in their revolt by the inhabitants of Gaul, while the Germans remained faithful to the Emperor, who consulted a general assembly of the states for the same year, at one of their cities, Nimeguen. They pronounced in his favour and against his sons. Lothair was reconciled to his father by sacrificing all his partisans to him. Louis began to reign again, and once more disgusted the nation by his weakness. His sons—Lothair, Louis and Pepin—revolted once again, took up arms, and marched against their father. Pope Gregory IV. was with them, and tried in vain to prevent bloodshed. The two armies encountered near Colmar; all at once the Emperor's troops deserted him. The unfortunate King fell into the hands of his son Lothair, who, by the aid of a council of bishops, forced him to accuse himself publicly of sacrilege and homicide in the Cathedral of Rheims, and humbly ask for absolution for his sins. As soon as this shameful ceremony was over, Lothair conducted his father as a prisoner to Aix-la-Chapelle, the seat of the Empire, a place which had formerly witnessed his grandeur and now his ignominy.

Restoration
of Louis.

5. Louis the German and Pepin declared themselves the avengers of their outraged father, far less through affection for him than through jealous hatred of their brother; the latter, deserted by his partisans, took refuge in Italy, while the Emperor, with the assent of the States assembled at Thionville, resumed his crown. He pardoned Lothair, but in 838, at the states of Kersy-on-the-Oise, he for a second time benefited his son Charles at the expense of his elder brother, and Louis the German consented to cede a portion of his provinces to his brother. Pepin, King of Aquitaine, died in the course of the year; he left a son of the same name, dear to the Aquitanians, who eagerly recognised him as king, under the title of Pepin II. The Emperor, however, had other projects; he secretly reserved Aquitaine for his son Charles. On his side, Louis regretted the concession which he had made at Kersy of the great portion of his states to his brother, and had taken up arms again; the Germans had followed his banner

Second Re-
storation.

to the right bank of the Rhine ; but the armies of Gaul, composed of a mixture of men of the Gallic and German races established for a long time in that country, and to whom we may henceforth give the name of *French*, had remained faithful to the Emperor. He crossed the Rhine at their head ; the Germanic army disbanded without striking a blow ; Louis retired into Bavaria, and the Emperor punished him by reducing his inheritance to that solitary province.

6. The moment had arrived to secure Charles the share which his affection had always desired for him at the expense of his brothers. He resolved to divide the Empire, exclusive of Bavaria, into two parts of equal size, destined for Lothair and Charles. This new partition was proclaimed in a Diet convoked at Worms in May, 839. It was effected by a line which, starting from the mouths of the Scheldt, ran along the Meuse up to its source, and the Saône as far as its confluence with the Rhone, and terminated at the mouth of the latter river. The choice was left to Lothair, who took the eastern moiety of the Empire, comprising Italy, Germany, less Bavaria, Provence, and a small part of Burgundy and Austrasia ; Charles had for his share Aquitaine, Neustria, and the rest of Austrasia and Burgundy. The claims of Louis were entirely passed over in this partition, and Pepin II., the Emperor's grandson, was despoiled. These two princes took up arms, and the Emperor, while marching into Germany to encounter his son Louis, was attacked by an illness which brought him to the grave at the end of forty days. He died at Ingelheim, at the age of sixty-two. Louis the Débonnaire was not born for the throne, though he had some of the qualities of a good prince. His morals were firm, and he paid great attention to the administration of justice and the instruction of his people ; but he possessed neither strength nor dignity, without which the supreme authority is but a vain word. His imprudent weakness for Charles, the son of his old age, occasioned wars which were only extinguished with his race. In order to ensure him a vast empire, he embroiled all the frontiers of his states ; and this partition accelerated the outbreak of frightful calamities.

7. After the death of Louis the Débonnaire, the Empire was plunged for ten years into a horrible anarchy. His three sons and his grandson, Pepin II., levied troops and carried on an obstinate war against each other. Anarchy under Lothair. The Emperor Lothair united with his nephew Pepin to despoil his two brothers—Louis, who was called *the German*, and Charles II., who from this period was surnamed *the Bald*. The former only possessed Bavaria ; the second was master of the whole of Germany. The combined armies of the two kings, Louis and Charles, encountered those of Lothair and Pepin near Auxerre, and fought a sanguinary battle in the plains of Fontenay. Lothair was conquered, and the two victorious princes proceeded to Strasburg, where they resumed their alliance in the presence of the people. A new partition was made soon after at Verdun

between the three brothers, and irrevocably separated the interests of Gaul as a power from those of Germany. Charles had



PUBLIC CONFESSION OF WRONG-DOING BY LOUIS THE PIOUS.

the countries situated to the west of the Scheldt, Saône and Rhone, with the north of Spain up to the Ebro. Louis the German had Germany up to the Rhine. Lothair, renouncing all supremacy, connected to Italy the territory situated between his brothers'

states. Henceforth the denomination of *France* was employed to designate the kingdom of Charles, in which Neustria, Brittany, and Aquitaine were comprised.

8. So many commotions and combats completely exhausted the kingdoms formed out of the *débris* of the empire. The frontiers were abandoned to foreigners; the Normans, united to the Bretons, in the north and west, the Saracens in the south, laid waste everything with fire and sword. Rouen, Bordeaux and Nantes were burnt; the Normans reached Paris; and while terror kept Charles shut up at St. Denis, they plundered the capital, and only left it to reappear there soon after in greater numbers and more formidable than before. These men of the north, called *Danes* in England, and *Normans* in Gaul, had remained pagans, and were still proud, even in the ninth century, of their title as sons of Odin. One of their chiefs, who was famous for his audacity and ferocity, the pirate Hastings, after ravaging France, penetrated into Italy, and returned to spread desolation and terror on the whole country between the Seine and the Loire. Charles the Bald had intrusted the defence of this territory, with the title of Count of Anjou, to a celebrated warrior, Robert the Strong, who was already Count of Paris, and the glorious founder of the family of the Capets, which afterwards occupied the throne of France. Robert, whom the chronicles of the time called the Maccabæus of France, was killed, and nothing arrested the devastating torrent from that moment. In the midst of the general weaken-

ing of the Empire, the clergy alone increased their fortune and power. The real master of Gaul was Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims. He it was who defended with the greatest success the authority of Charles the Bald against those who preferred to him his brother, Louis the German. The bishops supported the kings they had crowned; they governed in matters temporal as well as spiritual; in war as well as in peace: it was Hincmar who convoked, in the king's name, the bishops and counts to march against the enemy.

9. Lothair I. had died in a monastery in 855, after sharing the Empire for the last ten years with his son, Louis II., surnamed *the Young*, and giving kingdoms to his other sons, Provence to Charles, and the country contained between the Meuse, Scheldt, Rhine, and Franche Comté to Lothair II. It was called, after the name of its sovereign, *Lotharingia*, whence we have the name of *Lorraine*, which has adhered to it. Lothair II. died at Rome in 869. His three sons survived him but a short time; and Louis the German and Charles the Bald divided their estates between them. On the death of the Emperor Louis II., in 875, his uncle Charles the Bald seized the imperial crown; but this crown, reduced to a part of Southern Germany and Italy, was, on his brow, but the shadow of that worn by Charlemagne. The Empire was exhausted. In the midst of the constantly increasing anarchy, the freemen, preferring security to an independence full of perils, made themselves the vassals of powerful men

capable of defending them; and so early as 847, the weak Charles the Bald allowed to be drawn from him the Edict of Mersen, which provided that every freeman could choose a lord, either the king or one of his vassals, and that none of them would be bound to follow the king to war except against foreigners. The king thus remained powerless and disarmed in civil wars.

10. Thirty years later, the nobles completed the ruin of imperial and royal authority by obtaining at Kersy from the same King, then Emperor, the celebrated decree which rendered it legal to inherit benefices and offices. For ^{Establishment of the Feudal System.} a long time past, the counts or officers of the Emperor, taking advantage of the general anarchy as well as of the ignorance and sloth of the sovereigns of the first and second races, had in the first place contrived to render their offices irrevocable, after the example of holders of benefices; then they transmitted them to their sons. But no law sanctioned this right of inheritance. Charles the Bald, by legalising it, dealt the last blow to the authority of the sovereigns. Henceforth, it was not the king who chose the counts, but the counts disposed of the throne. The dismemberment of the Empire was rapidly effected, and a new order of things, the feudal system, was the consequence of this edict—the last important act of the reign of Charles the Bald, who died in the same year (877) at a village on Mount Cenis.

11. The last descendants of Charlemagne nearly all proved themselves in weakness and nullity, the rivals of the last Merovingians. Louis II., called the Stammerer,* and successor of Charles the Bald in Italy and Gaul, lost in turn, through revolts, Italy, Brittany, Lorraine and Gascony. He recognised the fact that he owed his title only to the election of the lords, bishops, and peoples. He allowed the nobles to fortify their mansions; and during his two years' reign, Pope John VIII., expelled from Italy, came into France and governed the kingdom.

Louis the Stammerer left two sons, Louis and Carloman; a posthumous son, Charles, was born after his death. The first two were recognised as kings in 879; the elder, Louis III., reigned over the north of France, and Carloman over the south. These two princes lived on good terms; but during their reign the Normans committed frightful ravages. At the same period, Duke Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, seized on Provence, which was also called Cis-peran Burgundy, of which country he was proclaimed king by an assembly of bishops.

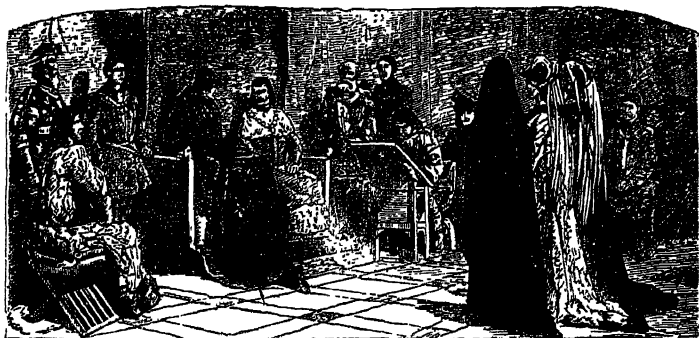
Louis and Carloman both died very young, the first in 882, in an expedition against the Normans; the second in 884, while hunting. Neither left any male issue, and the crown devolved, by hereditary right, on Charles, who was only five years of age at the death of Carloman. His youth caused him to be excluded from the throne by the nobles, who elected in his stead, as king, the Emperor Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German. This prince, by the death of

* This Louis II., King of France and son of Charles the Bald must not be confounded with the Emperor Louis II., called the Young, and son of Lothair

his two brothers, and the three sons of Lothair, his cousins, had inherited Germany and Italy: he joined Gaul to them, and the Empire of Charlemagne was momentarily re-established in his hands. But he was only nominally emperor and king. The Normans braved him, and attacked Paris. During the siege, Eudes, Count of Paris, and his brother Robert distinguished themselves; both sons of the famous Robert the Strong, killed twenty years previously, while fighting the same enemies. Their valour and the heroic efforts of Goslin, Bishop of Paris, ensured the safety of the city, while Charles the Fat, at the head of an army assembled to save his people, made a cowardly composition with the foreigners, and allowed them to pillage his richest provinces. A cry of indignation was raised against him on all sides. He was deposed at the Diet of Tribur in 888, and died the same year in indigence, deserted by all his friends.



THE EMPEROR LOTHAIRE.



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FAT TO THE EXPULSION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY, 888-987.

1. DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE : KINGDOMS OF ITALY, UPPER BURGUNDY, PROVENCE, LORRAINE, AQUITAINE AND FRANCE : FIRST HISTORIC EXISTENCE OF THE FRENCH NATION : ELECTION OF EUDES AS KING. 2. DEATH OF EUDES : CHARLES THE SIMPLE : NORMANDY CEDED TO ROLLO : REVOLTS AGAINST CHARLES : HIS DISPOSITION : ELECTION OF ROBERT AS KING : HIS DEATH. 3. IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH OF CHARLES THE SIMPLE : ELECTION OF RAOUL OF BURGUNDY. 4. INVASION OF THE HUNGARIANS ; DEATH OF RAOUL : ACCESSION OF LOUIS IV. SURNAMED D'OUTRE-MER. 5. QUARRELS BETWEEN LOUIS IV. AND HUGUES : REVOLT OF LORRAINERS : WAR BETWEEN LOUIS IV. AND OTHO THE GREAT : ITS TERMINATION. 6. VIOLENCE OF THE NOBLES : MURDER OF WILLIAM LONGSWORD : TREACHEROUS CONDUCT OF LOUIS IV. : HIS IMPRISONMENT BY THE NORMANS AND HUGUES : HIS RELEASE. 7. ALLIANCE WITH OTHO : RECAPTURE OF LAON : COUNCIL AT INGELHEIM : EXCOMMUNICATION OF HUGUES : DEATH OF LOUIS IV. 8. ACCESSION OF LOTHAIRE : DEATH OF HUGUES THE GREAT : GOOD UNDERSTANDING WITH GERMANY. 9. CONTENTION FOR LORRAINE BETWEEN LOTHAIRE AND OTHO II. : CAPTURE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE : MARCH OF OTHO II. ON PARIS. 10. FRESH ALLIANCE WITH OTHO II. : ENMITY OF LOTHAIRE AND HUGUES CAPET : ACCESSION OF OTHO III. : ATTACK ON LORRAINE. 11. ACCESSION AND DEATH OF LOUIS V. : ELECTION OF HUGUES CAPET TO THE THRONE.

1. **T**HE definitive partition, which irrevocably completed the dismemberment of the Empire, took place on the death of Charles the Fat. Italy became a separate kingdom :

all the country comprised between the Fancelle Mountains (a transverse chain of the Vosges), the sources of the Rhine, and the Pennine Alps, formed, under the name of Upper or Trans-peran Burgundy, a new kingdom, of which Rodolph Wolf was the founder. Prior to this, Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, had assumed the title of King of Provence, or Cis-peran Burgundy. This kingdom has as its limits the Jura, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Saône, and the Cevennes. Lotharingia, or Lorraine, was restricted between the Fancelle Mountains, the Scheldt, the Rhine and the German Ocean. Aquitaine extended to the Pyrenees; and the greater part of the territory enclosed between these divers states and Brittany henceforth retained the name of France. From this last dismemberment of the Empire of the Franks dates the historic existence of the French nation. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, Charles, the third son of Louis the Stammerer, being still considered too young to be called to the throne, Eudes, Count of Paris already celebrated by his defence of Paris against the Normans, was elected king by the nobles.

2. Eudes always had arms in hand, either against the lords of Aquitaine, who tried to render themselves independent, or against Charles, his youthful rival, who was supported by Arnolph, King of Germany. Eudes eventually ceded to him several provinces, and was about to recognise him as his successor when he died in 898. Charles III, who was surnamed the Simple from his incapacity, was then proclaimed King of France. The most celebrated act of his reign was the cession made in 912 of the territory afterwards called Normandy, to a formidable Norman chief, who is celebrated in history by the name of Rollo, and was the first Duke of Normandy. He paid homage to the King, was converted to Christianity, and divided his vast territory into fiefs. His warriors, whom he kept down by severe laws, became the fathers of a great people which was the firmest bulwark of France against the invasions of the northern races. Numerous revolts troubled the end of this reign. Robert, Duke of France, the brother of the late King Eudes, repenting that he had not disputed the succession to his brother with Charles the Simple, decreed the king's deposition, with the nobles of the land; and having assured himself of the support of the Emperor of Germany, Henry the Fowler, he entered Soissons with a band of conspirators, penetrated to the king's apartments, and made him a prisoner. He was rescued almost immediately by Hervé, Archbishop of Rheims, and after a short stay in that city, he retreated to Tongres, in Lorraine. But his reign was at an end: his deposition was pronounced by the nobles at an assembly held at Soissons in 920, and Robert was elected king, and consecrated at the Church of St. Remi, in Rheims (922). Charles called his partisans around him and his army encountered that of Robert in Champagne. Here a sanguinary action was fought, in which King Robert was killed while fighting. Charles, however, did not take advantage of this

circumstance to secure the crown on his own head; and not daring to trust to his subjects, he returned with his army to Lorraine.

3. Robert, Duke of France, was succeeded in his dukedom by his son, the celebrated Hugues the Great, or the White. This powerful lord had the deposition of Charles the Simple confirmed, and decreed the crown to his brother-
Raoul of Burgundy.



THE TREATY OF VERDUN.

in-law, Raoul, or Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, who accepted the crown against his wish. Charles the Simple was then drawn into a snare by Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who seized him and retained him a prisoner at Péronne. Raoul, elected in 923, reigned for eleven years, restored Charles the Simple to liberty, and assigned to him the royal residences of Attigny and Ponthieu. Charles the Simple languished for some time, and died in 929, crushed by sorrow and illness. The close of Raoul's reign was

troubled by a bloody war, which Hugues the White, Duke of France, waged against the Count of Vermandois and the Duke of Lorraine. The King of France, suzerain of Hugues, and the Emperor Henry the Fowler, suzerain of the Duke of Lorraine, were drawn into this war, and appeared more like allies of their vassals than as sovereigns.

4. Germany and Gaul were a prey to frightful calamities, and foreign invasion added its scourge to those of intestine dissensions. The Hungarians, vanquished in 933 by Henry the Fowler in the celebrated battle of Merseburg, returned two years later, crossed Germany, and penetrated into Burgundy. King Raoul marched to meet them. At the rumour of his approach the Hungarians evacuated Burgundy and fell back on Italy. Raoul died the following year. He left no sons; no member of his family succeeded him on the throne; and his duchy of Burgundy, the real seat of his power, did not pass in its entirety to his natural heirs. Hugues the Black, his brother, only obtained a part of it; his brother-in-law, Hugues the Great, Count of Paris and Duke of France, took advantage of a civil war to seize the larger portion of it. Louis, son of Charles the Simple, was placed on the throne of France after the death of Raoul. This young prince, who was sixteen years of age, was living at the time in England privately with his mother, the sister of the Anglo-Saxon King Athelstane, and he owed to this circumstance the surname of Louis *d'Outre-Mer*, or from across the sea. Hugues gave him the crown by agreement with William Longsword, second Duke of Normandy, and with the lords of old Neustria and Aquitaine. A solemn embassy conveyed their wishes to the court of the King his master, inviting him to come and reign in France. Louis accepted the crown, and was consecrated at Rheims in the year 936, at the same period when Otho the Great, of the House of Saxony, succeeded Henry the Fowler, his father, on the imperial throne of Germany.

5. The royal domain was at this period limited to the county of Laon. There alone Louis IV. reigned *de facto* as well as nominally; everywhere else in Gaul the dukes and counts were more sovereign than the king. Hugues the Great, while doing him homage, did not intend to free him from his guardianship. The young monarch himself claimed his independence: he had the soul of a king, but had not the power; and his reign was a stormy and perpetual struggle. A formidable invasion of the Hungarians marked its opening; and this scourge suspended for a time the rupture on the point of breaking out between Louis and his powerful vassal. Hugues, seeing that the King was trying to escape from his influence, made a close league with William, Duke of the Normans, Arnolph, Count of Flanders, and the same Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who had for so long a period kept Charles the Simple prisoner. The Lorrainers, at this period, had revolted against the Emperor Otho the Great, King of Germany, their suzerain, and transferred

their homage to Louis d'Outre-Mer, who accepted it. A war broke out between the two kings; and in this struggle the confederate nobles, vassals of Louis, allied themselves against him with the King of Germany, whom they proclaimed King of the Gauls at Attigny. Otho did not retain this title; but he recovered Lorraine and made peace with Louis, the husband of his sister Gerberge, who eventually employed her influence with success to maintain friendly terms between her husband and brother. The struggle of Louis against the rebel lords was prolonged for two years more, and was ended by the intervention of Pope Agapetus and the Emperor Otho. The latter brought about a reconciliation between Hugues the Great and the King.

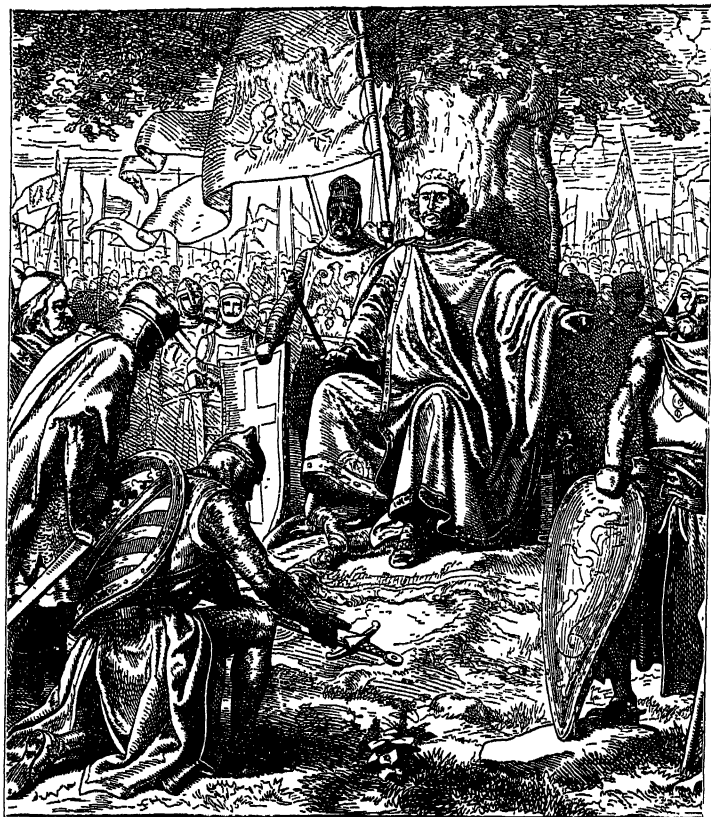
6. In these barbarous times the violence of the nobles did not stop at assassination, and the law was impotent against the abuses of brute force. The prince who, next to Hugues the Great, was the most formidable vassal of the crown, William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, was murdered by the emissaries of Arnolph, Count of Flanders: the murderers, however, whom the royal justice could not reach, remained unpunished. The Normans recognised as William's successor a natural son of that prince, the youthful Richard, ten years of age, who was afterwards surnamed *the Fearless*. Louis hastened to confirm him in the honours and privileges of the ducal rank, and then, having obtained possession of his person, agreed with Hugues the Great to take possession of Normandy and divide it between them. Their plans were foiled by Osmond, governor of the prince, who managed to escape the vigilance of his keepers and conveyed Richard to the castle of Coucy, where he placed the prince in safety. Louis, when he found Richard was at liberty, openly renounced the idea of despoiling him; and Hugues, having nothing further to hope from the King's alliance, became his enemy again. Louis, in his turn, became the victim of a trick on the part of the Normans. Receiving an invitation from them, he proceeded to Rouen, and the reception they gave him completely deceived him. Soon after his arrival Harold, the governor of Bayeux, requested a conference of Louis, who went to meet him at the ford of Herluin. Here an armed band suddenly fell on the royal escort, and put it to flight. The King's squire was killed in defending him; and Louis, carried across country by a swift horse, re-entered the walls of Rouen alone. The inhabitants, who were accomplices in Harold's perfidy, seized the King's person, and made him a prisoner. The Count of Paris pretended to take an interest in the fate of the captive monarch. He interfered in his favour, and the King was delivered over by the Normans into his hands. Hugues, having the King in his power, kept him captive, and forced him to surrender Laon, his finest city, as his ransom.

7. Delivered, at this price, Louis, in his distress, implored and obtained the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Otho of Germany, and with his assistance, he invested the city of Laon, and seized it by surprise

Violence of
the Nobles.

Council of
Ingelheim.

A council, at which appeared the Kings of France and Germany, assembled at Ingelheim, under the protection of the imperial armies, the principal object of the meeting being to suspend the hostilities of Count Hugues against the King. The council prohibited Hugues



SUBMISSION OF REVOLTED CHIEFS TO THE EMPEROR.

from henceforth taking up arms against Louis ; and the Count, refusing to obey, was excommunicated.

The anathema of the Church, far from disarming this powerful vassal, rendered him more violent and formidable. Joining the Normans, he ravaged the lands of King Louis, who, finding himself unable to contend against his powerful foe, applied to the Pope, King Otho, and the bishops, to effect a reconciliation between

him and Hugues. They obtained the signature of a truce. Hugues once again recognised the royal authority, and swore fidelity. Louis d'Outre-Mer did not long enjoy the repose which this peace seemed to promise him. He saw several parts of France again ravaged by the Hungarians, and survived the invasion of these barbarians but a short time. While proceeding from Laon to Rheims, a wolf crossed his road. The King dashed in pursuit, but his horse fell, and he was mortally wounded. He died at the age of 33, in September, 954, esteemed for his valour and talents, which, under other circumstances, would have sufficed to keep the crown on his head.

8. Louis IV. left two sons, of youthful years, Lothaire and Charles. Their mother, Gerberge, aware that without the assistance of the Count of Paris the throne would slip from her family, asked his support; and Lothaire was proclaimed king at Rheims at the close of 954, under the protection of Hugues the Great. In return for this service Hughes was invested with the duchy of Aquitaine, to the prejudice of the orphan children of Raymond Pons, Count of Toulouse, who were thus despoiled of their father's heritage. Hugues at once led an army into Aquitaine; and after an unsuccessful expedition, he was preparing a second, when death surprised him at the Castle of Dourdon, on the Orge, 956. Hugues the Great left the duchy of France and the county of Paris to his son Hugues, who was afterwards named *Capet*.^{*} Henry, his second son, inherited the duchy of Burgundy. Both were children at their father's death. Hughes, the elder, was hardly ten years of age. Their mother Hedwig, and Queen Gerberge, mother and guardian of the young King Lothaire were sisters; their brother was Otho I., King of Germany, and, they placed their children under his protection. This great monarch died in 973. His successor was his son, Otho II.; and his death was followed by sanguinary disorders in several countries which he had kept in peace or subjection by the terror of his arms and name.

9. The bonds of blood and gratitude attached Lothaire and Hugues Capet to the son of the great man who had protected their youth; and both formed fresh bonds with his family by each marrying one of his sisters. Still, the peace between the two kings was of short duration: a dispute broke out on the subject of Belgian Gaul or Lower Lorraine, to which country both asserted a claim. Lorraine, divided by Otho the Great into Upper and Lower Lorraine, and annexed to the German crown by his predecessor, Henry the Fowler, about 923, had since been considered a province of the Empire. Charles, brother of King Lothaire, had inherited a few fiefs from his mother; and after the death of Otho the Great, he claimed them with arms in hand. Otho II., who was troubled on his other frontiers, offered Charles the duchy of Lower Lorraine, to

Accession of
Lothaire.

Contention for
Lorraine.

* Said to be derived from *chapotus* (hood,) because Hugues, among his other titles, was Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, and wore the insignia.

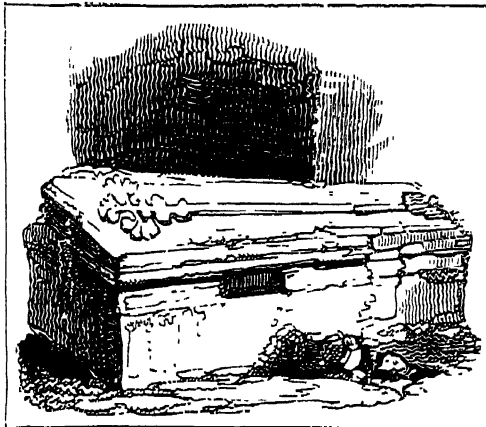
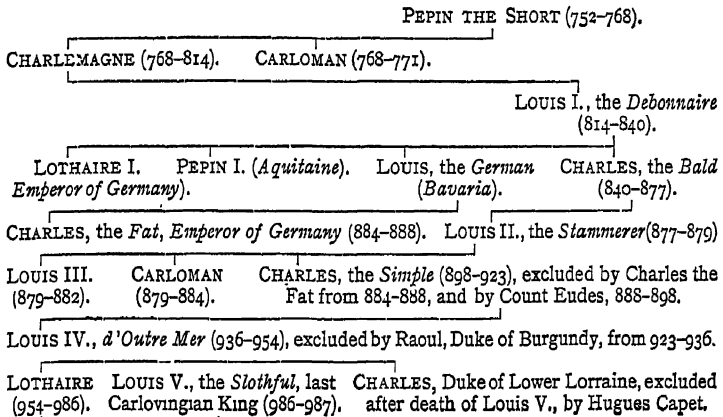
be held by him as a fief of the Germanic crown. Charles accepted it, and Otho believed that he had satisfied Lothaire by this concession; but the latter on learning, the following year, that the Emperor was unsuspectingly residing at Aix-la-Chapelle, formed the plan of surprising him there; and an expedition was unanimously decided on against him. The army, immediately assembled, was marched upon the Meuse, and King Otho was all but surprised in his capital. Lothaire's soldiers occupied the city and palace; but here his success stopped, and he led back his army without obtaining any serious advantage. Otho II. took revenge for his disgrace; he invaded Gaul at the head of a formidable army of Germans, and, ravaging the whole country on his passage, advanced up to the gates of Paris; but despairing of entering the city, and not daring to remain among a hostile population, he returned to his states; and his retreat, which was disturbed by Lothaire and Hugues, was as precipitate as his attack had been.

10. Lothaire, who understood, however, that it would be safer for him to be on good terms with the King of Germany, surrendered to him his claims on Lorraine, and they were reconciled. From this moment Hugues Capet and Lothaire became enemies; and the nations suffered for a long time from their enmity. At length recognising their impotence to destroy each other, they made peace, and were ostensibly reconciled.

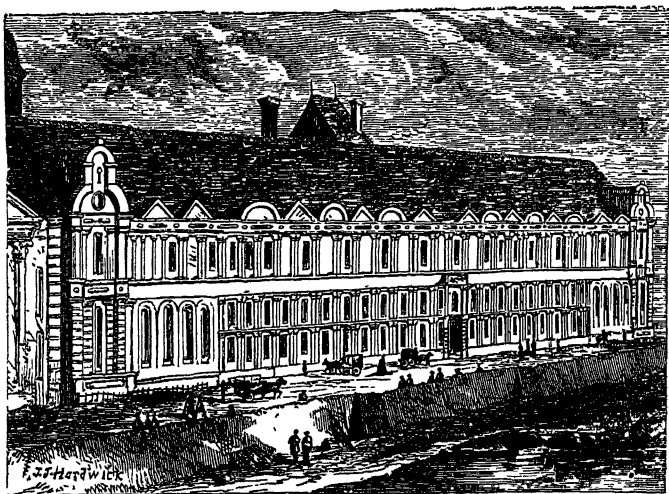
Otho II. died in 983, at Rome, leaving a son only three years of age, who was crowned by the name of Otho III. Lothaire took advantage of the disorders which paralyzed the strength of Germany during this lad's minority, once more to assert his rights over Lorraine; he led an army into that country, and besieged and captured Verdun. On returning to Laon, he was meditating a new expedition into Lorraine, when he fell ill and expired (986), in the forty-fifth year of his life, and the thirty-third of his reign.

11. Louis V., the last king of his race, merely passed over the throne. He had a fall at Senlis, the consequences of which were mortal, and he expired only one year after his father's death, May 22, 987, and was buried at Compiègne. The nobles of the kingdom, after being present at the king's funeral, assembled in council to elect his successor. Louis had left no children; but his uncle Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, was his next heir, and put forward his claim to the crown. The bishops and nobles of France, however, were not disposed to place at their head a prince who, although he was of the blood royal, was an acknowledged vassal of the Emperor of Germany, and without any influence whatever in the country; so their choice fell on the powerful Hugues Capet, who was crowned at Noyon, on June 1, 987, and unanimously recognised as king by the different nations of Gaul. This new order of things, which received the name of *feudalism*, had taken deep root during the past century; and, despite its immense abuses, prevented the utter dissolution of every social tie, and a return to the barbarism of remote periods.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CARLOVINGIAN KINGS.



COFFIN OF A BISHOP, TWELFTH CENTURY.



THE LOUVRE, PARIS.

FRANCE UNDER THE OLD CAPETIAN LINE, A.D. 987-1328.

CHAPTER I.

REIGNS OF HUGUES CAPET AND ROBERT, A.D. 987-1031.

- I. ORIGIN OF FEUDALISM: GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE NOBILITY: THE SUZERAIN AND LIEGEMAN. 2. DUTIES OF VASSALS: THE GREAT PEERS OF FRANCE: THE RISE OF CHIVALRY. 3. POSITION OF THE CLERGY. 4. THE SERFS AND VILLEINS. 5. THE LIMITS OF FRANCE UNDER HUGUES CAPET: ITS PROVINCES OR GREAT FIEFS. 6. DIFFICULTIES AND WARS OF THE KING: PESTILENCE IN AQUITAIN: THE KING'S HUMILITY: HIS DEATH. 7. CHARACTER OF ROBERT: INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH ON MARRIAGES: ROBERT'S ENFORCED REPUDIATION OF HIS QUEEN, BERTHA. 8. DAWN OF MUNICIPAL FREEDOM: DEATH OF ROBERT.

- I. **T**HE accession of Hugues Capet had for its result the development of the feudal system by consolidation. Under the previous race, the lords had rendered the cession of

benefices irrevocable, and made them hereditary in their families and as the German customs authorised the possessors of estates to regard as their own property the soil and everything that existed on it at the moment of its cession or conquest, they soon persuaded themselves that they had a right to exercise civil, judicial and military power in their domains, by virtue of their sole title as owners. Authority was consequently established by possession, and, by a strange fiction, power was attached to the land itself. Such was in France the origin of feudalism. Under the second race, the kings had abandoned to the dukes and counts all the royal rights of raising troops, administering justice, coining money, making peace or war, and fortifying themselves; and from the moment when they recognised, by the edict of Kersy, the transmission of offices to the next heir as legal, the dukes and counts regarded themselves as possessors of the provinces in which their will was law. While *de facto* independent of the crown, they still remained subordinate to it by the bond of the oath of fidelity. They distributed, of their own free will, domains among the nobles, who received them on faith and homage: and the latter granted inferior benefices and fiefs to freemen on the same title. Thus, he who gave a territorial estate in fief became the suzerain of him who received it on this title, and the latter was called a vassal, or liegeman. The landholders were thus considered, throughout the entire extent of the kingdom of France, as subjects, or vassals to each other. This system, which extended to the provinces, as well as to simple private domains, established a connecting link between all parts of the territory.

Origin of
Feudalism.

2. The principal obligations contracted by the vassal under this system were to bear arms for a certain number of days on every military expedition; to recognise the jurisdiction of the suzerain; and to pay the feudal aids—a species of tax raised for the ransom of the lord, if he were made prisoner; or on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter; or when his son was made a knight. On these conditions, the vassal was independent on his own land, and enjoyed the same rights, and was bound by the same duties towards his own vassals, as his suzerain. From the time of the establishment of the feudal system, the different codes of laws, which had so long subsisted among the various indigenous or conquered nations of Gaul, entirely disappeared. It was generally admitted that no man could be tried save by his peers, by which word was meant vassals of the same rank. The great vassals of the crown—the Dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, and the Counts of Flanders, Toulouse and Champagne—were nominated peers of France; and to these six lay peers were eventually added six ecclesiastical peers, who were the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens, and the Bishops of Noyon, Beauvais, Châlons and Langres. When a peer of France was summoned before the rest, the king presided at the trial. All these laws, conventions and usages only concerned the nobility: the

Duties of
Vassals.

people were counted as nothing. The military art underwent a change, and the cavalry henceforth became the strength of armies; bodily exercises, riding, and the management of the lance and sword, were the sole occupation of the nobility. This first period of the feudal system witnessed the rise of chivalry, respect for women, and modern languages and poetry.

3. The clergy soon comprehended that, as all the authority was in the hands of the possessors of the fiefs, they must themselves form part of the new organisation. They therefore did homage for the Church domains, and then divided them into numerous lots, which they converted into fiefs, thus obtaining suzerains and vassals. As the obligation of military service was inseparable from the possession of fiefs, the clergy were subjected to it, like all the other vassals; they took up arms at the summons of their suzerains, and constrained their liegemen to fight for them. Wherever the clergy did not embrace a martial life, the temporal lord obtained an immense advantage over them, and the bishops and abbots often found it necessary to place themselves under the protection of a noble who was paid to defend them. The clergy, through these feudal organisations, were diverted from the object of their institution, the people more rarely obtained consolation and succour at their hands, and most of the dignitaries of the Church joined the ranks of the oppressors.

4. An immense majority of the people lived in a servile condition. The freemen had to a great extent disappeared under the Carlovingians; the citizen class had grown weaker, as the importance of the cities became diminished; and at the end of the tenth century there was no middle class between the nobles and the serfs, or men of servitude, attached to the land they cultivated. They were bought and sold with the land, and were unable to leave it of their own accord. They possessed nothing of their own; everything belonged to the lord; and if they were guilty of any fault in his sight, they could not invoke, for their defence, any law or authority, for the right of seignorial justice, of life and death, was absolute.

The condition of the freemen, who did not hold fiefs, and lived on seignorial domains, seems to have been equally deplorable. Designated as villeins, they hardly enjoyed the right of marrying whom they thought proper, or of disposing of their property as they pleased. They were gradually crushed by intolerable burdens, which led a great number of them to take refuge in the towns, where equally great evils followed them. The counts exercised there over them an authority equal to that of the seigneurs on their lands; the tolls and dues of every description were infinitely multiplied; they were obliged to keep their lord and his people when he came within their walls; in short, everything they possessed could be taken by main force from the inhabitants, at the caprice of the master or his followers, without payment or compensation of any kind.

Such was the system which, under the name of feudalism, weighed down Europe for centuries.

5. At the time of the accession of the third race, France, properly so called, only comprised the territory between the Somme and the Loire; and it was bounded by the ^{France under} ~~the~~ counties of Flanders and Vermandois on the north; by ^{Hugues Capet.} Normandy and Brittany on the west; by the Champagne country on the east; by the duchy of Aquitaine on the south. The territory within these bounds was the duchy of France, the patrimonial possession of the Capets, and constituted the royal domain. The great fiefs of the Crown, in addition to the duchy of France, were the duchy of Normandy, the duchy of Burgundy, nearly the whole of Flanders formed into a county, the county of Champagne, the duchy of Aquitaine, and the county of Toulouse. We have already seen that the sovereigns of these various states were the great vassals of the crown; and peers of France, Lorraine, and a portion of Flanders were dependent on the Germanic crown; while Brittany was a fief of the duchy of Normandy.

6. Hugues Capet, like his first successors, made a close alliance with the Church, and found it difficult to maintain in obedience the nobles who had raised him to the throne. ^{State of the} ~~the~~ His chief wars with his contumacious vassals were those ^{country.} which he waged against Adalbert, Count of Berigard, and Eudes, Count de Chartres.

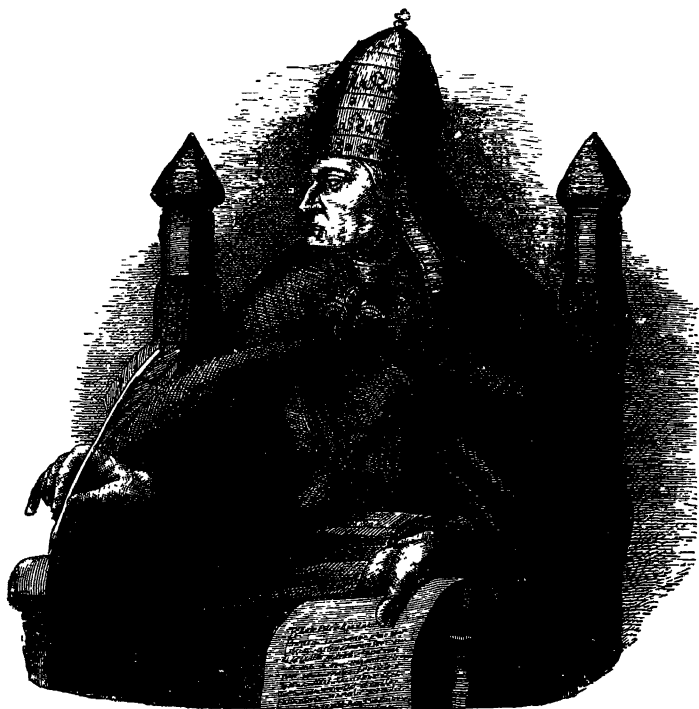
Cruel wars between the great vassals and fearful calamities marked the course of this reign, and confirmed the people in the idea that the end of the world was at hand. A horrible pestilence ravaged Aquitaine and a great part of the kingdom; and so great was the suffering of the time that the expectation of universal destruction inspired many hearts with hope rather than fear. Hugues Capet never assumed the diadem, either because he doubted the validity of his royal title, or because he desired to give his people an example of humility and respect for sacred things. He died in his bed, after a reign of nine years. He is only illustrious as the founder of a new dynasty, and this great event must be attributed to circumstances, far more than to his genius. He caused his son Robert to be crowned in his lifetime, and enjoined him, above all things, to guard the possessions and privileges of the clergy, and to submit himself to the Pope.

7. Robert was faithful to the pious instructions of his father. This King seems, through his rare gentleness, his pious zeal, and his indulgent kindness, to belong to another age. Robert's fervent piety, however, did not protect him from ecclesiastical censures, or from the most violent persecutions of the Court of Rome. The laws of the Church at that time composed the entire civil legislation: the Popes constituted themselves sovereign arbiters of cases in which marriage was permitted; but, by an abuse of their authority, they carried the prohibition of marriage too far, and proved terrible to those who dared to violate their injunctions, which were frequently arbitrary and unjust. Excommunication, and the placing a territory under an interdict, were among the means most frequently employed by the Pontiffs to compel the submission of sove-

reigns. The Court of Rome struck at its enemies with these redoubtable weapons, not dealing less rigorously with sovereigns than with subjects. King Robert experienced this. Hugues, or Hugh, his father, disquieted by the Normans established at Blois, who had refused to recognise him, gained them over by making his son espouse the celebrated Bertha, widow of Eudes I., of Blois. This princess possessed claims on the kingdom of Burgundy, bequeathed by her brother Rodolph to the Empire, and had power to transmit them to the reigning family of France. The Emperor Otho III. was alarmed at this, and Pope Gregory V., alleging a degree of relationship against the marriage, ordered Robert to leave his wife, and, on his refusal, excommunicated him. Robert, compelled at length to repudiate her, espoused the imperious Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse. She reigned in his name, having his authority, and caused the King's favourite, Hugues of Beauvais, to be murdered in his presence.

8. Victims of the perpetual discords of the nobles, the people saw their own crops destroyed and cottages burned; there was for them neither rest nor security. Still, the inhabitants of the towns were already beginning to endure with reluctance the vexatious tyranny of their lords, and to regard with some degree of irritation their precarious condition. The cities which had preserved municipal institutions invoked old and unappreciated rights; and in others corporations were formed; the workmen organised a militia, fortified their walls, and guarded the gates. Acts of great injustice caused resentment, which had been too long repressed, to break out, and commotions, which were scarcely recognised, presaged the revolutions which in the following century brought the enfranchisements of the towns. The inexhaustible charity of Robert only afforded an almost imperceptible relief for the misfortunes of his people, not rich enough to remove their wretchedness, and too weak to put down their oppressors. He died in 1031, lamented by the wretched and regretted by the clergy, leaving his kingdom augmented by the duchy of Burgundy,* which he had united to it in 1002, on the death of his uncle, Henry the Great.

* The *duchy* of Burgundy, which must not be confounded with the transjuran and cisjuran *kingdoms* of Burgundy, comprised Burgundy proper. From 884 to 1001 this duchy belonged to princes allied to the family of Robert the Strong, among whom was Raoul, King of France. Henry the Great, brother of Hugues Capet, was the last member of this ducal branch; and from 1001 to 1032 his states remained annexed to the kingdom of France.




HILDEBRAND, POPE GREGORY VII.

a little more

CHAPTER II.

HENRY I. AND PHILIP I., 1031-1108.

1. FAMILY WAR BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS MOTHER' FAMINE IN GAUL: WARS OF THE FEUDAL LORDS: THE PEACE OF GOD. 2 THE TRUCE OF GOD. ITS PROVISIONS: THE KING'S REJECTION OF THE TRUCE: HIS THIRD MARRIAGE: WAR WITH WILLIAM OF NORMANDY, AND DEATH. 3. SUCCESSION OF PHILIP I: CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. 4. POPE HILDEBRAND: HIS DESIGNS TO RENDER THE CHURCH SUPREME HIS TREATMENT OF THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY. 5. THE CRUSADES, THEIR ORIGIN: PETER THE HERMIT: THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT. 6. THE FIRST CRUSADE: FATE OF THE BANDS LED BY PETER THE HERMIT AND WALTER THE MONEYLESS; EXPEDITION UNDER GODFREY DE BOUILLON: CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM. 7. CHIEF EVENTS OF PHILIP'S REIGN: HIS WARS WITH WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR: DEATH OF THE CONQUEROR: EXCOMMUNICATION OF PHILIP: HIS DEATH.

1. ENRY I., the son and successor of Robert, had, at the commencement of his reign, to sustain a family war against his mother, Constance, who raised his young brother to the throne. The Church declared for Henry; and the celebrated Robert the Magnificent, Duke of the Normans, lent him the aid of his sword, and placed the crown more firmly on his head. Henry vanquished his brother, forgave him, and granted him the duchy of Burgundy, the first Capetian house of which was founded by Robert. A famine, during this reign, committed fearful ravages in Gaul. After this plague, troops of wolves devastated the country; and the feudal lords, more terrible than the wild beasts, continued their barbarous wars amid the universal desolation: the clergy scarce able to induce them to suspend their fury by threatening the judgments of Heaven, and by asserting a multitude of miracles. At length, the councils ordered all to lay down their arms: they published, in 1035, the *Peace of God*, and menaced with excommunication those who violated so holy a law.

The Peace of
God.

2. But passions were too impetuous, ambitions too indomitable, for the evil to be thus totally uprooted. The "*Peace of God*" multiplied the sacrilege without diminishing the number of assassinations. Five years later, another law, known as the *Truce of God*, was substituted for it. An appeal to force was no longer prohibited to those who could invoke no other law; but from sunset on Wednesday until sunrise on Monday, as well as on festival and fast days, military attack and the effusion of blood were prohibited. This wise and beneficent law, although it was frequently violated, was a great benefit to the nation, whose manners it softened, and was the noblest work of the clergy in the middle ages. The king was almost the only one who in his states refused to recognise the Truce, under the pretext that the clergy encroached upon his authority by attempting to establish it.

Henry I. chose as his third wife the Princess Anne, daughter of Jaroslav, Grand Duke of Russia. He had three sons by this marriage, the eldest of whom, Philip, he caused to be crowned during his life. He carried on an unsuccessful war against his vassal, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and died in 1060, after a reign of twenty-nine years.

3. Philip, at the age of eight years, succeeded his father under the guardianship of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders. The great event of his reign, and with which he was entirely unconnected, was the conquest of England.

During the reign of Edward the Confessor, Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, had been shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, and while master of Harold's person, Duke William made him swear that he would help him, after the death of Edward, to obtain the kingdom of England. Harold, however, did not consider himself bound by an oath which had been extorted by violence, and, on the death of Edward the Confessor, ascended the throne in accordance with the wish of the nobles and people. On this, William invaded

Conquest of
England.

England to establish his claim to the crown by force of arms, and a great battle, fought in 1066 near Hastings, between the rival claimants of the English crown, decided the war. Harold lost his life in it, and England, after an obstinate contest, became a conquest of the Normans. William distributed all the estates as fiefs to his knights; and from this time feudalism spread over that country the network with which it already covered France, Germany, and Italy.

4. A revolution, of which the celebrated Hildebrand was the principal author, was at this time accomplished in the Church. This monk, so celebrated in religious history, Pope Gregory VII. was resolved to deprive the feudal lords of every species of influence over the clergy, to strengthen the ecclesiastical hierarchy and to raise the Pope above the kings of the earth, hoping thus to enable the Church to recover her efficiency, her splendour and all her power. Hildebrand was chosen in 1073, by the people and clergy of Rome, as the successor of Pope Alexander III. At first, he deferentially asked his confirmation of the Emperor Henry IV., and when he had obtained it, he displayed under the name of Gregory VII. his vast and haughty genius and his inflexible character. He withdrew the nomination of the Popes from the influence of the Emperors by establishing the College of Cardinals, specially entrusted with the election of the Pontiff: he renewed the bull condemning the marriage of priests; he prohibited emperors, kings and the great vassals from giving ecclesiastical investiture to bishops; and, finally, he published the famous decretals known by the name of *Dictatus Papæ*, in which he placed among the papal privileges those of deposing emperors, of making monarchs kiss his feet, of judging without appeal, and of being made holy by the mere fact of ordination.

Philip I., King of France, and Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, were both leading at this time a life full of scandal and violence; and in order to supply their unbounded extravagance, they carried on, in defiance of Gregory's prohibition, the most disgraceful traffic in Church endowments. The indignant Pontiff threatened Philip with excommunication, and laid it upon the Emperor. An obstinate war began between them, which is known in history by the name of "The War of Investitures," because the Pope maintained by it his prohibition of princes investing bishops, and reserved that right solely for himself. Gregory VII. liberated the subjects of Henry from the oath of allegiance: and the Emperor, abandoned by them, found himself reduced to implore pardon and absolution, which the Pope granted, after compelling the Emperor to remain for three days and nights in a court of the palace, exposed to the severe cold, with his bare feet in the snow. But this and other outrages moved the partisans of the Emperor with indignation. Henry IV. avenged himself, and Gregory VII. died in exile.

5. The colossal edifice raised by this Pontiff did not perish with him; he had founded the universal monarchy of the Popes on a durable basis, on the ruling spirit of his The Crusades: their origin. age, and this supremacy attained, one hundred years

afterwards, its culminating point. The crusades contributed greatly to its consolidation. The first of those memorable events had its origin in the time of Philip I., and under the Pontificate of Urban II. This Pope had been moved in 1093, by the exhortations of an enthusiast known as Peter the Hermit, who had lately returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to sanction an attempt to wrest Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the Mussulmans, or infidel followers of Mahomet, by whom it had been held for many ages, and Peter, armed with credentials from Urban II., had travelled through Europe, calling on princes, nobles, and men of all ranks to take part in this holy enterprise, and promising them Paradise if they would go to Palestine. Two years later, in 1095, a council, convoked by Urban, assembled at Clermont, in Auvergne. A prodigious number of princes and nobles of all ranks flocked thither, and three hundred and ten bishops supported the solemnity, under the presidency of the Pope himself. After having decided clerical affairs, Urban drew a pathetic picture of the desolation of the holy shrines, lamenting bitterly the afflictions suffered by the Christians of Palestine. His hearers, deeply moved by the earnest and heart-stirring appeal of the Pontiff, quivered with indignation, and impatiently desired to arm at once—at once to depart :—“Let us go,” said the whole assembly; “it is the will of God! It is the will of God!”

All who pledged themselves to the enterprise—and such was the general enthusiasm that there were few who did not—assumed a common distinctive sign, a cross of red cloth worn on the right shoulder, and from this was derived the word “*Crusade*.”

6. The Crusaders, as all were now termed who, by taking the Cross, had vowed to make the sacred journey, separated to prepare for departure and to communicate to all their pious ardour. The general meeting of the ardent host was fixed for the spring of the following year; but such was the impatience exhibited that, before any duly organised plan of procedure was formed, an immense number of serfs, peasants, homeless wanderers, and even women and children set out for Palestine, divided into two bands, led, the one by Peter the Hermit, the other by a knight named “Walter the Moneyless.” These fanatics devastated for their support the countries which they passed through, raising up in arms against themselves the outraged populations; and almost all perished of famine, fatigue and misery before reaching the Holy Land.

The first regular expedition for the recovery of Palestine consisted of three formidable armies, commanded by Robert Curt-Hose, son of William the Conqueror, Godfrey de Bouillon, the hero of his age, and the Count of Toulouse, Raymond de Saint-Gilles. Godfrey was proclaimed commander-in-chief. The general muster was at Constantinople, where reigned Alexis Comnenus. This Emperor received them with discourtesy, and hastened to give them vessels to cross the Bosphorus, after having cunningly obtained from them the offer of homage for their future conquests. The Crusaders,

after sanguinary struggles, achieved the conquest of Jerusalem, and in 1099, a Christian kingdom was founded in Palestine; Godfrey de Bouillon was its recognised king, but contented himself with the title of the "Baron of the Holy Sepulchre." The name of Franks became in Asia an appellation common to all Eastern Christians.



THE CATHEDRAL OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Such were the principal facts of that first and celebrated Crusade. There only returned to Europe one-tenth of the number who quitted it.

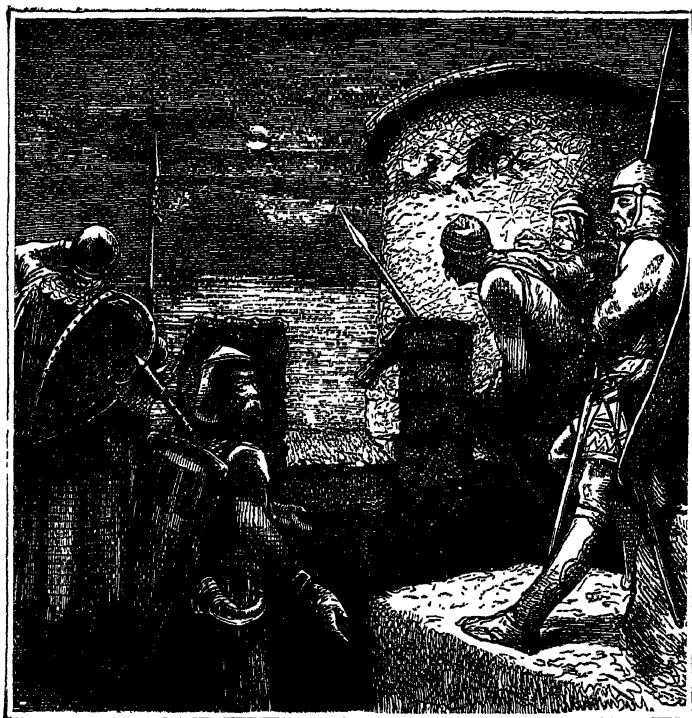
7. Philip I. did not associate himself with that expedition. He took no part in the great enterprises which signalised the age in which he lived, and his reign offers nothing worthy of record. He espoused the cause of Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, in rebellion against his father, and he carried on a war for twelve years against William,

Events of
Philip's reign.

which was not marked by any memorable event. This war was brought to a close by the death of the Conqueror, who was mortally injured by a fall from his horse at the sack of Mantes. Some of his followers carried William in a dying condition to Rouen, where he expired in 1087.

The death of the redoubtable William was a great source of joy to Philip, and allowed him to continue his indolent and scandalous career. He had married Bertha, the daughter of Count Florent, of Holland; he repudiated and imprisoned her; then he carried off Bertrade, the wife of Foulque le Rechin, Count of Anjou, and married her. Pope Urban ordered the dissolution of this marriage, and on the refusal of Philip, a council, assembled at Autun, in 1094, sentenced him to excommunication. Philip was not permitted to wear longer the outward marks of royalty; he was afflicted with grievous infirmities, in which he recognised the hand of God; at length, in the year 1100, he associated his son Louis with himself in the kingdom, and reigned only in name. A dreadful fear of hell seized him; he renounced through humility the regal privilege of being interred in the tomb of the kings at St. Denis, and died in 1108 in the habit of a Benedictine friar.





CHAPTER III.

REIGNS OF LOUIS VI. AND LOUIS VII., 1108-1179.

1. EXTENT OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS VI.: HIS CONTEST WITH HENRY I.: PEACE OF RHEIMS. 2. DEATH OF HENRY I. OF ENGLAND: CONTEST FOR HIS TERRITORIES: MARRIAGE OF LOUIS AND ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE: DEATH OF LOUIS VI.: INCREASING INFLUENCE OF THE COMMONS. 3. ACCESSION OF LOUIS VII.: HOSTILITY OF ROME TO THE KING. 4. THE SECOND CRUSADE PREPARED BY SAINT BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: DEPARTURE OF LOUIS VII.: FAILURE OF THE ENTERPRISE. 5. DIVORCE OF ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE: HER MARRIAGE TO HENRY PLANTAGENET: WARS OF LOUIS VII. AND HENRY II. OF ENGLAND: REBELLION OF HENRY'S SONS: DEATH OF LOUIS VII.

1. **L**OUIS VI., nicknamed at first l'Eveillé, afterwards Le Gros and Le Batailleur, was the first knight in his kingdom, and it was with casque on head and lance in rest that

he sought and won the esteem of every one. His personal estates, almost confined to the cities of Paris, Orléans, Etampes, **France under Louis VI.** Mélnon, Compiègne and their territories, were bordered on the north by those of Robert, Count of Flanders, and on the east by the estates of Hugh I. Count of Champagne. The dominions of Thibaut, Count of Meaux, Chartres and Blois, and those of Foulque V., Count of Anjou, and Touraine closed in on the south this feeble kingdom of France, which the vast possessions of Henry I., son of William the Conqueror, King of England and Duke of Normandy, confined on the west. During the whole of his life Louis had to contend with these powerful enemies, of whom the most formidable was Henry I. In his struggle with this monarch, in behalf of William Clinton, the son of Robert Curt-Hose, dispossessed, as was his father, of the Duchy of Normandy, Louis VI. was vanquished at the battle of Brenneville, fought in 1119. On this he appealed to the militia of the cities and of the Church, and these ranged themselves under the royal standard, and entered with Louis VI. into Normandy, where they committed great ravages. To put an end to the wars a council was assembled at Rheims, under the presidency of Pope Calixtus II., when it was decided that Henry was to remain in possession of Normandy, for which his son should render homage to the King of France.

2. The King associated his elder son Philip with himself in the government. This young prince, who gave bright **Contest for Realm of Henry I.** promise, was killed accidentally, and the King substituted for him his second son Louis, surnamed the Young. He continued without success his war against Henry I., who died in 1135. A sanguinary struggle ensued for the succession to that prince's crown between Stephen of Boulogne, his nephew, and his daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, and married a second time to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, the founder of the celebrated house of Plantagenet which reigned so long in England. William X., Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou, supported Geoffrey, and with him carried fire and sword through Normandy, but returned covered with the maledictions of the people. Overcome by remorse, he undertook a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, in Spain, and offered his daughter Eleanor to Louis, son of the King of France. This alliance promised to double the estates of the King, who hastened to conclude it; but the marriage was celebrated between the **Death of Louis VI., 1137.** solemnisation of two funerals;—that of William X., who sank on his pilgrimage, and that of Louis le Gros, who died the same year, 1137.

We observe in this reign, and more especially after the battle of Brenneville, that the alliance of the king with the Church and with the commons of the kingdom becomes apparent. The support of the king was necessary to the Church and the rising bourgeoisie, to enable them to resist the oppression of the feudal nobility. It was to this community of interests that the Kings of France owed

in a great measure, firstly, the preservation of their crown, and subsequently their influence and their conquests. But Louis VI. in his conduct towards the bourgeoisie of the cities was in no way actuated by zeal for the public liberty; he cared only for the needs of his treasury, which was recruited by the payments made by the cities for the privileges he granted to them; and for the interests of his power, which continued to increase up to the time of his death, especially in the centre of France, where the royal authority had before him been almost disregarded, and where he caused it to be respected.

3. Louis VII., surnamed the Young, exhibited on ascending the throne a spirit as warlike as his father's. He supported Geoffrey Plantagenet against his rival Stephen, and ^{Accession of Louis VII., 1137.} aided him to conquer Normandy, for which Geoffrey did homage. England remained to Stephen, who recognised the son of Geoffrey and Matilda as heir to his crown. Louis kept the barons and the clergy in order: he opposed the usurpations of Pope Innocent II., and refused to recognise the Archbishop of Bourges, elected by that Pontiff, who soon laid an interdict on every place where the King stayed. Louis the Young was the fourth Capetian king thus struck at by the Holy See. No family had shown more deference towards the Court of Rome, none had been treated by her with more rigour.

The most memorable event of this reign is the second Crusade, preached with immense success by Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, and commanded by the King in person. The sultan Zenghis had taken Edessa, in Palestine, by storm, and massacred its inhabitants, and throughout Christendom arose a furious cry for vengeance.

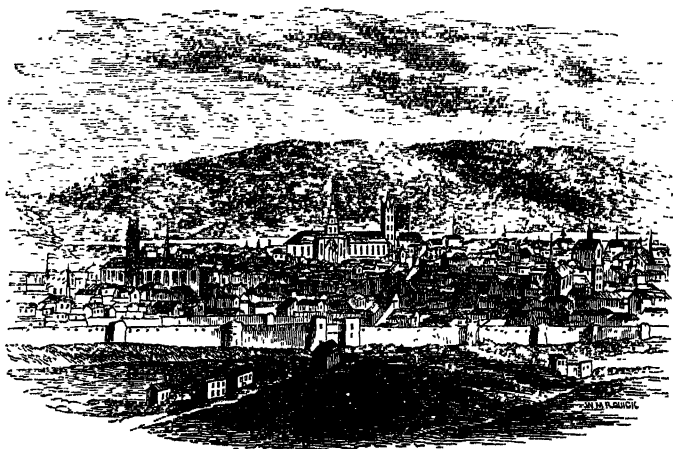
4. France was the first to be convulsed by the voice of Saint Bernard, and communicated the movement to Europe. Louis VII. took up the Cross, and went forth on his journey at the head of a hundred thousand French. But here ended ^{Second Crusade 1147.} his reputation as king and knight. He lost half of his own forces on the mountains of Laodicea, and fruitlessly undertook many enterprises, each of which was marked by a disaster; in fine, the whole of the expedition of Louis VII. was reduced, so far as he was concerned, to a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. He returned to Europe with the Crusader princes, and brought back with him only a few soldiers. His entire host had been annihilated.

5. Louis found his kingdom at peace, indeed almost flourishing, thanks to the wise administration of Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, whom he had charged with the regency of the kingdom in his absence. But the deplorable result of that Crusade, for which he had laid a heavy tax on his people, had destroyed all the King's popularity. Under pretext of too near blood relationship, he divorced his Queen, Eleanor, who, thus abandoned, gave her hand to Henry Plantagenet, heir to the crown ^{Divorce of Eleanor of Aquitaine, 1152} of England, and carried to him her dowry of Aquitaine, taken away from France by this fatal divorce. Louis saw with

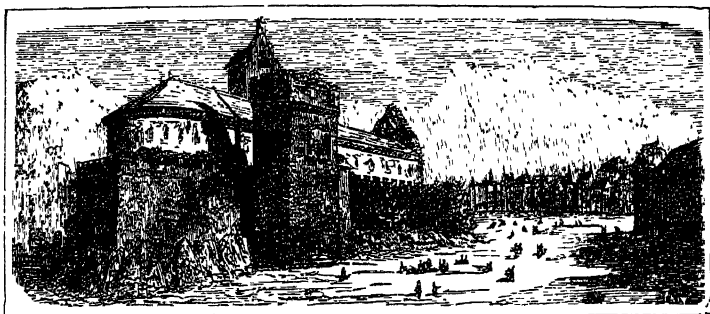
emotion the half of his territories about to pass to his rival, and sought in vain to throw obstacles in the way of the marriage. The new husband of Eleanor succeeded Stephen on the throne of England and became the celebrated Henry II. He possessed in France Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Aquitaine and Normandy. He professed great friendship towards Louis the Young, and united in marriage his son, seven years of age, to the daughter of Louis, still in her cradle. War broke out on the subject of the dowry of this princess, but this contest was ended in 1169 by the peace of Montmirail. The next year witnessed the murder of the famous Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, an act which was committed, it may be said, at the instigation of Henry himself. For this indirect crime the monarch did penance at the shrine of the martyred prelate in Canterbury Cathedral; but from this time he enjoyed no more quiet; his wife Eleanor, irritated by his infidelities, incited his three sons to revolt against him, and in accordance with the disgraceful custom of the times, Louis VII. supported them in the unholy war. They rendered him homage for Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, but they were defeated by their father; the two kings were then reconciled. Louis placed the crown on the head of his son Philip Augustus, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas à Becket; he died immediately afterwards.

The great error of his reign seems to have been the divorce of his queen Eleanor, by which France lost those provinces which she had acquired by his marriage and which she never finally recovered till after ages of warfare and disaster.

Death of Louis
VII., 1179



ROUEN.



CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF PHILIP II., SURNAMED AUGUSTUS, AND OF LOUIS VIII., 1179-1226.

1. PERSECUTIONS OF THE JEWS: PHILIP'S MARRIAGE: DEATH OF HENRY II. OF ENGLAND. 2. FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: THE THIRD CRUSADE: CAREER OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION; HIS CAPTIVITY AND RELEASE: WAR BETWEEN PHILIP AND RICHARD: DEATH OF RICHARD. 3. ACCESSION OF KING JOHN: MURDER OF PRINCE ARTHUR: CITATION OF JOHN BEFORE THE FRENCH PEERS: RE-UNION OF HIS CONTINENTAL TERRITORIES WITH FRANCE: BATTLE OF BOUVINES. 4. TYRANNY OF JOHN: MAGNA CHARTA: LOUIS OF FRANCE IN ENGLAND. 5. THE FOURTH CRUSADE: CONSTANTINOPLE TAKEN BY THE CRUSADERS: FOUNDATION OF LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. 6. CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES: REFORMATION IN LANGUEDOC: THE VAUDOIS AND THEIR OPINIONS: INVASION OF NARBONNE: ASSASSINATION OF THE POPE'S LEGATE: MASSACRE OF BEZIERS. 7. RENEWAL OF THE CRUSADE: RESISTANCE OF RAYMOND VII: SIMON DE MONTFORT: BATTLE OF MURET. 8. REACTION IN TOULOUSE: CESSATION OF THE WAR. 9. ABLE ADMINISTRATION OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS: HIS CONQUESTS AND ACQUISITIONS: NEW DUCHY OF BRITTANY: FOUNDATION OF UNIVERSITY OF PARIS: IMPROVEMENT OF PARIS: DEATH OF PHILIP. 10. ACCESSION OF LOUIS VIII.. HIS CONQUESTS: SECOND CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES: HIS DEATH.

1. **B**EFORE the age of fifteen years, Philip II., surnamed Augustus, a most able and energetic monarch, signalled his accession to the throne by a frightful persecution of the Jews, whom he despoiled and drove from the kingdom. A series of contests and negotiations with the great vassals of the crown occupied the early years of his reign. Philip espoused the daughter of the Count of

Persecution
of the Jews.

Flanders, and obtained by this marriage the city of Amiens, and the barrier of the Somme, so important to the defence of his states. He increased his power by unfair means, fomenting civil wars among his neighbours, and exciting, up to the death of Henry II., the children of that king against their father. The latter signed a humiliating treaty with his son Richard and Philip Augustus. He heard of the revolt of John, his third son, and died of grief at Chinon. Richard succeeded him on the throne of England, and won, by his fiery and impetuous valour, the surname of *Cœur de Lion*.

2. The enthusiasm of the Crusades was rekindled in Europe by the misfortunes which overwhelmed the kingdom of **Third Crusade, 1189.** Jerusalem, where Guy of Lusignan bore rule. The

Christians had been defeated by Saladin, in the celebrated battle of Tiberias; and Jerusalem and her king had fallen before the power of the conqueror. The terrible news struck Christendom with consternation, and a formidable expedition was prepared; the three greatest sovereigns of Europe, Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, Richard, King of England, and Philip, King of France, took up the Cross, and each led into Palestine a numerous army. The results by no means corresponded to these grand efforts; Frederick, at the outset, was drowned crossing the river Selef, near Seleucia. Philip and Richard quarrelled over the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, and the former returned to his kingdom, leaving his army under the command of Richard. He swore, on leaving him, not to undertake anything against him in his absence. Richard pursued his heroic career in Palestine; he gained brilliant but fruitless victories, wearing out the Crusaders, who at length compelled him to quit the Holy Land. Saladin offered to the Christians peaceable possession of the plains of Judea, and liberty to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem: Richard agreed to these conditions, and embarked for Europe; he landed in Austria, upon the territories of the Duke Leopold, his mortal

Captivity of Richard Cœur de Lion. enemy, who delivered him up to the Emperor Henry VI., whose hatred Richard had excited. Henry imprisoned him in the Castle of Dierstein, and sent to inform the King of France of it. Philip applied to the Pope to be absolved from his oath, when he heard of the captivity of his rival. The Pope refused to release him from his word; but Philip, taking no heed of his refusal, commenced the war. Richard was then betrayed by his brother John, who had possessed himself of a portion of his territories, but being ransomed by his subjects, he returned unexpectedly to his dominions; reduced his brother to submission; and avenged himself on Philip by forming an alliance

Death of Richard 1199. with the most powerful of the barons inimical to the French monarch. The war was prolonged between these two rivals with varied success; they signed a truce for five years, and Richard was killed at the siege of the small fortress of Chalus-Chabrol in Limousin, 1199.

3. John, the youngest son of Henry II., seized the crown of

England, and Philip supported against him the just pretensions of Arthur of Brittany, his nephew, the son of Geoffrey, John's elder brother; this young prince promised homage to Philip for all his possessions in France, and ceded Normandy to him. A sanguinary war arose. Arthur, with his knights, was captured by King John, and met his death by assassination. This frightful crime excited universal indignation, and John, as vassal of Philip for his Continental possessions, was cited by his suzerain, before his peers, to answer for the murder of his nephew, Arthur. He did not appear, and the court of peers condemned him to death, as contumacious. Normandy, Brittany, Guienne, Maine, Anjou and Touraine, lands which he held in fief from France, were declared confiscated, pertaining to the king, and reunited to the crown. For confiscating much property belonging to the Church in England he was excommunicated by Innocent III., who offered the crown of England to Philip. The French King assembled an army to make a descent on England; but John submitted and made peace with the Pope, who, by way of compensation for the disappointment he had sustained, suggested to Philip that he should turn his arms against Flanders. Old grievances existed between Ferrand, count of that province, and Philip; the King could now obtain satisfaction by force of arms. Ferrand hastened to league himself with John or England, and with his father, Otho IV., Emperor of Germany. The French army met that of the enemy between Lille and Tournay, and achieved a brilliant victory over the allies at the bridge of Bouvines.

Murder of
Prince Arthur.

Citation of
John before the
Peers.

Battle of
Bouvines, 1214

4. King John rendered himself so odious and so contemptible that his barons forced him, on the 15th of June, 1215, to sign the Charter which has become the basis of the liberties of the English people, and which is known as Magna Charta. To this Charter, however, the English King only made oath in the hope of being released from it by the Pope; and, in fact, he was so released. His barons then offered the crown to Louis of France, the son of Philip Augustus. This prince, despite his father's vow and the prohibition of the Pope, whose legate excommunicated him, crossed over to England. He was received with open arms by the barons and proceeded to possess himself of the kingdom; but King John died at this time, and his partisans proclaimed his young son Henry, king. The English people attached themselves to the youth, and Louis, abandoned by his supporters, returned to France, after having contributed to establish on a more solid basis the liberties of England.

Magna Charta,
1215.

Louis of
France in
England, 1216.

5. A fourth Crusade took place in the reign of Philip Augustus. It was preached by the enthusiastic Fulk, curé of Neuilly-sur-Marne. The powerful Counts of Flanders and Champagne set the example and took up the Cross, the former and the Marquis de Montferrat being the recognised chiefs of this expedition, which was really

Fourth Cru-
sade. Con-
stantinople
taken by the
Crusaders,
1202-1204.

directed by Dandolo, the old blind Doge of Venice. This potentate persuaded the Crusaders to attack Constantinople on their way to the Holy Land in order to re-establish on the throne the Greek Emperor, Isaac Comnenus, whom an usurper had driven from it. They were successful, but, shortly after, a popular tumult took place, the old Emperor was strangled, and the Crusaders were obliged once more to gain the city by assault. This time the Greek Empire was divided amongst the conquerors; and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, descendant of Charlemagne, was elected Emperor.



VENICE.

Foundation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204. Thus was founded the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which endured for fifty-seven years. The Crusade was entirely abandoned, for the Crusaders never crossed the Bosphorus.

6. The event which agitated Europe most profoundly during the reign of Philip Augustus was the war of the Albigenses, or the crusade undertaken against the sectarians of the South. There were a number of these in Provence, in Catalonia, and especially in Languedoc. In these countries the clergy were not distinguished, as in France and in the northern provinces, by their zeal in instruction and in diffusing the light of religion. They were notorious for disorderly living, and fell every day into greater contempt. The need for reform made itself felt before long in the breast of the provincial populations, and many reformers had already appeared, when the famous Innocent III., aged 39, ascended the Pontifical throne in 1198. This Pontiff, who sought out and punished any free exercise of

thought in religious matters, was the first to perceive the serious menace to the Romish Church, apparent in a liberty of conscience which went so far as to break into revolt against her tenets; for the principles of the Vaudois were almost identical with the opinions which, three centuries later, were preached by Luther. He saw with inquietude and anger the new tendency of feeling in Provence and Languedoc, and proscribed the reformers, whose doctrines were favoured by Raymond VI., the Count of Toulouse, and his nephew Raymond Roger, Viscount of Béziers. The inquisitors sent by the Pope into the province of Narbonne to stifle the heresy were badly received, and the Pope's legate was assassinated by a gentleman of Toulouse, who was angered by the sentence of excommunication that had been put in force against his suzerain Raymond. This murder gave the Pope a pretext to preach a crusade against the dominions of Raymond VI. and of his nephew. The immense preparations of the crusaders struck terror into Raymond VI., who, worn with age and unable to offer a vigorous resistance, submitted himself and was reconciled to the Church. The young Viscount de Béziers, indignant at the pusillanimous conduct of his uncle, determined to resist to the last. The crusaders carried Béziers by assault. An immense number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had taken refuge within the walls of that city; and when the Abbot of Cîteaux, the Pope's new legate, was consulted by the conquerors as to the fate of these unhappy creatures, of whom only a portion were heretics, he pronounced these execrable words:

*Invasion of
Narbonne.*

"Kill them all; God will know his own." A frightful massacre followed, and the city was reduced to ashes.

*Massacre of
Béziers, 1209.*

The army of crusaders marched thereupon to Carcassonne, and was sharply repulsed by the Viscount de Béziers. This young hero afterwards repaired to the legate to treat for peace, and was captured, in spite of a safe conduct, in virtue of the maxim "that one is not bound to keep faith towards heretics and infidels." Many of the inhabitants of Carcassonne were put to a cruel death, and the legate gave all the conquered country to the ferocious Simon, Count de Montfort; he delivered over to him also the Viscount de Béziers, who died by poison.

7. A part only of the Albigenses had been subjected and destroyed in this first crusade, and it was determined by the Pope and his advisers to make an end of the remainder. By the Council of Saint Gilles, Raymond was ordered to deliver over to the stake those whom the priests pointed out to him. The aged Count, whose valour was re-awakened by indignation at this infamous order, boldly refused, and prepared for war to the death. The crusaders arrived from all parts, led by Simon de Montfort, who distinguished himself by frightful cruelties. Immense piles were prepared; and in the same holocaust heretics and Catholics suspected of heresy were ruthlessly burnt. The battle of Muret, fought in 1213, terminated this war; Don Pedro, King of Aragon, who had brought

*Renewal of
the Crusade.*

*Battle of
Muret, 1213.*

succour to the Count of Toulouse, perished there. The Albigenes were defeated, and that defeat gave a mortal blow to their cause.

8. The victorious executioners quarrelled among themselves and fought; the people regained courage. Toulouse rose, and the war was continued with various success, till at last all Languedoc rose in arms. Montfort was killed before Toulouse, which he was besieging; Count Raymond was recalled, but died shortly after his return, leaving his territories to his son and successor, Raymond VII.; against whom this war of extermination was prosecuted from time to time with relentless cruelty. At length, after twenty-two years of atrocities, when the language, the arts and industry of these provinces had disappeared with the reformation, the executioners were wearied, and the war ceased under the following reign, to the great advantage of France. Raymond VII. ceded to it a portion of his territories by the treaty of Paris, signed in 1229.

9. Philip Augustus took no active part in this war of extermination; he sought, on the contrary, to repair its disasters; and while fanaticism was steeping the southern countries with blood, he extended his dominions and rendered them flourishing. The national assemblies had fallen into desuetude: Philip appealed to his chief barons to form his council and sanction his decrees. He conquered Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou, formerly forfeited to the King of England; he conquered also the county of Auvergne. Under his reign Valois, part of Vermandois, and Amienois fell to the crown by the extinction of the families who possessed them; this King also re-annexed Artois to his crown by his union with Isabelle of Flanders and Hainault: finally, he gave the inheritance of Brittany to Pierre Mauclerc, a member of his family, and a Capetian dynasty was founded in that country. Thus was formed the new Duchy of Brittany, which became one of the great immediate fiefs of the crown of France. Philip Augustus was occupied all his life in warfare, treaties, reforms, laws for his fiefs, and he secured upon a firm basis the relations between lords and vassals, which until then had been only in an unsettled and arbitrary condition, and was thus the principal founder of feudal monarchy. The military art owed some progress to him; soldiers received pay, and for this purpose he established the first permanent imposts; he appointed three maritime armaments, and obtained by his activity, his prudence and his talents, the respect both of sovereigns and people. The important foundation of the University of Paris dates from this prince, and the city itself was indebted to him for many useful alterations. Up till that time all the streets of the capital became, in rainy weather, infectious sewers; but the principal thoroughfares were paved and embellished by his orders. He enlarged the city, enclosed it with walls, built market-places, and surrounded

**Reaction in
Toulouse.**

**Cessation of
war against
Albigenses.**

**Administra-
tion of Philip
Augustus.**

**Foundation of
the University
of Paris, 1200.**

the Cemetery of the Innocents with cloisters ; he built a palace by the side of the large tower of the Louvre, and continued the Cathedral, which had been commenced prior to his reign. He gained by his conquests and institutions the esteem of his contemporaries, and died at Nantes in 1223, after a reign of forty-three years, leaving a portion of his immense wealth to the priests and crusaders, and also making considerable gifts to the poor.

Death of Philip Augustus, 1223.

10. Louis VIII., son of Philip Augustus, only reigned three years. This prince, whom his flatterers named *Cœur de Lion*, was descended, on the female side, from Charlemagne, and seemed to unite in his person the claims of the Carolingian and Capetian houses. During his father's life he had been recognised King of England by the barons hostile to King John : but being abandoned by his partisans, he was obliged to quit the kingdom. On returning to France, he took from the English Poitou, which they had reconquered, as well as several important places in Aunis, Périgord and Limousin, among others Rochelle, and signalised the end of his reign by a second crusade against the unhappy Albigenses. The principal cities of Languedoc, Beaucaire, Carcasonne and Béziers opened their gates to him, and the south of France, with the exception of Guienne and Toulouse, recognised the royal authority. Louis was marching against the latter city when an epidemic fever attacked his army, and he died at Montpensier, either from an attack of the malady, or, as some believed, from poison, administered to him by Thibaut of Champagne, who was violently enamoured of Queen Blanche of Castille, whom the King left a widow, with five children of tender years. The eldest of her sons was St. Louis.

Accession of Louis VIII., 1223.

Second crusade against the Albigenses, 1226.

Death of Louis VIII., 1226.





CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF LOUIS IX. (SAINT LOUIS), 1226-1270.

1. REGENCY OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER BLANCHE. TREATY OF PARIS. 2. MARRIAGE OF LOUIS IX. : QUARREL WITH HENRY III. OF ENGLAND : BATTLE OF TAILLEBOURG. 3. INVASION OF PALESTINE BY THE MONGOLS : BATTLE OF GAZA : INAUGURATION OF THE FIFTH CRUSADE : DEPARTURE OF LOUIS FOR PALESTINE. 4. SOJOURN AT NICOSIUM : CAPTURE OF DAMIETTA : ATTACK ON MANSOURAH : RETREAT TO DAMIETTA : CAPTURE OF THE KING : HIS RANSOM. 5. DEATH OF THE REGENT AND RETURN OF THE KING : LEGISLATION OF ST. LOUIS : CONSTITUTION OF PARLIAMENT OR COURTS OF JUSTICE : PROHIBITION OF JUDICIAL COMBATS : COMMUNES ERECTED INTO ROYAL TOWNS : ESTABLISHMENTS OF ST. LOUIS : PRAGMATIC SANCTION. 6. REFORM OF THE COINAGE. FOUNDATION OF PUBLIC LIBRARY, HOSPITAL FOR THE BLIND, AND THE HOLY CHAPEL. 7. THE KING'S MISTAKES : TREATY OF ABBEVILLE : TREATY OF CORBEIL. 8. FOUNDATION OF HOUSE OF ANJOU : BATTLE OF GRANDELLA. 9. FALL OF LATIN EMPIRE IN CONSTANTINOPLE : CONQUESTS OF SULTAN OF EGYPT IN PALESTINE : SIXTH CRUSADE. DISEMBARKATION OF LOUIS AT CARTHAGE. ARMY ATTACKED BY THE PLAGUE : DEATH OF THE KING.

1. **L**OUIS IX., justly venerated under the name of St. Louis, was only eleven years of age on the death of his father, and the regency of the kingdom devolved on Queen Blanche, his mother, who had a mind at once great, proud, and Christian, gave excellent masters to her children, and had them carefully brought up in the fear of God. This pious Queen also possessed political talent, and enabled France to reap the fruit of the horrible war with the Albigenses. The treaty of Paris, signed in 1229, between her and Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, attached to the crown a large portion of Lower Languedoc, forming the seneschalship of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, and Raymond recognized as his heir in the rest of his territory his son-in-law Alphonse, one of the brothers of Louis IX., declaring

Regency of
Blanche.

Treaty of Paris,
1229.

the inheritance should revert to the crown if there were no child of the marriage of Alphonse with his only daughter, Jane; an eventuality which came to pass.

2. Louis IX. was nineteen years of age when he married Margaret of Provence, then only thirteen. Queen Blanche separated them for six years, and always afterwards showed a jealousy about Margaret's influence over the King. A few years afterwards the sister of this princess married Henry III., King of England, who thus became the brother-in-law of St. Louis. The picture which France presents from 1231 up to the time when the King attained his majority is that of general peace; but Louis IX. had soon to contend against the great vassals and nobles, to whom his grandfather, Philip Augustus, had dealt such terrible blows. The Counts de la Marche, de Foix, and several other vassals, united with Henry III., who crossed the sea with an army, and claimed the provinces taken from John Lackland. The English and their allies were conquered by Louis at the bridge of Taillebourg, and again before Saintes, which city he united to the crown, with a part of Saintonge, by the treaty of Bordeaux. The rebellious lords submitted to a master who generously pardoned them, and Henry returned to England.

Battle of
Taillebourg,
1242.

3. All the East shook at this time in the expectation of a frightful catastrophe. The Mongols, emerging from Upper Asia, had exterminated every nation they passed through. Their vanguard had invaded the Holy Land, and gained a sanguinary victory over the Christians and Mussulmans, whom terror had united: and Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the ferocious conquerors. St. Louis was ill and almost dying when the news of this disaster reached Europe; but on his recovery, he determined to undertake a new Crusade for the delivery of the Holy Land from its conquerors, and having assembled an army, left Paris on the 12th of June, 1248, to embark at Aigues-Mortes, a town he had founded at a great cost, in order to have a port in the Mediterranean.* He had resolved to proceed towards Egypt by Cyprus, instead of going to Syria by Sicily, a mistake which ultimately led to the failure of his enterprise.

Invasion of
the Mongols.

Battle of Gaza
1244

Fifth
Crusade.

4. The King sojourned a year at Nicosum, the capital of Cyprus, and then set out for Egypt. On arriving in sight of Damietta he leaped into the sea, sword in hand, at the head of his knights, repulsed the enemy, and seized this strong city and all its immense resources. In this town he remained for five months inactive, and then marched without any precautions on Mansourah. The Turks surrounded him on a burning plain, and hurled the terrible composition known as "Greek Fire," on his baggage and camp. Louis, in this desperate situation, gave orders for the battle; the Count d'Artois, his brother, rushed imprudently on Mansourah and surprised the town, but was

Battle of Man-
sourah, 1249

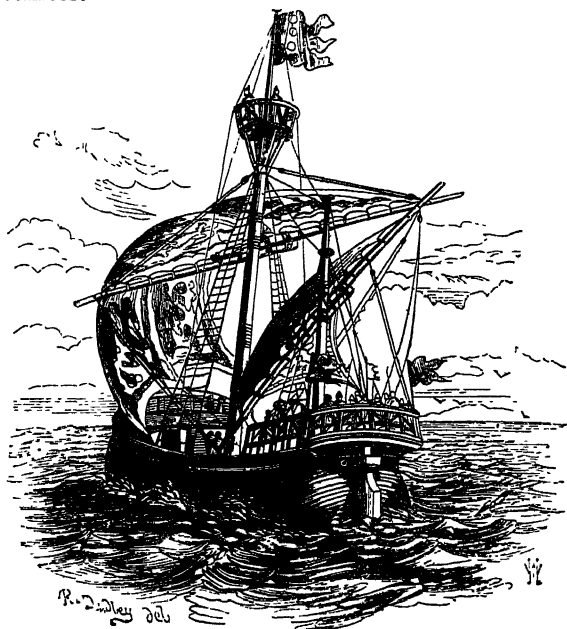
* This port is now dried up: the water in retiring has left a space of half a league between the sea and the shore.

surrounded there and killed, with the knights who followed him. The King, who had been unable to relieve them, fell back on a camp of the Saracens, carried it and shut himself up in it. There disease and repeated assaults carried off one half of his army, and he was himself taken dangerously ill. He ordered a retreat on Damietta, where he had left the Queen and a powerful garrison, but Turkish galleys blocked the passage of the river, and he fell a prisoner, with all his knights, into the hands of the Mussulmans. Queen Margaret, at Damietta, proved herself worthy of her husband. She kept the city as a pledge for the safety of the King, and it was offered with 400,000 livres for the royal ransom. At this price Louis recovered his liberty. His barons returned to France, but he remained four years longer in Syria, exhorting his knights to rejoin him, and employing his treasures in fortifying Tyre, Sidon, and all the other places in Palestine that belonged to the Christians.

5. Queen Blanche died in 1253, after a wise regency, and the King felt the most bitter grief at his loss. He returned to France, and made his entry into Paris, in September, 1254, displaying on his countenance the seared impression of all his disasters. On his return, Louis occupied himself actively with the reformation of his kingdom, and displayed the lofty qualities of a legislator. He completely destroyed the sovereign authority of the nobles by depriving them of the right of dealing justice arbitrarily. An important discovery seconded his efforts: the code of Roman laws known by the name of the Pandects of Justinian, and which governed the Empire of Constantinople, became known at this period in France. This collection of laws had, at the time, such a superiority over every other code that its application was immediately demanded; but the ignorance of the nobles was so great that it was found necessary to call in men versed in the study of the laws to explain it. Saint Louis was the first to introduce these lawyers into a parliament which he constituted as a court of justice. This court was composed of three high barons, three prelates, nineteen knights, and eighteen clerks, or lawyers, who drew up the decrees. The lawyers ultimately succeeded in securing the entire management of affairs by disgusting the barons through the wearisomeness of the proceedings. This tended to throw into their hands a great part of the feudal authority hitherto exercised by the nobles; and while they sought to abridge the power of the peers and barons, they endeavoured to render that of the King absolute, by actively seconding him in all his projects of reform and attacks upon feudal rights.

This pious and humane monarch attempted to put an end to the private wars between his barons, and prohibited judicial combats, ordering that judicial debates should be substituted for these encounters, and considerably enlarged the authority of the crown by establishing "royal cases," in which he himself heard causes between his subjects and their lords. The lawyers gave the greatest extension to these appeals. Nor did the King permit cities to be

rendered independent of his authority; he transformed many communes into royal towns by the ordinance of 1256, which ordered them to put forward four candidates, from among whom the King should choose the mayor, who was to be responsible to him for his conduct. It was then settled that the King alone had the right to make communes, that they should owe him fidelity against all, and that the title of "King's citizen" should be a safeguard under all circumstances.



MEDIEVAL SHIP OF WAR.

The name of "Establishments of Saint Louis" has been given to a collection of decrees passed by this King for the people of his domains. This celebrated collection contains wise and useful laws against venality in the administration of justice, the greediness of creditors, imprisonment for debt, and usurious profits. Louis IX. also displayed the independence and firmness of his judicious mind by publishing the Pragmatic Sanction, which became the basis of the liberties of the Gallican or French Church. This famous ordinance prohibited the raising of money for the Court of Rome within the kingdom without the King's permission, and fixed the cases in which it would be permissible to appeal from ecclesiastical to royal justice. Lastly, in

Pragmatic
Sanction.

spite of his great devotion, he managed to keep in check the extravagant zeal of the bishops.

6. Louis' last reform was that of the coinage. Eighty nobles had the right of coining in their domains, but the King fixed the value of the coinage in each case, and brought his own everywhere into currency. He also effected greater security on the highways of the kingdom, by obliging the nobles who levied a toll to guarantee the security of the roads through their domains.

So much care devoted to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the salutary establishment of his authority did not so fully occupy the great mind of this King as to divert him from occupations of less general interest, but of no less useful kind. He founded a public library in Paris; created the hospital of the Quinze-vingts, intended to receive three hundred blind people; and built the Sainte Chapelle, which may still be admired at Paris, near the Palace of Justice, at that period the palace of the King.

7. Nevertheless, in spite of his far-seeing wisdom and pure zeal, he committed several faults, the consequence of errors which belonged to his age rather than to himself; he laid cruel penalties on Jews and heretics, and cast many merchants into dungeons for lending money on interest, which at that time was regarded as a crime. A scruple fatal to France disturbed the mind of this holy monarch. The conquests of Philip Augustus and the confiscation of the property of the English crown oppressed him, and appeared to him in the light of usurpations; and he concluded at Abbeville,

Treaty of Abbeville, 1259. in 1259, contrary to the advice of his barons and his family, a treaty, by which he restored to Henry III. Périgord, Limousin, Agenais, Quercy, and Saintonge; while Henry, on his side, gave up his claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou. Almost at the same time that Louis signed the treaty of Abbeville, he signed with the King of

Treaty of Corbeil, 1264. Aragon the treaty of Corbeil, by which that prince gave up all the fiefs he still possessed in Languedoc and his claims to Provence; in return for which France surrendered her suzerainty over the countries of Barcelona, Roussillon and Cerdagne. The King of Aragon only retained in France the lordship of Montpellier, and the Pyrenees became the frontier of the two States.

8. Saint Louis had lost his eldest son, and several members of his family proved to be turbulent and dangerous to France. Charles of Anjou, his brother, an ambitious and cruel prince, heir, by his marriage with Beatrice of

Foundation of House of Anjou, 1266. Provence, to the powerful counts of that name, caused him very great anxiety; and with the intention of removing him, Louis favoured his projects with regard to Naples and Sicily, then possessions of the Imperial crown. The illustrious house of Suabia was humbled; Frederic II., its last Emperor, met with his death in struggling against the Pope, who sold his heritage, and offered to the King of France the kingdom of Naples, where Manfred, the

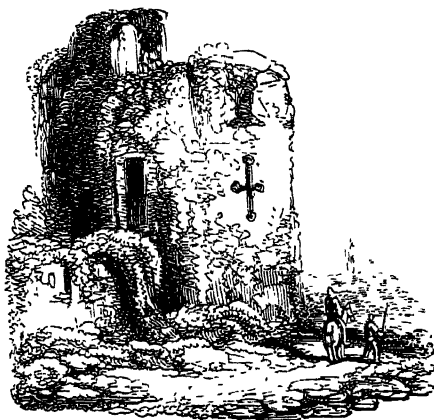
bastard son of Frederic II., then reigned. Saint Louis refused the offer for himself, but allowed his brother to accept it. Charles of Anjou left France with an army gathered together in Provence; and six years later, in 1266, the battle of Grandella, where Manfred perished, placed the crown of Naples and Sicily securely on his head.

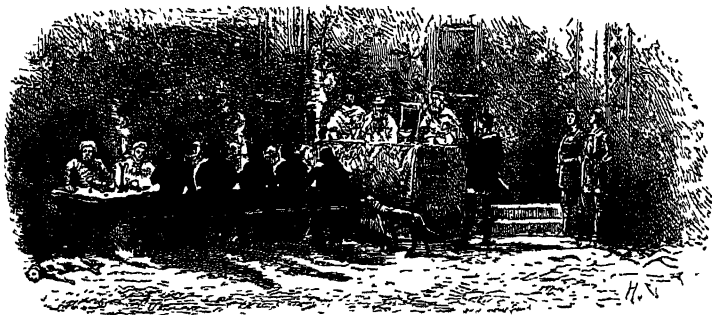
9. The East now attracted more forcibly than ever the attention of Saint Louis. The Latin Empire in Constantinople was no more; the Greeks had retaken that city in 1261. Taking advantage of the divisions among the Christians in Syria, Bendocdard, the Sultan of Egypt, made a series of rapid conquests in Palestine: Cæsarea, Jaffa and Antioch had fallen into his power, and a hundred thousand Christians had been massacred in the last-named town. On receiving intelligence of this frightful disaster, Saint Louis took up the Cross for the second time, and embarking again at Aigues-Mortes, in 1270, set sail for Tunis, disembarked close to the ruins of ancient Carthage, and had to suffer an infinity of evils, from the dryness of the soil, the heat of the sun, and the arrows of the Moors. The plague carried away part of his army, which he was compelled to hold back in fatal inaction; it struck down his second son, the Count de Nevers, and he himself was attacked at the end of the month, and died on the 25th of August, 1270, after having appointed as regents of the kingdom Mathieu de Saint-Denis and Roger de Nesle. No other king was more worthy of the admiration of his fellow-men, and alone, out of all his race, the Church bestowed on him the honours of canonization.

Fall of Latin
Empire in Con-
stantinople,
1261.

Sixth Crusade,
1270.

Death of Saint
Louis, 1270.





CHAPTER VI.

*REIGNS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF SAINT LOUIS, UNTIL THE
ACCESSION OF THE VALOIS.—PHILIP III.—PHILIP IV.—LOUIS X.
PHILIP V.—CHARLES IV., 1270-1328.*

- I. CHARACTER OF PHILIP III.: ABANDONMENT OF THE SIXTH CRUSADE :
AGGRANDISEMENT OF THE ROYAL DOMAIN: CESSION OF VENAISSIN TO
THE POPE. 2. REIGN OF PHILIP III. INGLORIOUS FOR FRANCE: THE
SICILIAN VESPERS; ATTACK OF THE FRENCH ON ARAGON' DEATH OF
PHILIP III.: FOUNDATION OF AUSTRIAN HOUSE OF HAPSBURG IN GERMANY.
3. ACCESSION OF PHILIP IV : WAR WITH ARAGON: TREATIES OF TARASCON
AND ARAGON. 4. AUTHORITY OF THE LAWYERS: THE PARLIAMENT OF
PARIS; EXPENSES CAUSED BY IT. 5. INTERFERENCE IN AFFAIRS OF SCOT-
LAND; QUARRELS WITH EDWARD I.: RECONCILIATION OF PHILIP AND
EDWARD BY BONIFACE VIII: ATTACK ON THE FLEMINGS, AND CON-
FISCATION OF FLANDERS: REVOLT OF THE FLEMINGS: BATTLE OF COURT-
RAY: VICTORIES OF ZERIKSEE AND MONS-EN-PUELLE: TREATY OF PEACE.
6 QUARREL WITH THE POPE: BURNING OF THE POPE'S BULL; FIRST
ESTATES-GENERAL OF THE THREE ORDERS: ARREST AND DEATH OF
BONIFACE VIII. 7. FRENCH INFLUENCE IN ELECTION OF CLEMENT V.:
SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS. 8. DEBASEMENT OF THE COINAGE:
THE KING'S POLICY: HIS DEATH: ACQUISITIONS OF THE CROWN UNDER
PHILIP IV. 9 ACCESSION OF LOUIS X' EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN: THE
KING'S SECOND MARRIAGE: HIS COMPANIONS: RESTORATION OF ANCIENT
PRIVILEGES OF THE NOBILITY: WRETCHED STATE OF THE COUNTRY: HIS
DEATH. 10. ACCESSION OF PHILIP V.: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SALIC
LAW: PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AND LEPERS: DEATH OF THE KING:
HIS GRANTS OF LETTERS OF NOBILITY: USEFUL EDICTS. 11. ACCESSION
OF CHARLES IV.: HIS SUPPORT OF HIS SISTER ISABELLA AGAINST HER
HUSBAND, EDWARD II. OF ENGLAND: THE KING'S DEATH.

1. **T**HE third son of Saint Louis, Philip III., called without any
known reason Philip the Bold, did not follow the glorious
example of his father; he reigned surrounded by valets,
and wholly given up to superstitious practices. The same day

that Saint Louis died he received Charles d'Anjou, his uncle, who entered into the port of Carthage with a fleet and an army. Peace was concluded that year, and then the army returned to Europe, diminished to one half by the heat, the fatigue and the plague. Philip re-entered France preceded by five coffins; those of his father, his wife, his son, his brother, the Count of Nevers, and his brother-in-law, Thibaut II., Count of Champagne, King of Navarre. His uncle Alphonso, who had married Jeanne the daughter and heiress of Raymond VII., last Count of Toulouse, died shortly afterwards without offspring, and his death made Philip heir to the county of Toulouse; but a part of this great fief, the county of Venaissin, to which Philip had only doubtful rights, he ceded to Gregory X., one of the most venerable men that ever occupied the Pontifical throne.

Abandonment
of the Sixth
Crusade.

Aggrandise-
ment of the
Royal
Domain.

2. The reign of Philip III. left no glorious souvenir for France, either in the interior of the kingdom or in foreign lands, and this period was marked by the frightful disaster which overthrew the French Government in Sicily. Charles d'Anjou, after having caused his rival, the young Conradin, son of Conrad IV., to be condemned to death and executed, believed himself securely seated upon his new throne. Conradin was the last prince of the house of Hohenstaufen; his death left the field clear for Charles d'Anjou, who from that time believed that he could oppress Naples and Sicily under a frightful tyranny. Vengeance brooded in every heart; John of Procida became the soul of the conspiracy; he was certain of the assistance of the Greek Emperor, Michael Paleologus, and of the King of Aragon, Don Pedro III. The latter assembled together a fleet, which he entrusted to the celebrated Roger of Loria, his admiral, with the order to await events upon the coast of Africa. Suddenly, on the 30th of March, 1282, the people of Palermo arose at the moment when the vesper bells sounded. At the stroke of this tocsin, the French were massacred in the streets of Palermo, and in a month afterwards the same thing had occurred throughout the whole of Sicily. Charles d'Anjou, furious, attacked Messina; Roger Loria came forward and destroyed his fleet under his very eyes. Charles demanded vengeance from King Philip, his nephew. The Pontiff, Martin IV., sustained his cause with ardour; he declared Don Pedro deprived of the crown of Aragon, and named Charles de Valois, second son of Philip, successor to Don Pedro, against whom he preached a crusade. Philip III. commanded the expedition, but it was unfortunate; the unexpected and multiplied attacks of the King of Aragon, together with dearth and fever, mowed down the army of Philip; who returned to France ill, and expired in the course of the year. Charles d'Anjou died shortly before him, through disappointment at having lost Sicily. It may be useful to note here that during this reign, a simple gentleman, called Rodolph, Count of Haps-

The Sicilian
Vespers, 1282.

Attack of
French on
Aragon.

Death of
Philip III.

burg, was elected Emperor in 1273, and became the founder of the new house of Austria.

3. Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, was sixteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne of Philip the Bold, his father. He at once continued the war against Aragon, which his father had commenced, and which was prolonged for many years without any decisive success. It was terminated by the Treaty of Tarascon, signed in 1291, and confirmed by that of Aragon. These treaties recognised Alphonso III., son of Pedro III., King of Aragon, and Charles II., son of Charles d'Anjou, King of Naples. Sicily, however, was detached from Naples and given up to the King of Aragon, while Charles II. crowned by the Pope, ceded his hereditary domains Maine and Anjou, to Charles de Valois, second son of Philip the Bold.

4. Philip whose character was hard, irascible, and rapacious, oppressed his subjects without pity, and his exactions were supported by unprincipled men of law, notorious for their chicanery and base servility. These men were, under him, the tyrants of France; their work, however, in so far as it touched legislation, had a useful influence which cannot be forgotten. They sought in political law to unite all the privileges of the sovereignty in the sole hands of the prince, while they asserted the equality of the subjects before the law; they also endeavoured to establish the civil law on a basis of reason and natural equity. In this manner they demolished the social order as it had been created under the feudal system, organised at the same time monarchical centralisation, and became the true founders of the civil order in modern times. The court of the king, or Parliament, the supreme tribunal of the kingdom, became the seat of their power. This body, founded by Saint Louis with the political and judicial privileges of the time, was modified by Philip IV.; the judicial element at this period was alone preserved. The Parliament in the meantime ceased to be itinerant. An ordinance of the 23rd of March, 1302, fixed it in Paris, and established it in the Cité, at the ancient palace of the kings, which took, from that time, the name of the Palace of Justice. It was composed of clerks and jurisconsults, all persons of the Third Estate, and it became the focus of the anti-feudal revolution. In order to sustain this new form of government, and to execute the judgments of the men of law, it was necessary to have an imposing force. The king had to pay a judicial and administrative army, and the maintenance of the horse and foot sergeants alone cost large sums, and it was necessary to wrest this money by violence from the unfortunate population. Thence sprang the despotism, thence the cruel miseries, which held in suspense, for so long a time, the advantages of the central and monarchical power.

5. This king, far from warlike, saw without emotion the disasters

among the Christians, and the capture of Saint Jean d'Acre, their last stronghold in Palestine. The successes of Edward I., King of England, troubled him more. That prince, at the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, caused himself to be recognised as arbiter between the aspirants to the throne, and had awarded it to John Baliol whose weakness he knew. He threatened to invade that kingdom, when Philip caused him to be summoned before the Parliament of Paris as his vassal for Aquitaine, alleging as a pretext certain troubles caused by the rivalry of commerce between the two nations. On this Edward persuaded the Count of Flanders to take up arms against France, while Philip promised to support the celebrated William Wallace, then in arms against the English King. The differences between the French and English monarchs, however, were reconciled by Boniface VIII., who imposed a long truce between the two kings, and united their interests by means of marriages. The King of England abandoned the Count of Flanders, and Philip no longer defended Scotland, which Edward seized for the second time. The French monarch then invited the Count of Flanders to place himself at his discretion, and that unfortunate nobleman gave himself up with confidence to the King. He was immediately thrown into prison, and all his states were seized by Philip. The tyranny which the French exercised in Flanders soon caused the people to revolt. The trade corporations assembled together, massacred the French in Bruges, and in the other towns; restoring independence to their country. The Flemish militia occupied Courtray, in front of which town the French army was encamped. They went out to meet it, and waited bravely for the battle, which resulted in the total destruction of the French, and the wholesale slaughter of the flower of the chivalry of France. This defeat weakened the feudal power in France, and strengthened royalty.

Quarrel with Edward I.

Confiscation of Flanders.

Revolt of the Flemings, 1301.

Battle of Courtray, 1302.

Philip resolved to avenge in person the defeat of his nobility at Courtray. He entered Flanders at the head of a powerful army, and occupied Tournay. His fleet overcame the Flemings at Zerksee, and his knights achieved a brilliant victory at Mons-en-Puelle, where six thousand of the bourgeois of Flanders were left upon the field of battle. The brave citizens, however, of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and other towns in Flanders pressed forward to oppose the King, who by the advice of his generals, signed a treaty by which the Flemings gave up to him French Flanders, as far as the Lys, with the towns of Lille and Douai, while the King on his part, recognised the independence of the Flemings.

Victories at Zerksee and at Mons-en-Puelle.

Treaty of Peace, 1304.

6. The assumption by the Popes of the right to bestow the kingdoms of the world on whom they would, and the support given by Boniface VIII., to his legate, the Bishop of Pamiers against Philip, whom the prelate

Quarrel with the Pope.

had insulted, deeply wounded the pride of the King, who caused the bishop to be arrested on a charge of high treason, and demanded his degradation from his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne. The Pope revoked the judgment and issued a bull against the King. Philip, excited to fury, supported by the University of Paris, caused the Pope's bull to be burned, and convoked the first Estates-General, where the deputies of the common people had been summoned, alongside the barons and bishops. The mayors, aldermen, jurats, consuls of the *bonnes villes*, hurried to Paris, and took their places in Notre Dame, where on the 10th of April, 1302, the

First Estates-General of the three orders 1302.

first sitting was opened. At this the nobility, the clergy, and the Third Estate proclaimed the complete independence of the crown. Boniface avenged himself by excommunicating the King, who sent his representative, William de Nogaret, to Anagni, where Boniface resided, to make himself master of the Pope's person. Boniface was promptly released by the people of Anagni, but he expired at Rome, a month afterwards, of a fever caused by the shock and by anger, at the age of eighty-six years.

Boniface VIII. outraged by Nogaret. His death, 1303.

7. Arbiter of the election, in consequence of his influence with the French cardinals, after the death of Benedict XI., in 1305, Philip promised to the Cardinal Bertrand de Goth, his enemy in old times, to cause him to be elected Pope if he engaged to hand over to him for five years, tithes on the members of the clergy, to render to Philip an important service, which he would claim and name at the proper time, and lastly, to stain the memory of Boniface

Election of Pope Clement V.

VIII. Bertrand de Goth accepted the terms and became Pope under the name of Clement V. The service which Philip had exacted without naming it beforehand was the suppression of the Order of the Templars, whose power wounded the pride of the monarch, while their immense wealth tempted his cupidity. Supported in his ruthless acts by the new Pope, the King immediately commenced a frightful persecution of the members of the order in France, before they even suspected his design. Confessions of evil doing were wrung from them by torture; their property was confiscated and their characters stained with horrible imputations without legal proof. Hundreds of blameless men then perished by the sword, by hunger, and by fire in France; but not content with this, Philip, then the most powerful king in Europe, invited all the sovereigns to follow his example; Edward II., King of England and Charles II., King of Naples, acceded to his wishes, and seized upon the Templars in their states; and fifteen thousand families, it is estimated, were broken up by this terrible measure.

Suppression of the Templars, 1309.

Debasement of the coinage.

8. Philip IV., dishonoured among the people, by the surname of the False Coiner, levied enormous taxes, debased the coinage, and, after the money was issued, refused to receive it again thus altered by himself. He was the

most absolute despot who had reigned in France: yet he was the first of his race who granted a representative privilege to the communes. He knew that men elevated from a low degree,



RODOLPH OF HAPSBURG RECEIVING THE KING OF BOHEMIA'S CROWN.

gratified with their prominent position, would offer little resistance; he wanted support in order to sustain him in his perfidious and cruel measures, and, in summoning the bourgeois to the councils of the kingdom, he felt strong

The King's
policy.

enough to fear nothing from a liberty which was only so in name ; torture was used profusely, and the whole nation was ruled by terror. He expired in 1314, recommending to his son piety, clemency and justice. While Clement V.,

his accomplice in the spoliation of the Templars, died soon after him.

Under Philip the Fair the domain of the crown was increased by La Marche and Angoumois, which he confiscated ; by Lyonnais, which he detached from the empire ; and a part of French Flanders. He had married Jeanne, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, of the country of Champagne, and of Brie. The results of that union were favourable to France.

9. Philip left three sons and one daughter. Louis X., the eldest,

named *Le Hutin*, or "the Stubborn," was twenty-five years of age at the death of his father, and had already worn for fifteen years the crown of Navarre, which he had inherited from his mother, together with that of Champagne and Brie. His two brothers, Philip and Charles, like himself, were given up to vicious habits, and their sister Isabella, wife of Edward II., only distinguished herself by crime and infamy. Marguerite of Burgundy, wife of the King, had been shut up, at the close of the last reign, in the Château Gaillard des Andelys, on a charge of adultery. Louis caused her to be strangled, and afterwards married Clemence of Hungary. He always lived surrounded by prodigal young noblemen, whom he made the companions of his pleasures ; and the nobility, taking advantage of their influence, obtained from him the restoration of their ancient privileges. He thus weakened the mainspring of the monarchy, so anxiously cared for by his father. But the King, pressed by want of money, issued also some decrees favourable to the national liberties, offering to the peasants of the crown, and to the serfs held in mortmain, to sell them their liberty ; but he gave no guarantee to the rights that he recognised, and such was the misery of the people, and such the distrust that the King inspired, that his decree was only received by a small number, and brought little money into the treasury. Great disorder in the financial department, and the horrors of a famine, accompanied by astounding scandals, marked the rapid course of this reign. Louis X. died in 1316, in consequence of an imprudence, leaving his wife, Clemence of Hungary, expecting the birth of a child. By his first marriage he had only one daughter, called Jeanne, then six years old.

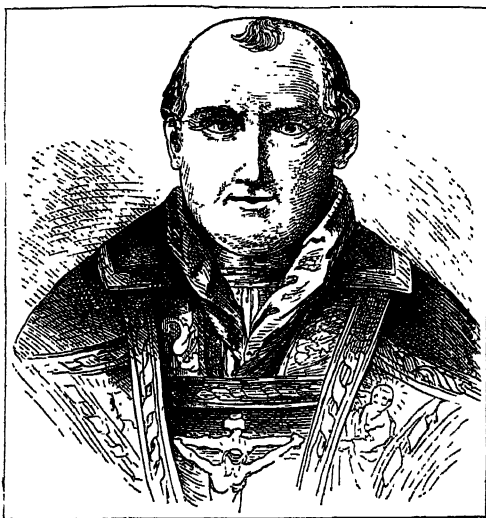
10. Philip V., called the Long, brother of Louis le Hutin, took possession of the regency, to the prejudice of the Queen, who gave birth to a son, named John. This child only survived a few days, and Philip, uncle of the Princess Jeanne, already in possession of the royal authority caused it to be decreed by the Estates-General that the law of succession established among the ancient Franks, or

The Salic Law.

the Salic Law, should be applied to the crown of

France, and that, in virtue of that law, women should never inherit the throne. This was the first application of that celebrated law.

The new king bestowed attention on the administration of the interior, appointed the captains-general of the provinces and the captains of the towns, and organised the militia of the communes, decreeing, however, that the arms should remain deposited in the houses of the captains till there was a necessity for their use. Save a rapid and useless expedition into Italy, he had no interior or exterior war to sustain. A horrible persecution of lepers and persons



CLEMENT V. (BERTRAND DE GOTH).

suffering from skin diseases was set on foot in this reign under the pretence that they had poisoned the wells of drinking-water throughout the kingdom. The accused were barbarously executed without any proof except that forced out by horrible tortures. The Jews, suspected of being in complicity with them, perished in the same torments. In the midst of these atrocious executions the King fell ill of a wasting disease, and died at Longchamp, in 1322. This prince gave letters of nobility to persons of mean origin. At last these letters were sold for money, and this innovation, in renewing the aristocracy, altered its character and weakened it. Amongst the numerous edicts of Philip V., those which organised the militia, the

Persecution of the lepers and of the Jews.

Death of Philip V., 1322.

Letters of nobility.

chambers of the exchequer, the administration of the woods and forests and the office of the collectors, indicate the progress of order, and the substitution of the despotism supported by law for the despotism sustained by the sword.

11. Philip V. had one son and four daughters: his son died before him and as his daughters were excluded from the throne by the Salic Law, his brother Charles inherited the sceptre. He issued ordinances for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of the lepers and Jews; there are few things besides in his reign that history has handed down to us.

While the civil war desolated England, Charles at the instigation of his sister Isabella, wife of Edward II., usurped the rights of that prince in Aquitaine. The English monarch sent his son to him, in order to pay him homage; Charles held back the young prince at his court, as a hostage, and furnished soldiers and money to his sister, in order to fight against her husband. That unfortunate king was made prisoner, and shortly afterwards a frightful death put an end to his days. Charles IV. fell ill at this period, and died on Christmas

day, in the same year, carried off, like his brothers, in the vigour of his life. Thus appeared to be accomplished the judgment of God, with which the house of Philip the Fair had for a long time been threatened, in the eyes of the people, as a punishment for its crimes.






THE HOUSE OF VALOIS.

CHAPTER I.

ACCESSION OF THE VALOIS.—REIGN OF PHILIP VI., 1328-1350.

- I. ASPIRANTS TO THE FRENCH CROWN: ELECTION OF PHILIP OF VALOIS: DETACHMENT OF NAVARRE FROM FRANCE. 2. EARLY ACTS OF PHILIP VI: BATTLE OF CASSEL: BEGINNING OF THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE: REVOLT OF THE FLEMINGS: THEY RECOGNISE EDWARD AS KING OF FRANCE: FIRST HOSTILITIES: BATTLE OF ECLUSE. 3. CIVIL WAR IN BRITTANY: PHILIP'S TREACHERY TO THE BRETON NOBLES: ADVANCE OF EDWARD ON PARIS AND SUBSEQUENT RETREAT. 4. FIRST EMPLOYMENT OF ARTILLERY IN WARFARE: BATTLE OF CRESSY. 5. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CALAIS: TRUCE BETWEEN PHILIP AND EDWARD: ESTABLISHMENT OF LA GABELLE: THE INQUISITION: DEATH OF PHILIP VI.: HIS ACQUISITIONS OF TERRITORY.

- I.  ITH the new reign commenced a long series of disastrous wars between England and France.

Jeanne d'Evreux, widow of Charles IV., gave birth to a daughter, after the King's death, and, according to the will of the late king, which provided for this contingency, the Parliament was summoned to decide between the candidates for the throne. The principal were Philip of Valois,* grandson of Philip the Bold, and

* Valois, a small tract of country in the Ile de France, had been given in apanage, with the title of count, to Charles, youngest son of Philip the Bold, and father of Philip of Valois.

cousin-german of the last three kings of France; and Edward III., King of England, son of Isabella, sister of those princes. The right of Edward to succeed through his mother was declared to be invalid, through the Salic Law; but the English monarch, dissatisfied with the decision of the French parliament, declared that he would sustain his fancied right with the sword. Many years, however, rolled away before he declared war against Philip of Valois; and in the meantime he still paid him homage for the fiefs which he possessed in France.

Philip, Count d'Evreux,* another grandson of Philip the Bold, and husband of Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., the eldest of the last three Capetians, was the third candidate for the crown. He received from the monarch the kingdom of Navarre, to which his wife had legitimate rights through her grandfather, and which was also detached from the crown of France. But the royal domain, by the accession of Philip of Valois, gained the county of Valois, as well as the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which had been ceded by the house of Anjou to the house of Valois, under Philip IV.

2. Philip VI. was thirty-six years old when, in 1328, he was recognized as king. This prince was brave, violent, vindictive and cruel, skilful in all muscular exercises, but he was ignorant of the first notions of the military art and of financial administration.

Early Acts of
Philip VI.

The first acts of his reign were the alteration of the coinage and an expedition into Flanders to assist the ferocious Count Louis, who was always at war with his subjects. The bloody battle of Cassel, where thirteen thousand Flemings were slaughtered, restored to the count his states. The issue of a scandalous lawsuit

Battle of
Cassel, 1328.

Preliminaries
of the War be-
tween England
and France,
1331-1333.

caused the first germs of discord to spring up between Edward III. and Philip VI. Robert d'Artois, brother-in-law of Philip, had vainly bribed witnesses, in order to obtain from the King and Parliament that the county of Artois, adjudicated to his aunt Mahaut, should be given up to him. The superstitious monarch was led to believe that Robert was seeking to compass his death by witchcraft; and the latter, through fear of the King's vengeance, was compelled to find an asylum with Edward, whom he was constantly urging to make war on Philip.

The cruelties of the Count of Flanders had again caused a revolt among his subjects. Ghent had revolted, and placed itself under the celebrated brewer, Jacques d'Artevelt, who was the soul of a new league against Count Louis and France. Having need of the support of England, Artevelt, in the name of the Flemings, recognized Edward as the King of France. The English king soon after

First Hostili-
ties, 1333.

entered Flanders at the head of an army and confirmed all the privileges of the Flemings. Philip sustained against him, with superior forces, a defensive

* The county of Evreux had been given in apanage, in 1307, by Philip the Fair to his brother Louis, younger son of Philip the Bold. !!!

warfare, refusing to engage in any general action. The English, nevertheless, took the French fleet by surprise, shut up in a narrow creek near Ecluse, and obtained a complete victory. France lost ninety vessels and more than thirty thousand men. This battle was followed by an armistice between the two nations.

Battle of
Ecluse, 1340.

3. A bloody and fatal war to France broke out in the following year in Brittany. John III., duke of that province, had died without issue, and the right of succession was disputed by Charles de Blois, husband of one of his nieces and nephew of the King of France, and Montfort, conqueror of the Albigenses, who was the younger brother of the last duke, and had been disinherited by him. The Court of Peers adjudged the duchy to Charles de Blois. Montfort immediately made himself master of the strongest places, and rendered homage for Brittany to King Edward, whose assistance he implored. This war, in which Charles de Blois was supported by France and Montfort by England, lasted for twenty-four years without interruption, and presented, in the midst of heroic actions, a long course of treacheries and atrocious robberies, among which the most notorious was the murder of Oliver Clisson and eleven other nobles of Brittany, partisans of Montfort, who had been invited to a tournament by the King and there arrested. Montfort's party appealed to Edward to avenge this act of perfidy, and, in the year following, an English army, commanded by Edward, disembarked in Normandy and ravaged the kingdom without obstacle until they arrived beneath the walls of Paris.

Civil War in
Brittany, 1341.

Philip's
Treachery.

4. Philip, appealing to all the nobility of France, assembled around him a formidable army, before which Edward retired. The retreat of the English was difficult; very inferior in numbers to the French, they passed over the Somme at the ford of Blanchetaque; and, compelled to fight, they fortified themselves upon a hill which commanded the village of Cressy, and there placed cannons, which were then for the first time used in European armies. The French had come by forced marches. If they had taken some repose, by prudent arrangements victory would have been assured to them; but the impatient Philip, who had scarcely arrived in sight of the enemy, ordered an attack to be made by his Genoese archers, who formed the advanced guard. They endeavoured vainly to make him observe that they were exhausted by hunger and fatigue, and that the rain had rendered their bows useless. He renewed the order; they advanced with bravery and were repulsed. Philip, furious, caused them to be massacred, and his brother, the Duke d'Alençon, trod them down under the hoofs of his cavalry. This ferocious act caused the loss of the army; the English took advantage of the confusion in the front ranks and rushed upon them, and the advanced guard was thrown back upon the general body of the army, where a frightful carnage took place. Thirty thousand Frenchmen lost their lives, and amongst them

First employ-
ment of artil-
lery in warfare,
1346.

Battle of
Cressy, 1346.

eleven princes, twelve hundred nobles or knights, and the chivalrous King of Bohemia, allied with Philip, who, although blind, caused himself to be led into the midst of the affray in order to perish valiantly. The celebrated Black Prince, fifteen years of age, commanded the English, under King Edward, his father, and powerfully contributed to the victory. Philip, twice wounded, was forced from the field of battle, accompanied by only five knights.

5. The taking of Calais was one of the most fatal results of the defeat of Cressy. The inhabitants of that town,

Siege and
capture of
Calais, 1346.

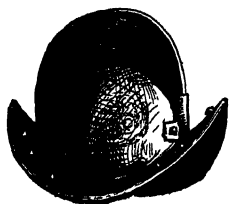
reduced by famine to capitulate after eleven months of courageous defence, were summoned to deliver up to Edward six persons from among them upon whom that King could satiate his vengeance. On this the Sieur Eustache de Saint-Pierre and five others offered themselves for death to appease the wrath of Edward, and the whole six, with ropes round their necks and bearing the keys of the town, were conducted by the governor, John de Vienne, to the English camp. Edward, on seeing them, called for the executioner; but the Queen and his son interceded for them and obtained their pardon. All the inhabitants of Calais were driven from the town, which became an English colony; and for two hundred years it was an entrance-place into France for foreign armies. The capture of this important place was followed by a truce between the two monarchs.

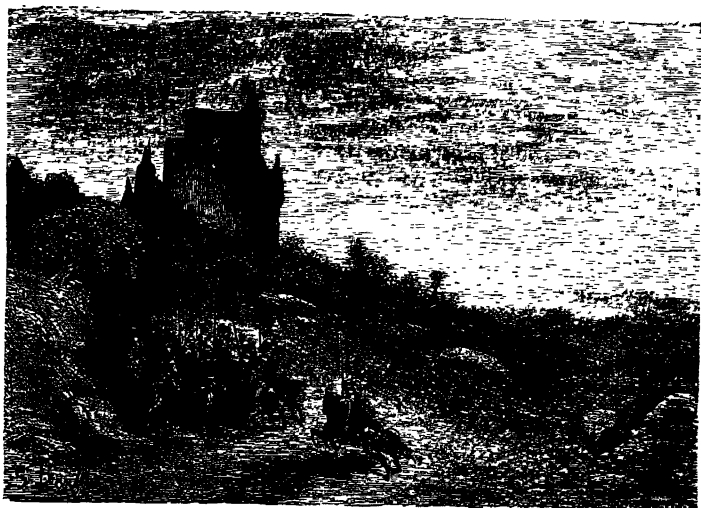
Truce, 1346-
1385.

The disasters of the war took away nothing from the pride or the magnificence of Philip of Valois. To replenish his treasury, he altered the coinage and caused new taxes to be sanctioned, among which was the tax called *La Gabelle*, transferring to the fiscal power the monopoly of salt throughout all the kingdom. Philip VI. also rendered the power of the Inquisition formidable in France; nevertheless, he authorised the appeals from abuse of the ecclesiastical tribunals to the Parliament. In 1350, he married the young Blanche de Navarre, sister of King Charles, surnamed *The Bad*, and died in less than a month afterwards, at the age of fifty-eight years. He had bought the seigniory of Montpellier, for 120,000 crowns, from James II., last king of Majorca, and acquired from Humbert II. the province of Dauphiné,

Death of
Philip VI.,
1350.

which was given in apanage to the eldest sons of the kings of France. From that time they bore the name of Dauphins; and the frontiers of the kingdom were thus extended as far as the Alps.





CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF KING JOHN, 1350-1364.

1. ACCESSION OF KING JOHN: HIS CHARACTER: DESPOTISM OF THE KING.
2. EXPIRY OF THE TRUCE WITH ENGLAND: ASSASSINATION OF CHARLES DE LA CERDA BY THE KING OF NAVARRE: RECONCILIATION BETWEEN JOHN AND CHARLES: ASSEMBLY OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL: IMPORTANT REFORMS: NEW TAXES.
3. CIVIL TROUBLES: ACTS OF THE NEW ESTATES-GENERAL.
4. ARREST OF THE KING OF NAVARRE AND EXECUTION OF COUNT D'HARCOURT AND OTHERS: INVASION OF FRANCE BY EDWARD III: BATTLE OF POICTIERS: SURRENDER OF THE FRENCH KING.
5. MEASURES OF THE DAUPHIN: ESTATES-GENERAL OF 1356: DESOLATION OF THE KINGDOM: ESTATES-GENERAL OF 1357: CONCESSIONS OF THE DAUPHIN.
6. CAPTIVITY OF THE KING: REPUDIATION OF THE DAUPHIN'S CONCESSIONS: NEW ASSEMBLY OF ESTATES-GENERAL: EXTREME MEASURES OF MARCEL: MURDER OF THE MARSHALS OF CHAMPAGNE AND NORMANDY: CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MARCEL AND THE DAUPHIN.
7. THE JACQUERIE: SIEGE OF PARIS BY THE DAUPHIN: ASSASSINATION OF MARCEL.
8. TREATY OF BRETAGNE: SUFFERINGS THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM: PHILIP THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY: DEATH OF KING JOHN.

1. **J**OHAN was more than thirty years of age when, in 1350, he succeeded Philip de Valois, his father. His education, although it had been carefully conducted, had made him

more a valiant knight than a wise and experienced king. Impetuous in character, irresolute in mind, rash rather than brave, prodigal, obstinate, vindictive and full of pride, perfectly instructed in the laws of chivalry and ignorant of the duties of the throne, he was always ready to sacrifice to the prejudices of honour, as then understood, the rights of the subjects and the interests of the state. France was exhausted at the time of his accession; nevertheless, he spared nothing at the fêtes of his coronation. The expense was so prodigious, and the impoverishment of the royal treasury so great, that the King, in the following year, found himself obliged to call together the Estates of the kingdom. The first acts of his reign were characterised by violence and despotism. He beheaded the Count d'Eu, Constable of France, who had come from England as a prisoner on parole to collect his ransom. In one year he issued eighteen ordinances concerning the alteration of the coinage, increasing and diminishing alternately the value of the gold mark, and confiscated to his own profit all the claims of the Jew and Lombard merchants established in the kingdom. He forbade his subjects to pay what they owed to them, under penalty of being compelled to pay a second time. These disastrous ordinances struck a blow at the heart of commerce and threatened to destroy it. But the King felt no fear, after these iniquitous acts, in summoning together the Estates of his kingdom; and such was still, at that period, the ignorance or submission of the deputies, that they did not raise a murmur. The monarch treated with those of each estate in particular, obtained from each that which he wished, and then dismissed them.

2. These new resources were exhausted at the moment when the truce concluded between England and France had expired. Edward swore to avenge the murder of the Count d'Eu, which had deprived him of the Count's ransom; while Charles, King of Navarre declared war against France because John had omitted to pay the dowry of his daughter, whom Charles had married, and had appointed as Constable the Spaniard Charles de la Cerda, his personal enemy. The King of Navarre took the Constable by surprise at Aigle, in Normandy, and assassinated him. King John, powerless to reduce him by arms, summoned him to the throne. Charles of Navarre consented to appear there, received the pardon of the King, and became reconciled to him by the treaty of Valogne. War, however, broke out with England. The King issued new ordinances for the falsification of the coinage; the gold mark mounted up from four livres to seventeen and then fell back again to four livres. These odious proceedings only brought into the treasury insufficient resources. The King, in order to create new means, summoned to Paris, in 1355, the Estates-General of the north of France, called the *Langue d'Oil*, as the southern states were called the *Langue d'Oc*. The Estates met together on the 2nd of December in the Great Chamber of Parliament.

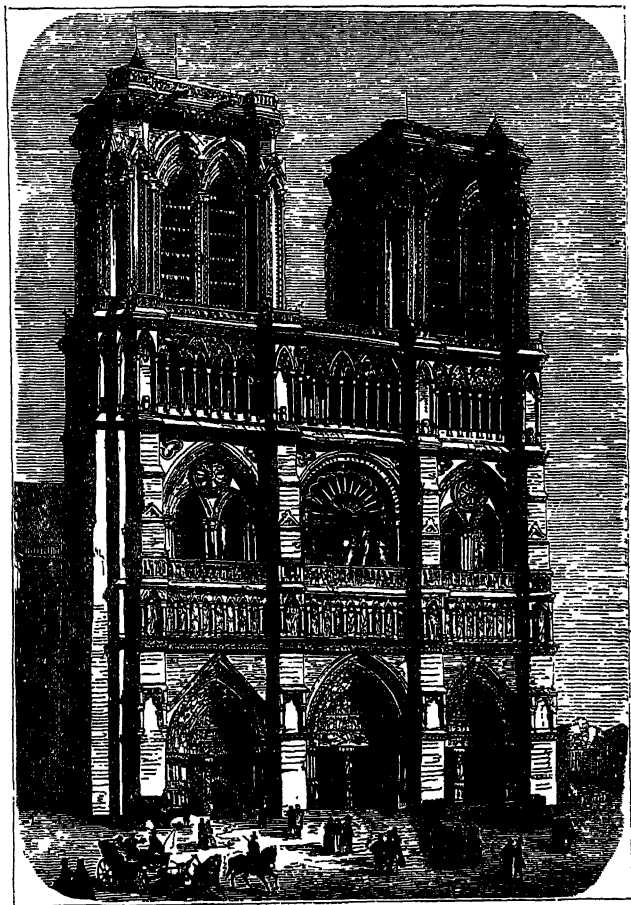
Accession of
King John,
1350.

Despotism of
the King.

Assassination
of Charles de
la Cerda.

Assembly of
the States-
General, 1355.

The Archbishop of Rouen, Pierre de la Forest, Chancellor of France, opened the Assembly, and requested subsidies for the war. John de Craon, Archbishop of Rheims, in the name of the clergy; Gauthier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, in the name of



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS.

the nobility; Etienne Marcel, head magistrate of the merchants, in the name of the Third Estate, requested permission to consult among themselves concerning the subsidies to be granted and the abuses to be reformed. It was first provided that no rule should

have the force of law until it had been approved by the three orders, and that any order which had refused its consent should not be bound by the vote of the other two. By this famous declaration, the Third Estate caused itself to be recognised as a political power equal to that of the clergy and the nobility. The Estates then enacted that the value of the silver mark should remain fixed at four livres and twelve sous. They suppressed the law of taking possession, which gave the king, the princes and the great officers the right of taking, without payment, in their journeys, everything that they considered necessary for their convenience. They abolished the monopolies established by people in government places. In return, they undertook to furnish thirty thousand soldiers and five millions of livres to make up the balance for a year; but they wished that this money should remain in the hands of their receivers and be levied by them. They made it also necessary that they should assemble again on the 1st of March in the following year to receive the accounts of the treasurers then at the end of a year to renew the taxes, if there were necessity, and to provide for the expenses of the war. The King undertook to respect these conditions; and, in order to provide the money re-

quired, the States raised the tax of the gabelle, or the tax upon salt, and established an "aide" of eight deniers in the livre upon the sale of all merchandise. The first of these taxes fell upon a commodity indispensable to all, and struck at the poorest and most numerous class: the second, in which persons of every estate and all conditions were included, wounded the pretensions of the nobility and clergy, and caused an intolerable inquisition to weigh heavily upon the mercantile classes, and interfered with every commercial operation.

3. Soon fatal symptoms of discord made themselves manifest. Commerce was extinguished; both town and country were opposed to the gabelle and spread complaints against the States everywhere. The clergy refused to pay the tax, and many seditions broke out. In the middle of these calamities, the time arrived when the States ought to assemble anew, but many of the towns abstained from sending representatives, while the Normans and the Picards refused to be represented there, and declared that they would not pay the two established taxes. The new Estates-General, much less numerous than their predecessors, abolished the gabelle and the aide of eight deniers in the pound on the sale of all merchandise, and replaced those imposts by a tax rendered proportional to the fortune of each person.

4. About this time John committed a most disgraceful act in arresting the King of Navarre, the Count d'Harcourt and three other nobles, while sitting at table with his son, the Dauphin, at the chateau of Rouen. This was done to satisfy his old grudge against Charles for the murder of the constable, and his resentment against the King of Navarre and the Count d'Harcourt for supporting the disaffected who had refused to pay the taxes imposed by the

**Important
Reforms.**

New taxes.

Civil troubles.

**Execution of
the Count
d'Harcourt and
other noble-
men, 1355.**

Estates. D'Harcourt and the three noblemen were immediately beheaded. Royal dignity saved Charles of Navarre. John spared his head, but he held him prisoner closely confined in a tower of the Louvre, and seized his French appanage of Evreux.

This act of violence drew down great misfortunes on the kingdom. Philip of Navarre, father of King Charles, and Geoffroy d'Harcourt, uncle of the beheaded Count, immediately united themselves with the King of England and recognised him as the King of France. Edward proclaimed himself the avenger of the executed gentlemen. He sent a formidable army into Normandy, while the Prince of Wales ravaged Auvergne, Limousin and Berry, and approached Tours. John called together all his nobility. The army assembled in haste in the plains of Chartres and overtook the English in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. The Black Prince had only two thousand knights, four thousand archers, and two thousand foot soldiers, and he saw before him an army of fifty thousand men, amongst whom, besides the King of France and his four sons, there were twenty-six dukes, or counts, and a hundred and forty knights banneret. He fixed his camp at Maupertuis, two leagues north of Poitiers, upon a hill covered with hedges, bushes and vines, impracticable for cavalry and favourable to sharpshooters; he concealed his archers in the bushes, dug ditches and surrounded himself with palisades and waggons. In fact he converted his camp into a great redoubt, open only in the centre by a narrow defile, which was lined by a double hedge. At the top of this defile was the little English army, crowded together and protected on every side. There was, moreover, an ambuscade of six hundred knights and archers behind a small hill which separated the two armies. The French army was disposed in an oblique line, in three battalions, or divisions. The left and most advanced wing was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, brother of the King; the centre, somewhat further back, by the sons of the King; the right wing, or reserve, by the King himself. The cries of the combatants could already have been heard, when two legates interposed their mediation. The Prince of Wales offered to restore his conquests and his prisoners and not to serve against France for seven years, but John demanded that he should give himself up as a prisoner with a hundred knights. The English refused, and the King, who could have taken him by famine, ordered the battle to commence.

A corps of three hundred French men-at-arms rushed into the defile; a shower of arrows destroyed it. The corps which followed, disturbed by this attack, threw itself back upon the left wing and put it in disorder. This was only a combat of the advanced guard; but the English ambuscade throwing itself suddenly upon the centre division, that also was seized with panic and terror, and took to flight without having fought. The left wing took refuge, in disorder, behind the division of the King, which was already in trouble, but intact. The English went out from the defile in good order, and, advancing into the plain, found before them that division

where were the King, his youngest son, and his brilliant staff of nobles. The French had still the advantage over their enemies, who were very inferior to them in numbers; but John, remembering to his misfortune, that the disaster at Cressy had been caused by the French cavalry, cried out "On foot! on foot!" He himself descended from his horse and placed himself at the head of his own men, a battle-axe in his hand. The engagement was fierce and bloody; the French knights, unable to struggle on foot against the great horses of the English and the arrows of the archers, fought until they were all killed or taken. The King remained almost alone, with bare head, wounded, intrepid, fighting bravely with his axe, accompanied by his young son, who parried the blows of his enemies. He was obliged to surrender to the Black Prince. Such was the disastrous issue of the celebrated Battle of Poitiers.

King John is
made prisoner.

5. The Dauphin, already named by his father lieutenant-general of the kingdom, assembled at Paris in the same year the Estates of the Langue d'Oil.

Eight hundred deputies were sent to the assembly, which was presided over by Charles de Blois, Duke of Brittany. On the demand for fresh subsidies, they answered by the election of several commissioners, taken from each order, who demanded the sole power in matters of finance throughout the states; the power to bring to judgment the counsellors of the King; the creation of a permanent council of four prelates, twelve knights and twelve bourgeois, in order to assist the young regent; lastly, the right of the Estates to meet together without royal convocation. Upon these conditions they agreed to furnish an army of thirty thousand men; but the Dauphin was not disposed to comply with them, and at last the assembly separated without obtaining anything or granting anything.

Desolation then reigned supreme throughout France; commerce was annihilated; the soldiers, disbanded and without pay, ravaged the country; the fields remained uncultivated; the overcrowded towns were distressed by famine; while the English were approaching the gates of Paris. Nothing remained for the Dauphin but to summon the Estates-General once more in 1357, but the new Estates repro-

Estates General
of 1357.

duced the requests of the preceding assembly, adding to them other pretensions and forcing upon him all their demands. In exchange for a subsidy destined to furnish thirty thousand men, and which was to be collected and managed not by the people of the King, but by those of the Estates, the

Concessions
the Dauphin.

Dauphin engaged solemnly to turn aside nothing for his personal interest from the money consecrated to the defence of the kingdom, to refuse every letter of pardon for atrocious crimes, no more to sell or farm out the offices of judicature, to establish good money, and to bring about no further change without the consent of the three Estates; such were, in brief, the principal dispositions of the celebrated ordinance of

1357. The Dauphin swore besides that he would conclude no truce without the sanction of the Estates, and that he would dismiss as "unworthy of all charge," twenty-two counsellors, to whom public hatred attributed all the misfortunes of the country.

6. King John had been conducted from Poitiers to Bordeaux, thence to London, and during the negotiations on the subject of his ransom, a truce of two years was concluded between England and France. About the same time the death of Geoffroy d'Harcourt freed the Dauphin from an implacable foe. Charles breathed again; he had only given way by constraint to the wish of the Estates, and he now repudiated all the promises that he had made, retaining the ministers whom he had promised to dismiss and prosecute.

Captivity of
the King.

The new Estates, convened jointly by the Dauphin and Marcel, the celebrated *prévôt*, or chief, of the merchants of Paris, assembled on the 17th of November, 1357, but among the members were only found a few deputies for the clergy and not a single noble. Marcel, as the Dauphin braved public opinion by drawing nearer to his person the ministers and great officers condemned by the preceding Estates, and threatened to re-establish all the former abuses, had recourse to violent measures. He made the Parisians adopt a national colour, and gave them for a rallying sign a red and blue hood, the colours of the town of Paris. He appeared, followed by armed men, before the Dauphin, and caused to be massacred in his presence the Lord of Conflans, Marshal of Champagne, and Robert de Clermont, Marshal of Normandy, both of whom had been proscribed by the Estates. The Dauphin, covered with their blood, implored his life from Marcel, who placed upon his head the red and blue hood and conducted him to the Hotel de Ville under the safeguard of the popular colours. Marcel was king in Paris.

Murder of the
marshals of
Champagne and
Normandy.
Marcel makes
himself master
of Paris, 1358.

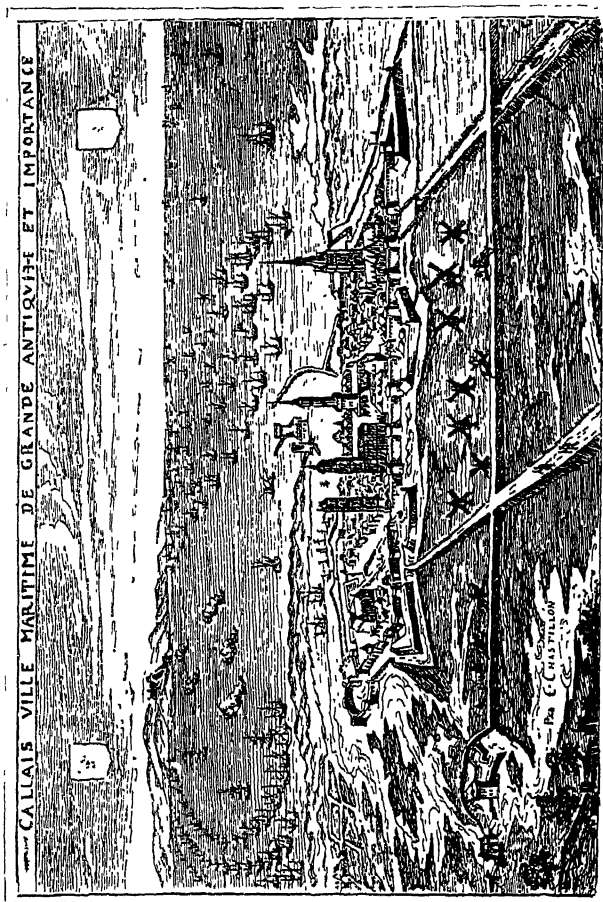
The nobility and clergy, however, were indignant at seeing the despised bourgeois exercising a power equal to their own, and the murder of the marshals caused discord to break out. The nobles of Champagne assembled together and demanded vengeance from the Dauphin, who called together the Estates at Compiègne, far from the centre of agitation; the nobility alone presented themselves in great numbers, and the reaction became imminent. Marcel foresaw the storm and prepared for the combat; he attacked the Louvre, then out of the capital, and took possession of it; he united the town with the château and fortified the precinct within the walls. The regent called round him the nobility, and assembled seven thousand lancers; while, by the advice of Marcel, the bourgeois of Paris took as their captain-general the King of Navarre, whom John de Pequigny had rescued by force of arms from the castle of Arloux, where he had been detained a prisoner by King John. Civil war commenced, and with it a new scourge showed itself.

Civil war, 1358

7. The country people, powerless against the oppression which presented itself on every side, overcharged with taxes, despised by

the bourgeois, pillaged by the soldiers, suffered at this period from intolerable evils. In the Beuvoisis, they arose in a mass and swore war to the death against the nobles. They burnt their castles, the inhabitants of which

The Jacquerie,
1358.



ANCIENT VIEW OF THE PORT OF CALAIS.

they tortured and massacred; they murdered women and girls, and committed every excess to which ignorant and barbarous men, for a long period victims of a cruel oppression, could abandon themselves. This rising received in history the name of *The Jacquerie*. It was soon suppressed; the nobility, invincible under its iron

armour, exterminated these half-naked wretches. Dispersed before Meaux, they nearly all perished, and the plains throughout many provinces became deserted.

Paris was then besieged by the army of the Dauphin; the bourgeois suspected Charles the Bad of treachery, and dismissed him. Soon the peril of the capital became extreme, and Charles was invited back by Marcel, who half promised to proclaim him King of France. The King of Navarre, accepted the offer, but the execution of Marcel's plan was frustrated by the murder of the *prévôt* by a bourgeois named Mailliard, a partisan of the Dauphin, who had discovered the plot. The death of Marcel smoothed the way for the regent, who entered Paris as a conquerer, and signalized his power by numerous executions. Siege of Paris by the Dauphin
The assassination of Marcel
1358.

8. The celebrated treaty of Brétigny, near Chartres, terminated at last the hostilities between France and England. Its principal articles declared that Guienne, Poitou, South Gascony, Ponthieu, Calais, and some fiefs should remain entirely in the possession of the King of England; that Edward should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and that John should pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The two sovereigns confirmed this treaty at Calais in 1360. Treaty of Brétigny, 1360.

Great calamities followed the deliverance of King John. The people were laid under arbitrary taxation, and their misery increased; the fields remained uncultivated; and famine, followed by a plague of three years' duration, devastated the kingdom. Sufferings throughout the kingdom.


In the midst of so many evils, a happy circumstance occurred for France. John acquired Burgundy by the death of Philip, the last duke, whom he succeeded as next of kin. This province he gave as an appanage to his fourth son, Philip, whose valorous conduct at Poitiers had gained for him the surname of "the Bold" and the paternal predilection. Thus the second house of Burgundy was founded, which rendered itself so formidable in France. While contemplating a new crusade in conjunction with the King of Cyprus, John learned that his son, the Duke of Anjou, had fled from England, where he had left him as a hostage. Impatient to show that he had no participation whatever in his son's act, he demanded a safe conduct, obtained it, and returned to England where he died in 1364. Philip the Bold
duke of Burgundy, 1362
Death of King John, 1364.



CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF CHARLES V., CALLED THE WISE, 1364-1380.

1. ACCESSION OF CHARLES V.: BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN: BATTLE OF COCHEREL. 2. BATTLE OF AURAY: TREATY OF GUERANDE AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR IN BRITTANY: THE GREAT COMPANIES; WAR AGAINST PETER THE CRUEL: BATTLE OF NAVARETTE: CAPTURE OF DU GUESCLIN BY THE ENGLISH: BATTLE OF MONTIEL. 3. RISING OF GASCONS AGAINST THE ENGLISH: VIOLATION OF THE TREATY OF BRETAGNE: RENEWAL OF WAR WITH ENGLAND: DEATH OF THE BLACK PRINCE: TRUCE OF BRUGES. 4. DESIGNS OF CHARLES V. ON NORMANDY: PERSECUTION OF SECTARIANS: GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST. 5. CONFISCATION OF BRITTANY: REVOLT OF THE BRETONS: DEATH OF DU GUESCLIN: REVERSES IN BRITTANY: RISING OF LANGUEDOC: DEATH OF THE KING.

1. HEN Charles V. ascended the throne he was twenty-nine years of age. He had already governed France for nearly eight years. Nothing then announced in him the restorer of the monarchy. Not much esteemed by the nobility, hated by the bourgeoisie, weak in body and of a sickly constitution, everything appeared likely to become an obstacle during his reign. And yet, by his address and prudence more than by great talent, he was enabled to re-conquer a large part of the provinces which his father had lost. Nothing threw more brilliancy upon the reign of Charles V., and contributed more to his success, than the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin. A simple Breton gentleman, with no personal advantages, accomplishments, or fortune, of a mind so little opened that he could never learn to read, he had nothing apparently of that which announces a hero, except his valour.

Accession of
Charles V., 1364.

Bertrand Du
Guesclin.

His first exploit for Charles was a victory. Boucicaut had just taken by surprise the town of Mantes, which belonged to the King of Navarre; that of Meulan had likewise fallen into the hands of the French. The *Capital*, or Seigneur, of Buch, a brave Gascon captain in the service of Charles the Bad, made arrangements in order to take his revenge, and awaited the French in the neighbourhood of Cocherel, near Evreux. Here Du Guesclin, who had not his equal in stratagems of war, drew the *Capital* into an ambuscade by a feigned retreat, and took him prisoner. His followers fought bravely, but victory inclined to the French; and the men of Navarre, without a chief, dispersed, only a small number contriving to escape. The victory of Cocherel placed in submission to Charles V. nearly the whole of Normandy. He received the news at Rheims, in the midst of the fêtes of his coronation, and recompensed Du Guesclin by the gift of the county of Longueville.

Battle of
Cocherel.

2. The twenty-four years' war in Brittany between the son of John de Montfort, allied with the English, and Charles de Blois, sustained by France, was brought to an end by the battle of *Auray*, when the latter was slain. This battle was soon followed by the treaty of *Guerande*, which assured the Duchy of Brittany to Montfort, who hastened to Paris to do homage to the King. Charles V. found himself at last at peace with all his neighbours. His people began to breathe again, and order and peace existed once more. But the companies of adventurers consisting of men who lived by war, and were ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, those brigands, who considered themselves as belonging to no country, suddenly found themselves without employment as soon as France was at peace, and began to commit frightful ravages throughout the country. The King, unable to exterminate them, was compelled to employ them; and he sent them under the command of Du Guesclin against Peter, King of Castile, surnamed the Cruel, who had poisoned his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, a relation of the King of France, and ordered the murder of his natural brother, Henry of Transtamare, who had implored Charles V. to assist him and place him on his brother's throne. These terrible adventurers entered Spain, and the troops of Peter disbanded themselves before them. That prince, repulsed by his subjects, driven from Portugal, where he sought a refuge with Peter the Justiciary, as barbarous as himself, abandoned his throne to his rival and retired to the court of the Prince of Wales, who received him at Bordeaux with great honours. and Henry took possession of the crown of Castile without obstacle. But Peter solicited succour from the English, and the Prince of Wales armed in his favour without breaking with France. The great companies, who had just established Transtamare on the throne, rushed now to the side of his brother, drawn by the appetite for gold which he promised them. Du Guesclin supported Transta-

Battle of
Auray. Treaty
of Guérande,
1365.

The great
companies.

War against
Peter the
Cruel, 1366.

Battle of Navarette, 1367. mare; but the latter was conquered by the Prince of Wales at the battle of Navarette and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. Peter the Cruel recovered his kingdom, and his brother sought refuge with the Duke of Anjou, eldest of the brothers of Charles V. and commandant of Languedoc.

Du Guesclin, ransomed by Charles V., who sent him anew into Spain at the head of his army, by the victory of Montiel, replaced Transtamare, for a second time, upon the throne of Castile. Peter the Cruel was made prisoner. On recognizing each other, the rival brothers engaged in a deadly combat, and Peter died, stabbed by the hand of Henry, in the tent of Du Guesclin.

3. At this period Charles contemplated the recovery of those provinces which had been ceded to the English by his father, and fomented revolt in all the provinces given over to England by the treaty of Brétigny. A rising broke out in Gascony on the occasion of a hearth-tax, an imposition established by the English prince upon each fire. The Gascons appealed to the King of France, as sovereign of Guenne and of Gascony, and Charles V., in contempt of the treaty of Brétigny, which granted these provinces in complete sovereignty to Edward, received their appeal, and caused the Black Prince to be summoned before the Chamber of Peers as his subject. The Prince of Wales disregarded the summons, and the Court of Peers issued, in 1370, a decision declaring that, in default of having appeared before it, Edward was deprived of his rights with regard to Aquitaine and his other possessions in France, and confiscated them to the profit of the crown. The English monarch,

Rising of the Gascons against the English, 1368 justly indignant, assembled together a powerful army, which disembarked at Calais, under the command of the Duke of Lancaster. Charles V., ordered his generals to watch the enemy, to impede his movements, and to decline to give battle. His orders were obeyed; and Lancaster was allowed to make his way to Paris, where his army arrived exhausted and almost destroyed by disease, fatigue and scarcity of provisions. The fortune of England tottered: the Prince of Wales, whose last sad exploit was the sack of Limoges, was just dead; Edward's fleet had been conquered at Rochelle by the navy of Castile; his powerful army had consumed itself; already the fruits of the victory of Poitiers were lost to him and France had recovered nearly all its provinces. The old King, so formidable in

Renewal of war with England, 1370. times of old and now so humiliated, signed the truce of Bruges with Charles V. and shortly afterwards died, leaving the throne to his grandson, the unfortunate Richard II.

4. Freed from his most dangerous enemy, Charles abandoned himself to his revenge against his brother-in-law, Charles the Bad, then in Spain, where he meditated an alliance with England. He compelled the son of that prince, who had come without distrust to his court, to sign an

Truce of Bruges, 1375.
Designs of Charles V. on Normandy.

order which gave over to the French all the places possessed by his father in Normandy. Bernay, Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Avranches, Mortain, Valognes opened their gates; and in Normandy the town of Cherbourg alone belonged to the King of Navarre, who was thus all but expelled from his Norman possessions.

The end of Charles's reign was not free from storms. The King saw awakening round him in all directions symptoms of that fermentation, of that liberal tendency in men's minds, which he had always taken great care to suppress. Sectarians, known under the name of Béguins, or Turlupins, multiplied in his states; he allowed a large number of these unfortunates to be burnt alive; but the executions could not restrain the flight of human reason. New sects were formed, and the great Schism of the West stimulated throughout Europe the spirit of doubt and of inquiry.

Persecution of
Sectarians

Gregory XI. died in 1378 at Rome, and the College of Cardinals gave him for a successor Bartholomew Prognagni, who took the name of Urban VI. The violent conduct of the new Pope soon alienated from him those who had crowned him; threatened by him, they all declared that his election was illegal; they chose Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and went to take up his residence at Avignon. Such was the origin of the famous Schism of the West. Europe divided itself between the two popes. Charles V. declared himself for Clement, who resided in France; his allies, the sovereigns of Naples, of Castile and Aragon, followed his example. The party of Urban VI. was embraced by England, Bohemia, Hungary, Portugal and Flanders. Charles, in declaring for one who was hereafter to be declared anti-pope, opened up, in spite of himself, new views to the independence of human reason.

Great Schism of
the West, 1379.

5. The symptoms of agitation thus visibly arising were not the only alarming movements which he saw in his latter years. Conqueror of the English without having fought them, he thought himself master enough over the minds of the Bretons to confiscate their province, which had been secured to John de Montfort by the Treaty of Guérande, and to unite it to his domain. Charles V. did not gather any fruit from this unjust act. The inhabitants of that country rose to a man in defence of the rights of their duke; the brave Breton captains left the royal army; and even Du Guesclin, always faithful to the King, disapproved of his course and sought to retire to Spain in order to die there, feeling that he could no longer act as Constable of France. His resignation of the office that he had held with honour for so many years was prevented, however, by his death, which was occasioned by a fatal malady, in 1380, before Chateau-Randon, in Gevaudan, which his friend the Marshal de Sancerre was then besieging for the King.

Confiscation of
Brittany. Revolt of the
Bretons.

Charles persevered in his objects of usurpation; but his troops were driven from Brittany, and he met ev

Reverses in
Brittany.

short time ago had been shown in his favour against the English.

Rising of
Languedoc.

Louis, Count of Flanders, also solicited assistance at the same time against his revolted subjects. A formidable rising also broke out in Languedoc, where the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King, crushed the people by an intolerable oppression. Charles was compelled to recall his brother, and took his government from him. He, lastly, saw the King of Navarre give up Cherbourg to the English, and a new English army fall upon the kingdom. He ordered that it should be received in the same manner as that which preceded it.

Death of
Charles V, 1380.

In the meanwhile, he died at his Castle of Beauty, on the Marne, on the 26th of September 1380, at the age of forty-four years. He had scarcely closed his eyes when his nearest relatives gave vent to the evil passions which they had restrained during his life. The eldest of his brothers and one of the tutors of his son, the avaricious and fierce Duke of Anjou, rushed into his chamber, seized his jewels and pillaged the palace. The new reign commenced under these darkening auspices.






CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF CHARLES VI., 1380-1422.

1. ACCESSION OF CHARLES VI.: HIS NATURAL CHARACTER: CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU: NEW TAXES: INSURRECTION OF THE MAILLOTINS. 2. WAR WITH FLANDERS: BATTLE OF ROSBECQUE: PHILIP ARTEVELT: PUNISHMENT OF THE PARISIANS. 3. RENEWED RESISTANCE OF THE FLEMINGS: FLANDERS ACQUIRED BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. 4. PROJECTED DESCENT UPON ENGLAND: FRENCH REVERSES: THE KING ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT: DEPLORABLE STATE OF LANGUEDOC USEFUL REFORMS: ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF DE CLISSON INSANITY OF THE KING. 5. FACTION OF THE PRINCES: THE ROYA COUNCIL. 6. COURSE OF GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST: INVASION OF HUNGARY BY BAJAZET: BATTLE OF NICOPOLIS. 7. ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS; CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS: THE UNDERHAND PEACE: CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ARMAGNACS AND BURGUNDIANS: THE CABOCHIENS: REACTION AGAINST THE BURGUNDIANS: TREATY OF ARRAS. 8. INVASION OF THE ENGLISH: SIEGE OF HARFLEUR: BATTLE OF AGINCOURT. 9. RENEWED CIVIL WAR: PARIS IN THE HANDS OF THE BURGUNDIANS: PROGRESS OF ENGLISH: ASSASSINATION OF JOHN THE FEARLESS: TREATY OF TROYES: VICTORY OF THE FRENCH AT BAUGE: DEATH OF HENRY V. AND CHARLES VI. 10. END OF GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST: COUNCILS OF PISA AND CONSTANCE.

- i.  HARLES VI. had arrived at the age of eleven years and some months when his father died. His uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, disputed among themselves concerning his guardianship and the regency. They agreed to emancipate the young King immediately after his coronation, which was to take place during the year, and the regency was to remain until that period in the hands of the eldest, the Duke

Accession of
Charles VI.,
1380.

of Anjou, whose first act was to appropriate the treasure amassed by the late King. Nature had endowed Charles VI. with amiable qualities, but his uncles vied with each other in stifling his happy disposition; bent on persuading him that the most glorious triumphs for a King are those which he gains over his own subjects. A wise administration could have closed the wounds of the people. The English army conducted into Brittany by Buckingham was dissolved; and the sixteen millions left by Charles V. would have been more than sufficient to free France from the foreigners. But the Duke of Anjou, adopted by Jeanne of Naples as her successor, and impatient to be seated on her throne, had reserved this treasure to defray the expenses of an expedition against Charles de Duras, his rival. He soon raised a numerous army; it perished in Italy, mowed down by privations, fatigue and disease, and he himself died miserably in the country which he had come to conquer. The beginning of this reign was signalised by popular movements. A report had spread about that the late King on his deathbed had decreed abolition of all the taxes, and, fearing an insurrection, the governing princes issued a decree abolishing in perpetuity the established taxes that had existed since the time of Philip the Fair. However, it was necessary to provide for the cost of the war against England, and for other expenses; and it was determined to re-establish a tax upon merchandise of every kind. Immediately a formidable tumult broke out; the Parisians ran to the arsenal, where they found mallets of lead intended for the defence of the town; and, under the blows from these, the greater part of the collectors of the new tax perished; from the weapons used, the insurgents took the name of *Maillotins*. Rheims, Chalons, Orleans, Blois and Rouen followed the example of the capital. The dukes, powerless to make the Parisians submit, treated with them, and contented themselves with the offer of a hundred thousand livres. The chastisement of the rebels was put off for a time.

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Insurrection of the Maillotins, 1380. 2. In 1382 war broke out between France and Flanders. Count Louis of Flanders, driven away by his people, whose municipal franchises he had violated every day, now burning with a desire to avenge himself, obtained the support of Charles VI., and a large army was sent into Flanders under Clisson, who was appointed Constable.

War with Flanders. Battle of Rosbecque, 1382. The Flemings, fifty thousand strong, under Philip Artevelt, son of the famous brewer who was leader of the sedition in 1336, met the French near Rosbecque and were utterly defeated and lost their general. The towns of Flanders, except Ghent, which bravely resisted, were given over by the conqueror to flames and pillage; Courtray was totally destroyed. The victorious army returned to Paris; the moment for striking the rebels had arrived. The Parisians perceived with fear that defence was impossible, and received the order to lay down their arms. The young King of fourteen years entered the town as an irritated conquerer; and after

keeping silence for many days, he ordered the execution of one hundred of the richest inhabitants. Others, trembling with fear, were awaiting sentence, when the King's uncles feigned to ask mercy for the town, begging him to convert the executions into fines. Charles listened to their wishes. The wealth of the bourgeoisie was confiscated, all the taxes were re-established, and Paris lost its municipal privileges, together with the right of electing its *prévôt* and civil magistrates. Rouen and the other towns that had followed the lead of the capital were treated in a similar manner.

3. The Flemings, who, though crushed, were not conquered, sought the aid of Richard II. of England, who sent an army into Flanders. The English troops sacked the towns, which were occupied by French garrisons, contrary to the wish of their inhabitants. Charles VI. marched forward to meet the English, and Flanders became a theatre of incendiarism and murder. At last both parties, tired of the strife, commenced to treat for peace. The Count of Flanders alone, furious against the town of Ghent for its prolonged resistance, impeded the negotiations; while the Duke of Berry, impatient of all delay, stabbed the Count with his dagger and killed him. The death of Count Louis terminated the war: a truce was signed in 1384, and Flanders passed to the Duke of Burgundy, who had married Marguerite, heiress to that powerful county. Ghent submitted itself to that prince in the following year, and preserved all its franchises.

4. In 1386 Charles assembled a large army, gathered a great sum of money, and made immense preparations for a descent upon England: but the expedition was abandoned by the advice of the Duke of Berry; the supplies were abandoned to the pillage of the chiefs of the army, and three millions of livres were thus lost without profit either to the King or to the nation. Two years later, Charles, always enamoured of war, and directed by his uncles, sustained the Duke of Brabant, and made war for him, without success, against the Duke of Gueldres. Harassed and pursued by German marauders, his army returned to France in distress and burdened with humiliations. The eyes of the King were at length opened by the Cardinal of Laon and other ancient councillors of his father, who showed him that the finances were plundered, justice unknown, and public safety without guarantee, and pointed out the general frightful state of disorder produced by the rapacity of the princes and the nobles, to which they attributed, with justice, so many misfortunes. Charles permitted himself to be convinced; and, in a great council, he signified to his uncles that for the future he alone would govern. This unexpected declaration announced a happy revolution for the nation at large, and Charles VI. then turned himself to wise measures in the interests of the people. He would have done much more in the same direction if he had had more knowledge and less taste for pleasure. The

royal council, under the Presidency of Olivier de Clisson, was derided by the disgusted princes of the blood royal and all who had prospered under their auspices, but the nation received the new government with favour and hope.

The King now turned his attention towards the interior of the kingdom, and undertook a journey to the south of France. He found Languedoc wasted and depopulated through the barbarity of the Duke of Berry, whom Charles dismissed from his government. He afterwards freed the province from the brigands who infested it. Lastly, interesting himself in the progress of the morality of the people and in military instruction, he closed the gaming-houses and opened everywhere shooting-grounds for the bow and the crossbow. These happy omens of a better future were of short duration. The assassination of the Constable de Clisson, chief of the government, was attempted by brigands in the pay of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, his mortal enemy. De Clisson, 1392 Clisson did not die from his wounds, and the King, in a fury, swore to avenge him. He commanded the Duke to deliver up Craon, the chief of the assassins, who had taken refuge with him. Montfort refused, and Charles marched into Brittany with an army. He went out from Mans, at the head of his troops, in the month of July in the year 1392, but on the march he was suddenly stricken with insanity.

5. Then commenced the third and fatal epoch of that disastrous reign. The faction of the Dukes again seized power; the Duke of Burgundy took possession of the right of the royal signature and exercised sole authority; the Council of the King was broken up; the Constable took flight and retired into Brittany, where he recommenced the war against Montfort; the Jews were driven from the kingdom; the shooting-grounds for the crossbow were closed and the gambling-houses opened. Such were the first deeds which signalised that horrible period. Soon after, frightful dissensions broke out among the princes themselves, and, as no fundamental law existed which could regulate the future of the monarchy and decide between so many rival pretensions, the fate of the state was abandoned to a royal council which was ruled by the uncles of the King, his wife, the Queen Isabeau, of Bavaria, a frivolous and money-loving woman, and, lastly, by the Duke of Orleans, brother of the King, who was as despotic and avaricious as his uncles. Charles was still considered to be reigning; but always subservient to the dominant party, he appeared to employ his few glimmerings of reason only in sanctioning the most tyrannical acts and the most odious abuses. It was in this manner that the kingdom of France was governed during twenty-eight years.

6. The unhappy monarch attributed his disease to the schism which desolated Christianity, and believed himself punished by Heaven for having neglected to extinguish it. Benedict XIII. had replaced the anti-pope, Cle-

ment VII. In vain the King sought to urge him and the legitimately-elected Pope, Boniface IX., to a mutual cession. To add to the disorder in Christendom, that was induced by the quarrel of the rival popes and their partisans, the Greek empire and Hungary were invaded by the ferocious Sultan Bajazet. Sigismund, afterwards Emperor and then King of Hungary, requested assistance from France. A brilliant army set out under the orders of the Count of Nevers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy; but under the walls of Nicopolis, in Bulgaria, the Christian army was exterminated by Bajazet, and the conqueror only spared the lives of ^{Battle of Nicopolis, 1396.} twenty princes and high nobles, for whom he hoped to receive immense ransoms.

7. It was the interest of the Council of the King of France to keep well with Henry IV., who was now reigning ^{Administration} in England in room of his cousin, Richard II., who of the Duke of Orleans. had been deposed and murdered; but the Duke of Orleans, whose influence increased every day, was bent upon exciting his anger by deadly insults: he broke the truce, and let loose the most frightful calamities upon the kingdom. This prince, after the death of his uncle, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, came up, in 1404, and exercised without curb an absolute power, but he soon met with a formidable rival in the new Duke of Burgundy, the same John, Count of Nevers, who was conquered at Nicopolis, a vindictive, cruel and ambitious prince, fatal to his race and his country. He arrived from his county of Flanders at the head of an army. At his approach, the Queen and the Duke of Orleans retired to Melun; but Burgundy seized the royal princes and princesses and guarded them in Paris, where he flattered the popular passions, and restored to the bourgeois their arms and franchises, taken away since the sedition of 1382. His rival, relying on the aristocracy, assembled troops, and civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the two enemies were apparently reconciled. On the following day, the startling news was spread ^{Assassination} that the Duke of Orleans was assassinated. Terror of the Duke of Orleans, 1407. reigned in the council, from which Burgundy was driven away; he took refuge in Flanders; then he returned, followed by an army, and openly proclaimed himself the murderer of his enemy. Master of Paris, no one dared to speak openly against him, and his crime, indeed, was publicly vindicated before the court on the ground that the Duke of Orleans was deservedly put to death for tyranny. The murderer only consented at a later period to demand the pardon of the King and of the young princes of Orleans; peace was sworn between them at Chartres, and the bad faith of those who signed the treaty caused it to receive the name of the *Underhand Peace*. That same year, 1409, saw Genoa rise ^{Underhand Peace, 1409.} against the French, to whom it had been offered. The French were all driven from Italy. A slight calm succeeded these storms. But soon the members of the council, jealous of the ever-increasing popularity of the Duke of Burgundy, and disquieted

about their own safety, quitted Paris and rejoined at Gien the young princes of Orleans, of whom the eldest married the daughter of Count Bernard of Armagnac. This pitiless man became the chief of the Armagnac party, as it was called, and, at the head of an army of Gascons, marched on Paris. A frightful

Civil War between Armagnacs and Burgundians, 1410. war, interrupted by truces, violated on both sides, commenced between the party of Armagnac and that of Burgundy. Both sides appealed to the English, and sold France to them. The Armagnacs pillaged and

ravaged the environs of Paris with unheard of cruelties, while the *Cabochiens*, or corps of butchers, enrolled by the Duke of Burgundy, and so called from John Caboché, their chief, caused the capital they defended to tremble. The Estates-General, convoked for the first time for thirty years, were dumb; and the butchers made the laws. They pillaged, imprisoned and slaughtered with impunity, according to their savage fury, and found judges to condemn their victims. They besieged in his hotel the Duke of Guenne, Dauphin of France, threatened him with death, and murdered his friends and favourites. The King, always a slave to the party which ruled near him, approved and sanctioned, without understanding all these excesses, which terrified even Burgundy himself. The reaction broke out at last. Tired of so many atrocities, the bourgeoisie took up arms and shook off the yoke of the butchers. The Dauphin, at the head of the militia, went to the Hôtel de Ville, from which place he drove out Caboché and his brigands. The counter revolution was established. Burgundy departed, and the power passed to the Armagnacs. The princes re-

Treaty of Arras, 1416.

entered Paris and induced the King to declare war against John the Fearless, whose instrument he had been a short time before. His army was victorious, Burgundy submitted, and the treaty of Arras suspended the war, but not the executions and the ravages.

8. Henry V., King of England, judged this a propitious moment to descend upon France. The invaders disembarked without obstacle at the mouth of the Seine and invested Harfleur, then a town of

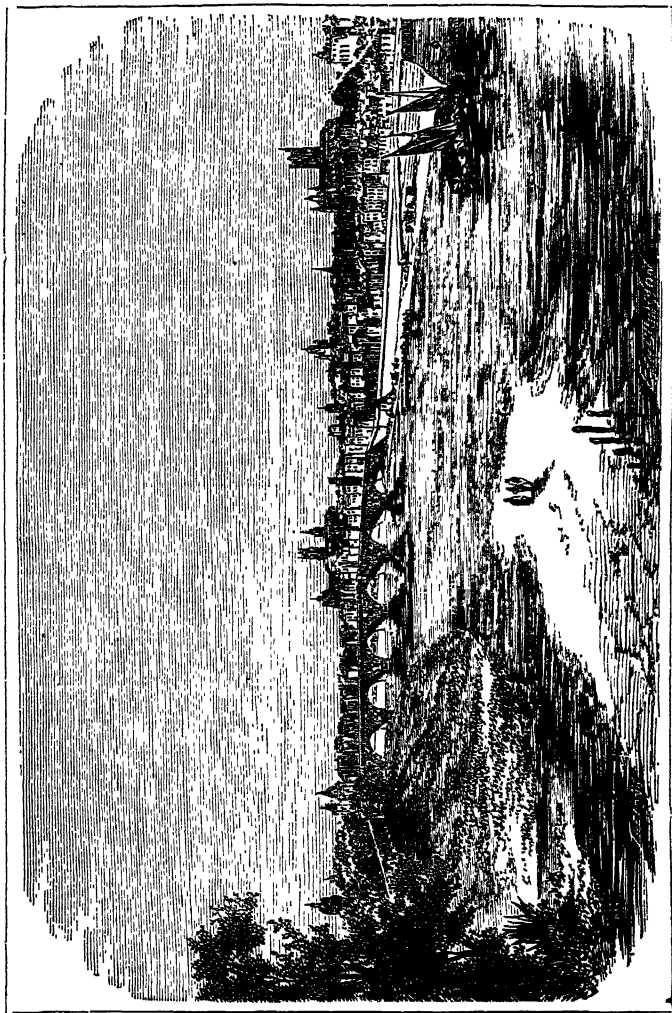
Invasion of the English Sieges of Harfleur, 1415. great maritime importance and one of the keys of the kingdom, which only succumbed after a month of heroic defence. During the siege, the English army

had suffered enormous losses by disease, and of thirty thousand men that Henry had brought over not more than fifteen thousand remained. This number was insufficient to conquer the kingdom; and Henry, expecting to meet with little or no resistance on his way on account of the unsettled state of the country, resolved to march on Calais, where he reckoned upon halting and receiving reinforcements.

After crossing the Somme, the English found a French army, three or four times more numerous, under the Constable d'Albret and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, awaiting them on the other side of the river, near to the village of Agincourt. The armies passed the night opposite to each other. On the side of the English

whose peril was imminent, everything, by order of the King, was said and done in subdued tones and in dark-

Battle of Agincourt, 1415.



OLD VIEW OF THE CITY OF PARIS.

ness. Amongst the French, on the contrary, great fires were lighted, and all was noise, agitation and confusion. The opposing

forces engaged in battle at break of day. The French cavalry, restricted by want of space, flung themselves pell-mell upon a soil moistened by rain; and, under a shower of arrows, rushed upon the sharp stakes which the English had planted. On seeing the ranks thus overthrown, the English issued from their fortified enclosure and, with the King at their head, penetrated to the middle of the second line of the enemy. The rearguard of the French still remained intact, but seeing the first two ranks overcome, they hardly waited for the shock, but turned their bridles and fled. The battle was finished, when someone came to Henry V. and told him that the camp was attacked by a fresh army, and Henry, seeing the numerous prisoners that he had made, and for whom he expected heavy ransoms, ordered that all the captives should be put to death. The alarm was found to be false, but already nearly all had perished. Extended on the field of battle might be seen ten thousand French, nearly all nobles, of whom a hundred and five bore standards and seven were princes, together with the Dukes of Nevers, Alençon, and Bar, and the Constable d'Albret. Amongst the few surviving prisoners were the Marshal of Boucaut, the Counts of Eu, Vendôme and Richemont, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans. The conqueror King, master of the sad field, cast his eyes slowly around him, and having asked the name of a neighbouring château, a voice answered, "Agincourt." "Well," said he, "this battle shall take the name of Agincourt, now and for ever."

9. Then, more terribly than ever, civil war broke out. The Count of Armagnac, appointed Constable, reigned in Paris by terror only. The Queen Isabeau of Bavaria alone could equal the authority of Armagnac; she was sent into exile by her husband to Tours. Burgundy took away the Queen from her guardians and proclaimed her regent. Soon after, the Burgundians entered Paris, from which place the prévôt, Tanneguy-Duchâtel, carried off the young dauphin, Charles, the last and only surviving son of the King, enveloped in his bedclothes. The populace rose again under the leadership of the executioner, Capeluche; they seized the Count of Armagnac with his partisans, and put them to death. The Queen, Isabeau, brought back by the Duke of Burgundy, made her triumphal entry into the town sullied by so many horrors, and took in hand the sovereign authority. The faction of Orleans then conducted the Dauphin to Poitiers and recognized him as regent.

Henry V. pursued his ravages into the heart of the kingdom. He had entirely conquered Normandy; Rouen also had fallen into his power. The French princes seemed at last to perceive the necessity of union. The Dauphin had appointed an interview with the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau; the Duke, after hesitating for a long time, presented himself, and, as he bent the knee before the Dauphin, Tanneguy-Duchâtel struck him with an axe upon the

Renewed
Civil War.

Paris in the
hands of Bur-
gundians, 1418.

Massacre of the
Armagnacs,
1418.

Progress of
English in
France.

head and killed him before the eyes of his master. This murder made peace impossible. Philip the Good, the new Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge his father, offered the crown to Henry V.; and the Queen negotiated between her unconscious husband and Henry V. the shameful treaty of Troyes, signed in 1420, by which, in contempt of the rights of the royal princes of France, the crown was bestowed in perpetuity on Henry and his descendants.

Assassination
of John the
Fearless.

Treaty of
Troyes, 1420.



ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

This treaty, which could not come into effect until the death of King Charles VI., was immediately sealed by the marriage of her daughter to Henry, to whom the regency of the kingdom during the malady of the King was entrusted. The treaty was solemnly approved of by the Estates-General, convoked in the capital and presided over by the King. The Dauphin, sixteen years of age, was declared guilty, by the Parliament, of homicide on the person of the Duke of Burgundy and deprived of his rights to the throne. He wandered for a long time in the provinces of the South, flying before

Victory of the
French at
Bauge, 1421.

Death of Henry
V. and Charles
VI., 1422.

the English arms, over whom his generals obtained at Bauge, in May, 1421, a glorious but useless victory. The sudden death of Henry V., in 1422, prepared a new destiny for the Dauphin. Charles VI. died shortly afterwards; he had occupied the throne for forty-two years.

10. With this deplorable reign ended the scandals of the Great



BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN AND HIS FRIENDS.

End of the
Great Schism
of the West.

Schism of the West. Innocent VII., then Gregory XII., had succeeded in Italy to Boniface IX. The anti-pope, Benedict XIII., still lived, but in 1409, the Council of Pisa deposed Gregory and Benedict and proclaimed Alexander V. Alexander died, and was replaced by John XXIII. Lastly, at the famous Council of Constance, in 1414, John XXIII., convicted of enormous crimes, was deposed, and the assembly, in choosing Martin V. to succeed him, declared him to be the only legitimate Pope.



CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF CHARLES VII., 1422-1461.

1. BIRTH AND ACCESSION OF HENRY VI.: SITUATION OF CHARLES VII.: BATTLES OF CREVANT-SUR-YONNE AND VERNEUIL: CHARACTER OF THE KING: PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH: BATTLE OF THE HERRINGS. 2. APPEARANCE AND MISSION OF JEANNE DARC: ORLEANS DELIVERED: BATTLE OF PATAY. 3. THE KING GOES TO RHEIMS: CORONATION OF CHARLES VII.: ALLEGED TERMINATION OF JEANNE'S MISSION: JEANNE DARC A PRISONER: HER SENTENCE AND DEATH. 4. INACTION OF THE KING: INSURRECTIONS IN FRANCE: RECONCILIATION OF THE KING AND DUKE OF BURGUNDY: AWAKING OF CHARLES VII. 5. ORGANISATION OF A PERMANENT ARMY: THE FREE ARCHERS: PERPETUAL TAX: REVOLT OF THE ARISTOCRACY. 6. VICTORY OF FORMIGNY: EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH: CAMPAIGNS IN SWITZERLAND AND LORRAINE: BATTLE OF ST. JACQUES. 7. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN CHARLES'S REIGN: COURT OF AIDES: PRAGMATIC SANCTION. 8. POWER OF THE KING: FLIGHT OF THE DAUPHIN: ANNEXATION OF DAUPHINE TO FRANCE: DEATH OF CHARLES VII.

1. **C**ATHERINE OF VALOIS, daughter of Charles VI. and wife of Henry V., had brought into the world a son who succeeded his father, in 1422, under the name of Henry VI.; he was then scarcely a year old, and was crowned at Paris as King of France and England. The Duke of Bedford, eldest brother of Henry V., governed the kingdom in the name of his nephew, and knew how to attach to himself the two greatest vassals of the crown, John VI., Duke of Brittany, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. The latter, in order to avenge more surely his father's assassination, bestowed the hand of his sister on the Duke of Bedford, and was for a long period the firmest supporter of the English in France. The Dauphin Charles, then nineteen years

Henry VI.,
King of France,
1422.

Situation of
Charles VII.

old, had taken, immediately after the death of his father, the title of King, and resided at Bourges with the Queen, Marie of Anjou, his wife. The Armagnacs in the provinces of the centre and of the south-east only recognised his authority, and the young prince was contemptuously designated by his enemies the *King of Bourges*. The soldiers of the army of Charles were for the most part Scotch and Gascons; his constable even, the Count of Buchan, was a Scotchman; and the King, surrounded by savage men, appeared for a long time to take as little interest as the people themselves in his own cause. The battle of Crevant-sur-Yonne, lost by his troops, and that of Verneuil, still more disastrous, where the Constable perished,

Battles of
Crevant-sur-
Yonne, and of
Verneuil, 1422.

caused Charles VII. to perceive the necessity of having powerful supporters. He fixed his choice upon the famous Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, and offered him the sword of the Constable. Richemont only accepted on condition that the Armagnacs should be driven from the court and that Charles should separate himself from the assassins of John the Fearless. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, the most powerful and the most guilty, left the first, and hastened by his voluntary exile the useful bringing together of Richemont and the King. Without character and without will,

Character of
the King.

incapable of any serious occupation, indolent and voluptuous, Charles seemed incapable of doing anything to inspire confidence in his supporters: his party was weakening every day, and discord reigned in his camp. Already the English threatened Orleans, the most important of the towns still remaining faithful; they had made themselves masters of the head of the bridge and the outworks, notwithstanding the bravery of La Hire, of Xaintrailles, of Gaucourt, and above all of the famous Dunois, bastard son of Orleans, the true and brave defenders of the French monarchy. Lastly, the defeat of the French and Scotch at the battle of the Herrings appeared to give the finishing stroke to the fall of that town and to inflict a mortal wound upon the cause of Charles.

Battle of the
Herrings, 1429.

But in proportion with the new triumphs gained by the English, their yoke became more intolerable, and developed in the kingdom a national sentiment capable of working prodigies if it were set in action by hope and confidence. Religious enthusiasm mingled itself in the heart of the French, who, seeing in their misfortunes the chastisements of an avenging God, awaited the end of their sufferings from the divinity alone. Such were, in 1429, the sentiments of the mass of the nation, when a young girl

Appearance of
Jeanne Darc.

of twenty years, named Jeanne Darc, afterwards called Joan of Arc, born of poor parents in the village of Domremy, upon the frontiers of Lorraine, announced that she had received from God a mission to cause the siege of Orleans to be raised, and to conduct the King to Rheims to his coronation. She declared that supernatural voices had revealed to her the heavenly will, and requested to be led to Chinon to Charles VII. Brought

into his presence, she distinguished him, it is said, upon the spot, among all his courtiers, and kneeling before him, she repeated to him the order which she declared that she had received from heaven. Charles, placing faith in her word, caused a complete suit of armour to be given to her. She wished to have a white standard sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis, and declared that on digging into the earth at Saint Catharine de Fierbois, near the principal altar, a sword, bearing upon its blade five particular signs, would be found. It was found there, and she made the sword her own. The report soon spread among the two armies that a being endowed with supernatural power had come to fight for Charles VII.; and whilst the French saw divine intervention in this prodigy, the English, stricken with terror, only wished to recognise in it the influence of the devil. For her first exploit, Jeanne, notwithstanding the strict blockade, conducted into Orleans an army which had left Blois, and in a few days, Suffolk and Talbot, the Orleans delivered, 1429. generals of the English troops investing the city, were compelled to raise the siege. From that time Jeanne, under the name of the Maid of Orleans, soon became celebrated throughout the whole kingdom; France awoke, enthusiasm gained men's hearts, and a crowd of soldiers rushed to join the standard of Charles; everywhere the English fell back; at last Jeanne and her army met them and defeated them with terrible slaughter after a long and obstinate combat at Patay, Battle of Patay, 1429. in the plains of Beauce.

3. After this glorious battle, Jeanne Darc went to find the King at Gien, and conjured him to march boldly upon Rheims, there to cause himself to be crowned, and solemnly to take possession of his kingdom. Charles allowed himself to be persuaded, and advanced across Champagne with his army. Troyes and Chalons opened their gates to him, and he arrived at last under the walls of Rheims, at the glorious end of his journey. The Burgundian captains, who commanded the town, evacuated it without giving battle. Charles, on the 16th of July made his triumphal entry, and he was crowned in the ancient cathedral. The Maid of Orleans placed herself near to the King and the principal altar during the ceremony, standing erect with her standard in her hand. The King goes to Rheims. Her mission was accomplished. Coronation of Charles VII, 1429.

After the coronation, Jeanne wished to return to her native village, but the captains of Charles had recognised in Jeanne their most powerful auxiliary, and they prayed that she would remain with them. She consented with regret, and was wounded at the unfortunate siege of Paris, and lastly taken prisoner in a sortie whilst heroically defending Compiègne, which the English and Burgundians attacked together. By the English she Jeanne Darc a prisoner. was delivered over to the Inquisition, as suspected of magic and sorcery, and by her merciless judges, at the head of whom was a Frenchman, Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, who was altogether devoted to the English by vengeance and ambition,

Her Sentence and Death, 1431. she was condemned to be burnt alive, and suffered with fortitude and resignation in the market-place of Rouen on May 31, 1431.

4. Charles heard of her death with indifference; he did nothing to prevent it or to avenge it, and waited for twenty-five years before ordering that the memory of the heroine should be reinstated. He

Inaction of the King.

had again fallen into his culpable indolence and failed again in his fortune, while his captains fought separately as chiefs of partisans; they received from him no order, no pay, no support, and submitted the country where they ruled to frightful exactions. The English, however, were still more odious to the people; the foreigners and their allies, the Burgundians, were equally detested, and insurrections broke out in all parts of the kingdom. In 1435, however, Bedford, brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy, died, and his death broke the ties of that duke with England. Burgundy sacrificed at last this long resentment to the interest of France and became reconciled to Charles VII. At last France was united, and the maintenance of the English dominion became impossible. Paris, after belonging to the crown of England for seventeen years, opened her gates to her King, and soon the English only remained in Normandy and Guienne. An extraordinary and complete change was effected in

Awaking of Charles VII.

the mind of Charles VII.; a will full of energy had taken the place of his indolent indifference; his frivolity was changed into prudence and wisdom, and his voluptuous tastes no longer excluded him from an active perseverance in warlike and political affairs.

5. After repressing the mercenary bands which infested and pillaged many parts of the kingdom after the long war, Charles convoked the Estates-General at Orleans, and asked and obtained from them a tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for the pay of a permanent army to insure the internal peace of the country.

Organisation of a Permanent Army, 1439.

Some years later the King completed the organisation of this army by compelling each parish to furnish, at the King's call, a good infantry soldier fully equipped, and on whom the military service conferred several privileges, high pay, and exemption from taxes. These foot soldiers were called free archers. This reconstruction of the military system produced immense results; the King thus obtained an army always numerous and always ready to run down in mass upon all points menaced by revolt or war. To the Estates-General of 1439 must be attributed, in fact, the merit of this creation, for it was by them that the first necessary funds were granted; however, they had only granted the tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for one year; the King on his own authority made it perpetual. Thus was established in

Perpetual Tax, 1439.

France, illegally, the direct permanent tax. At first it was popular, but there were bad readjustments of the impost, its amount was always increasing, and above all the innumerable immunities admitted later on in favour of the privileged classes rendered it hateful throughout the whole king-



JEANNE D'ARC AT THE BATTLE OF PATAY, 1429.

dom. Under the new regime, commerce sprang up again, agriculture became flourishing, and the King was hailed as the restorer of order. The military aristocracy, however, could not see, without uneasiness, the progress of the royal power, and broke into a revolt under the Dauphin, who was afterwards Louis XI., and the princes of royal blood and the captains of the *Ecorcheurs* offered themselves. They wished to recommence a civil war; but Charles VII., at the head of a disciplined army, marched against the rebels, who one after the other submitted. One only remained formidable, and that was the prince who was heir to the crown. He retired into Dauphiné, and from that time a deep enmity existed between father and son.

6. After having pacified the interior, Charles VII., profiting by the civil wars which were exhausting England, tried to expel the enemy from the kingdom. In a year, half of the fortified places in Normandy were reconquered, and the remainder of the province submitted to the King after the victory of Formigny in 1450.

Guienne was soon conquered by the victorious army, and, in 1453, of all its Continental possessions England only preserved Calais.

In 1444 the Emperor Frederick III. requested the support of France against the republican cantons of Switzerland. The assistance of Charles VII. was equally solicited by René, Duke of Lorraine, against the free towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and some other towns, which called themselves subjects of the empire. Charles VII. complied with these requests and sent two armies, one into Switzerland and the other into Lorraine. The Dauphin Louis commanded the first, which met and defeated

that of the Swiss Cantons at Saint Jacques, near Bâle. Struck with their bravery, the French prince made peace with them, and concluded an alliance with those whom he had vanquished. The events of the campaign in Lorraine were little decisive. The towns of Toul and Verdun recognised the King as their protector; Metz resisted, was besieged, and bought the maintenance of its liberty by a contribution of war. This rapid campaign gave a proof of the pretensions of Charles VII. upon a portion of Lorraine, but there was no other important result.

7. The wounds of France closed, and prosperity began to spring forth anew. By the King's care the whole administration was reformed. A special court, called the Court of Aides, was instituted for the hearing of all criminal causes connected with the taxes; this supreme jurisdiction had soon numerous tribunals. To this prince also belonged the honour of having commenced the regulation of the Customs.

By the creation of the Parliament of Toulouse, the King restrained the jurisdiction of that of Paris, which then extended itself throughout the provinces. After having organised the army, the treasury and justice, Charles occupied himself with the Church of France. It was he who, in 1438, promulgated solemnly, before the

French clergy assembled at Bourges, the Pragmatic Sanction, proclaiming the liberties of the Gallican Church, such as the council then sitting at Bâle had defined. It recognised the superiority of the General Councils over the Pope, restricted to a small number the cases of right to appeal to Rome, forbade the publication of papal bulls in the kingdom before being registered in Parliament, deprived the Pontifical court of the revenue of vacant benefices, and entrusted the election of the bishops to the chapters of the churches. In these works, which were so important and so diverse, the Estates-General had only a feeble part; their last meeting had taken place at Orleans in 1439, and for twenty-two years Charles did not convoke them, but was seconded in his work by skilful counsellors, who, for the most part, had been drawn from the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

8. Charles had become the wisest and the most powerful monarch in Europe, but just causes of distrust and resentment with regard to the Dauphin embittered his latter years. Louis had married as his second wife, contrary to the wish of his father, Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Savoy. The King ordered him to come and justify himself at his court; but the Dauphin, fearing all the counsellors of his father and not being able to obtain surety for his person, took to flight, and sought refuge in the court of Burgundy, where he was received by Philip the Good and by Charles, his son, with honour and munificence. The King soon took possession of Dauphiné, and united that province to the states which were held directly from the crown. The Dauphin had implored the pardon of his father, but the King knew his false and perverse heart, and vainly requested that he would ask for forgiveness in person. Unfortunately, a formidable example had recently increased the distrust of his son. The Duke of Alençon, prince of the blood royal, accused by the King of treason and of complicity with England, had been condemned to death by the peers of France. Charles commuted the punishment and caused the prince to be shut up in the tower of the Louvre; the Dauphin declined to expose himself to a similar chastisement. The King, from that time, believed himself to be beset by the emissaries of his son; at last, fearing that he would be poisoned by them, and suffering besides from an abscess in the mouth, he refused all nourishment and allowed himself to die of hunger. He expired on the 22nd of July, 1461, in his fifty-eighth year.

Pragmatic
Sanction, 1438.

Flight of the
Dauphin.

Death of
Charles VII.
1461.



LOUIS XI.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF LOUIS XI., 1461-1483.

1. FIRST ACTS OF LOUIS XI.: LEAGUE OF THE PUBLIC GOOD: BATTLE OF MONTLHERY. 2. TREATY OF CONFLANS: ESTATES-GENERAL OF TOURS, 1468: NEW LEAGUE OF THE PRINCES: TREATY OF ANCENIS. 3. REVOLT IN LIEGE INSTIGATED BY LOUIS XI.: TREATY OF PERONNE. 4. STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND: ANNULMENT OF TREATY OF PERONNE: NEW DANGERS TO THE KING: SUDDEN DEATH OF THE KING'S BROTHER: CONDEMNATION AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ALENCON. 5. INVASION BY THE ENGLISH: MERCANTILE TRUCES. 6. CONQUEST OF LORRAINE BY CHARLES THE RASH: BATTLES OF GRANSON AND MORAT: DEATH OF CHARLES THE RASH BEFORE NANCY: EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NEMOURS. 7. BATTLE OF GUINNEGATE: TREATY OF ARRAS. 8. TERRORS AND SUPERSTITION OF LOUIS XI.: HIS DEATH: HIS ORDINANCES ABASEMENT OF THE NOBLES.

1. **L**OUIS XI. was thirty-eight years old when he mounted the throne. This prince, who from being a fugitive became a king, was informed of the plots hatched against him in the court of his father, and also of the hatred which the most in-

fluent men in the kingdom bore him. He believed that he had need of the support of the people against his enemies, and promised at his accession to diminish the taxes and to submit the national charges to the approval of the Estates-General.

But his liberalities towards those whom he wished to gain exhausted the treasury; the taxes were augmented, and the Estates-General left in oblivion. Some insurrections broke out, but Louis knew how to suppress them. One of the first acts of his reign was the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, and being passionately fond of the chase, he forbade that sport in the royal forests, much to the annoyance of the nobility. Economical himself, and strict in the administration of finances, he did not permit them to be pillaged by the princes of his family. His yoke bore equally upon all; his active vigilance surveyed at the same time each part of the kingdom, and he would not suffer any tyrant in the country but himself. The irritation became general, and the princes and nobles leagued themselves against Louis XI. He, in seeking to divide his two most formidable neighbours, Francis II., Duke of Brittany, and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy, excited them against himself. He had perfidiously given to both of them the government of Normandy, in the hope of seeing them dispute; however, they united together against him. The resentment of the Count of Charolais, afterwards known in history as Charles the Rash was, however, more vehement, because Louis had been loaded with benefits by Philip the Good, his father. It was around him and the Duke of Brittany that the princes of the royal blood rallied, together with the great nobles who were discontented. They assumed the name of the *League of the Public Good*, and placed at their head the Duke of Berry, Charles of France, brother of the King, who claimed Normandy from him as an apanage. The bloody battle of Montlhéry, where Louis left the field of battle to the Count of Charolais, was soon followed by the rising of Normandy in favour of the princes.

2. The King, seeing himself the weaker, laid down his arms and had recourse to negotiations. He signed the treaty of Conflans, by which he gave Normandy to his brother, and satisfied the exorbitant pretensions of the princes. Louis ceded to them towns, vast domains, and governments, and piled up dignities upon the rebel nobles. But Louis only gave with one hand to take back with the other when the moment should arrive. He convoked the Estates-General at Tours in 1468, and by representing that those who had been in league against him only sought to enfeeble the State by dismembering it; he persuaded the Estates to annul the treaty of Conflans, retaking Normandy from Charles of France. Louis, having obtained from them all that he wished, was anxious to dismiss them. They only remained in assembly for eight days; and it was remarked, as a symptom of the progress of the bourgeoisie, that the three orders had voted in common. This was the

First Acts of
Louis XI.

League of the
Public Good,
1465.

Battle of Mont-
lhéry, 1465.

Treaty of
Conflans, 1465.

Estates General
of Tours, 1468.

only convocation of the Estates-General under this reign. Louis XI. distrusted public liberty quite as much as feudal power.

Charles of France, irritated at losing Normandy, united again with the Duke of Brittany and with Charles the Rash, who had become Duke of Burgundy by the death of Philip the Good, his father. Louis foresaw their attack; he marched unexpectedly against the Duke of Brittany, who, separated from his allies, and seized with fear, **Treaty of Ancenis, 1468** submitted by the treaty of Ancenis.

3. The King then sought to gain over his people; he gave charters to many of the towns, protected commerce by wise ordinances, and reorganised the national militia of Paris to which he gave the right to elect its own officers. Louis endeavoured afterwards to find allies in the states of his most powerful enemy.

Revolt in Liège. The manufacturing towns of Flanders were prompt to revolt against the cruel violences of the Duke of Burgundy, their sovereign. Louis sent an emissary into Liège, and excited it to revolt, promising his support. In the meantime, in order the better to deceive the Duke, he demanded from him a safe-conduct, and went to visit his enemy at Péronne. Scarcely had he arrived when the revolt of Liège broke out. Charles learnt that the bishop, Louis of Bourbon, his relation and his ally, was massacred, and that Louis XI. was the author of the sedition. At this news his rage knew no bounds; he held the King prisoner, and threatened to kill him. Louis, in order to get out of his peril, signed the treaty of Péronne, which took away from him all sovereignty in the states of Burgundy, and gave to his brother Champagne and Brie as an appanage.

4. England was then desolated by the war of the *Roses*. Louis XI., having taken the side of the red rose, united against Edward IV., with his relative Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. Edward, conquered, retired to Holland, and implored the assistance of Duke Charles, his brother-in-law. Louis, without anxiety on the part of England, followed up his advantages. He caused the treaty of Péronne to be annulled by the inhabitants, under the pretext that Charles had only imposed it upon him by causing him to break his word. Louis, in disengaging himself from his obligations, created for himself new dangers. Edward IV., assisted by Charles the Rash, had regained his crown; Henry VI. and his son were assassinated; the Duke of Burgundy called into France the English monarch, and promised Mary, his daughter and heiress, to Charles of France, Duke of Guienne, who had recently received that province from Louis XI. as an appanage; and the Duke of Brittany renewed his intrigues. The King thus saw himself threatened with a new storm, when his brother fell ill, and died after some months of

Sudden death of the King's Brother. suffering, poisoned, it is supposed, by Louis. The Duke of Burgundy soon caused his troops to march into Picardy, and spread terror before his steps. The King, however, negotiated separately with each of the rebellious princes, and by his manœuvres spread division among the chiefs of the

league. The Duke of Brittany signed a new truce, and the Duke of Alençon, at the instigation of the King, was tried and condemned to death for the second time, by the Parliament of Paris.

5. Edward IV., King of England, drawn over by the Duke of Brittany, was then in France with a numerous army; Charles, his ally, seconded him badly, and Louis XI., ^{Invasion by the English.} always more prompt to negotiate than to fight, gained by his bribes the confidence of King Edward, and was prompt in signing with him a truce of nine years. Charles, abandoned by the English, also signed with Louis a truce for nine years. Each of these two enemies sacrificed on that occasion those on whom his adversary wished to take vengeance; Charles delivered to the scaffold the Constable Saint Pol; Louis abandoned his ally, René, Duke of Lorraine, whose inheritance Charles the Rash coveted. Contemporaries saw a matter of traffic only in these two truces, and they were called the Mercantile Truces.

6. Sovereign of the Duchy of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Hainault, Flanders, Holland and Gueldres, Charles wished, by joining to these Lorraine, a portion of Switzerland, and ^{Conquest of Lorraine by Charles the Rash, 1476.} the inheritance of old King René, Count of Provence, to recompose the ancient Kingdom of Lorraine, such as it had existed under the Carlovingian dynasty. Lorraine soon lay at his feet, and Nancy opened its gates to Charles the Rash. Irritated against the Swiss, who had braved him, Charles besieged the little town of Granson, and in ^{Battles of Granson and Morat, 1476.} despite of a capitulation, caused all the defenders to be hanged or drowned. At this news the people of the Helvetian Republic rose, and attacked the duke before Granson and dispersed his troops. Some months later, supported by young René of Lorraine, they exterminated a second Burgundian army before Morat. Charles, vanquished, assembled a third army, and marched, in the midst of winter, against Nancy, which had fallen into the hands of the Swiss ^{Death of Charles the Rash, 1477.} and Lorrainers. It was there that he perished, betrayed by his mercenary soldiers, and overpowered by numbers. At this news Louis immediately seized the duchy of Burgundy, and claimed the guardianship of the daughter of Charles, Mary of Burgundy. The more secure he felt himself to be, the more cruel he became. He caused the Duke of ^{Execution of the Duke of Nemours.} Nemours, whom he held as a prisoner, to be executed in the presence of his children, and these were afterwards thrown into dungeons, where they were subjected to horrible tortures.

7. The perfidy and ferocity of the King raised all the new states which he had seized against him. Maximilian of Austria, recently united to Mary of Burgundy, and who claimed her heritage, marched against him and fought the bloody and indecisive battle of Guinegate in 1479. This was ^{Battle of Guinegate, 1479} followed by a long truce; and four years later, on the death of Mary, her daughter, then two years old, was promised to

the Dauphin. The treaty of Arras, concluded by Louis with the states of Flanders and the Emperor, confirmed to him the possession of the Duchy of Burgundy, and the Counties of Franche Comté, Mâcon, Charolais, Auxerre, and Artois. Old René of Anjou, sovereign of Lorraine and Provence and titular King of Naples, had died a few years before. He had for a long period abdicated the ducal crown of Lorraine in favour of René, the son of his eldest daughter. He left by will the rest of his estates to his nephew Charles of Maine, who only survived his uncle a short time, and bequeathed his domains in France and his rights to the crown of Naples to Louis XI., who had already obtained from the King of Aragon, as a pledge for a loan of two hundred thousand crowns, Roussillon and Cerdagne.

8. However, the King was growing old, and trembled at the thought of dying. Shut up in his château of Plessis-les-Tours, his ordinary residence, a prey to fear of everyone who approached him, he gave himself up to the fanatical and superstitious practice of religious ceremonies, trusting in accordance with the vain belief of his age, that the externals of devotion were sufficient to efface the most enormous crimes. He died on the 30th of August, 1483, leaving the sceptre to his young son, Charles. France was indebted to Louis XI. for many wise institutions, nearly all created with the design of centralising the action of power, and beating down the remainder of the feudality.

To attain this end, he tried to establish in the kingdom uniformity of customs, and of weights and measures; he created posts, establishing on the great road couriers, solely destined to carry public news to the King, and to carry his orders; he replaced the corps of free archers by Swiss corps, and some privileged companies by a Scotch guard. He instituted three new parliaments, at Grenoble, Bordeaux and Dijon. The most remarkable edict of his reign is that which declared judicial offices to be held for life. That edict founded the independence and the power of the parliaments, but was not inspired, however, by love of justice; for no one more often than Louis XI. had recourse, in his criminal trials, to commissions and to illegal and violent means.

The principal work of Louis XI. was the abasement of the second feudality, which had raised itself on the ruins of the first, and which, without him, would have replunged France into Anarchy. The chiefs of that feudality were, however, more formidable, since, for the most part, they belonged to the blood royal of France. The time was still distant when the royal authority would be seen freely exercised through every territory comprised in the natural limits of the kingdom. But Louis XI. did much to attain this aim, and after him no princely or vassal house was powerful enough to resist the crown by its own force, and to put the throne in peril.

Treaty of
Arras, 1482.

Terrors and
superstition of
Louis XI.

Death of
Louis XI.,
1483.

Ordinances of
Louis XI.

Abasement of
the nobles.



CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF CHARLES VIII., 1483-1498.

I. ACCESSION OF CHARLES VIII.: ASCENDENCY OF ANNE OF BEAUJEU: ESTATES-GENERAL OF 1484. 2. VIRTUAL REGENCY OF ANNE: LEAGUE OF THE PRINCES: OPPOSITION OF AUSTRIA AND BRITTANY: CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE: BATTLE OF ST. AUBIN-DU-CORMIER: TREATY OF SABLÉ. 3. SUPREMACY OF ANNE: DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY: ANARCHY IN THE DUCHY: CHARLES VIII. MARRIES ANNE OF BRITTANY. 4. THE KING ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT: HIS CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN SOVEREIGNS; TREATY OF SENLIS: TREATY OF BARCELONA. 5. FRENCH PRETENSIONS TO ITALY: LOUIS THE MOOR AT MILAN: DEPARTURE OF CHARLES FOR ITALY: THE FRENCH IN FLORENCE: ABDICATION AND FLIGHT OF KING OF NAPLES: ENTRY OF CHARLES INTO NAPLES. 6. EUROPEAN LEAGUE AGAINST CHARLES VIII.: RETREAT OF THE FRENCH: BATTLE OF TORNOVO: TREATY OF VERCELLI: LOSS OF NAPLES AND SICILY: DEATH OF CHARLES VIII.

I. **C**HARLES VIII., son and successor of Louis XI., mounted the throne at the age of thirteen years. He had two sisters, of whom the elder was married to the lord of Beaujeu, of the house of Bourbon. Jeanne, the younger, not favoured by nature, was married to her cousin the Duke of Orleans. Charles had passed a part of his solitary youth in the château of Amboise, where long illnesses had deformed his body. Kept by his father in profound ignorance of everything, he did not know how to fix his attention on anything. Incapable of application and of discernment, and feeling his weakness, he lived for a long time in guardianship, though he was fully of age, according to the French regime, when his father died, having attained his fourteenth year. Accession of Charles VIII.

Anne of Beaujeu preserved the guardianship of his person, and took possession of the power conjointly with her husband. This authority was soon disputed by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the Count of Claremont, all three princes of the blood royal and chiefs of the feudal reaction. The first was heir presumptive to the throne, and the second eldest brother of the Lord of Beaujeu. At last, in order to put an end to their dangerous rivalries, with one accord the Estates-General were convoked at Tours. The deputies

separated themselves into six committees under the name of the "Six Nations : " France (Ile de France), Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine, Languedoc and

Langue d'oïl (centre province), and showed themselves in most respects worthy of the Estates of 1356, under King John. They laid their hands on all abuses, described all the reforms, and invoked the ancient French constitution, which, however, was only written in the hearts of men, and existed only in name. The order of the clergy demanded the liberties of the Gallican Church, contrary to the wish of the bishops ; the nobility claimed anything that could restore its ancient military importance ; the third estate solicited the abolition of *prévôtal* justice, the diminution of the costs of law, the moderation of the tolls, and the surety of the roads ; then, presenting the picture of the miseries of the people, it entreated the King to reduce the expenses, and above all to abolish the land-tax.

The whole of France, in short, by the mouth of its deputies, demanded a return to the government of Charles VII. The Estates named the Duke of Orleans president of the council, gave the second place to the Duke of Bourbon, constable, and the third to the Lord of Beaujeu ; they decided that the Estates alone had the right to tax the people, ordered reductions in the army, and voted a tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for two years. Soon the discussions degenerated into quarrels concerning the redivision of the land-tax in the provinces. Profiting by these divisions and the lassitude of the deputies, the princes promised everything for the King, and hastened to dismiss the Estates. No promise was kept, and none of the wishes expressed heard favourably.

2. The Duke of Orleans was soon removed by his sister-in-law, Anne, from the council. The wisdom and vigour with

Virtual Regency of Anne.

which this princess employed the royal authority caused the people to forget that she had usurped it ; but a league was formed against her, composed of the princes of the blood royal, the Prince of Orange, Philip de Comines, and the Count of Dunois, son of the famous bastard of that name. These confederates, less guilty in having struggled against the usurpation of the regency than in opening the kingdom to foreigners, called to their aid Maximilian of Austria, and Francis II., Duke of Brittany.

League of the Princes, 1485.

That province was a prey to anarchy. The old Duke, Francis II., nearly imbecile, reigned only in name, the government being carried on by the son of a tailor, named Landais, whom he had made his treasurer and favourite. The nobles of Brittany were leagued to-

gether against him and against their duke. Anne of Beaujeu, always acting in the name of the King, made an alliance with them. She united herself in a similar manner with René of Lorraine and the Flemings, who had revolted at this period against Maximilian of Austria, their sovereign.

In 1485 the Breton nobles seized Landais in the very chamber of their sovereign, who delivered him up while asking for mercy; it was in vain: Landais was condemned to death and executed, and the feeble Francis II. approved of the sentence. Anne of Beaujeu profited skilfully by the success of her allies. She subdued the south, and took Guienne away from the Count of Comminge, who had embraced the side of the princes. The latter were in consternation. Dunois reanimated their courage, and drew over to or maintained on his side, Alain d'Albret, the Lord of Béarn, Maximilian of Austria, recently elected King of the Romans, and the powerful Viscount of Rohan. However, Anne caused her brother to summon to the throne, in the Parliament of Paris, the leagued princes and the principal nobles of their party. They did not appear; and in the month of May following a sentence was issued by which Count Dunois, Lescun, Count of Comminge, Philip de Comines, the Lord of Argenton, and many other nobles, were condemned as being guilty of high treason against the King. No sentence was pronounced against the princes. Anne followed up her advantages. She entrusted her royal army to La Trémouille, who marched into Brittany and met the army of the princes near to Saint Aubin du Cormier. Marshal de Rieux, the Lord d'Albret, and Chateaubriand commanded it; the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were in its ranks. They engaged in battle; it was gained by La Trémouille, and prepared the way for the union of Brittany with France. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and a great number of nobles were taken prisoners. Many of the nobles were put to death. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were led back into France, where Anne held them prisoners. The treaty of Sablé, concluded in the same year, suspended hostilities between France and Brittany.

Civil war in France, 1486.

Battle of Saint Aubin du Cormier, 1487.

Treaty of Sablé, 1487.

3. The Constable, the Duke of Bourbon, was dead; his brother, Lord of Beaujeu, had inherited his title and all his power. Anne, who had become Duchess of Bourbon lived, after the battle of Saint Aubin du Cormier, in possession of an authority which ceased to be contested. This princess had had for a long time in view the union of Brittany with the crown. A few months after the signature of the treaty of Sablé, old Francis II. died. Charles VIII. claimed the guardianship of his daughters, of whom Anne, the eldest, was scarcely twelve years old. Anarchy ensued in Brittany: many princes and nobles aspired to the hand of the girl-duchess, when, in 1490, the young Anne of Brittany, in order to escape from her persecutors, consented to marry the King of the Romans, Maximilian of Austria. That

Death of the Duke of Brittany, 1488.

prince was absent, and the marriage was only celebrated by proxy. Charles VIII. soon after surprised Rennes, where the Duchess was, and carried her off. Then was seen accomplished a strange fact in the annals of history. Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII. were married, the former to Maximilian, and the latter to Marguerite of Austria, eleven years old, daughter of the same Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy; but neither of the two marriages had been completed. Both one and the other were annulled by the Church, and Charles VIII. married, in 1491, Anne of Brittany, who ceded to him all the rights of sovereignty, engaging herself, if she became a widow, to marry only the heir to the kingdom; the King, in his turn, promising solemnly to respect the privileges of the Bretons.

Charles VIII.
marries Anne of
Brittany, 1491.

4. Charles, who was twenty-two years of age, was then the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Since the preceding year he had thrown off the prudent guardianship of his sister. The first act of his authority was to set at liberty the Duke of Orleans. He appeased Maximilian of Austria, whose wife he had carried off and whose daughter he had repudiated, by giving up to him, by the treaty of Senlis, the Counties of Burgundy and Artois. The King of England, Henry VII., whom he had assisted in conquering his kingdom from Richard III., repaid him with ingratitude, and besieged Boulogne with an army. Charles obtained peace by recognising, in the treaty of Etaples, a debt of seven hundred and forty-five thousand gold crowns, payable to that monarch. He lastly made up by the treaty of Barcelona, to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, vanquishers of the Moors, and conquerors of Grenada, the Counties of Roussillon and of Cerdagne, dearly purchased by Louis XI. In peace with the neighbouring states and with his people, Charles VIII. then gave himself up to his passion for distant adventures and chivalrous conquests. He thought, they say, of conquering Constantinople; but bounded his ambition at first with Italy and Sicily.

Concessions
to foreign
sovereigns.

Treaty of
Senlis, 1493.

Treaty of
Barcelona,
1493.

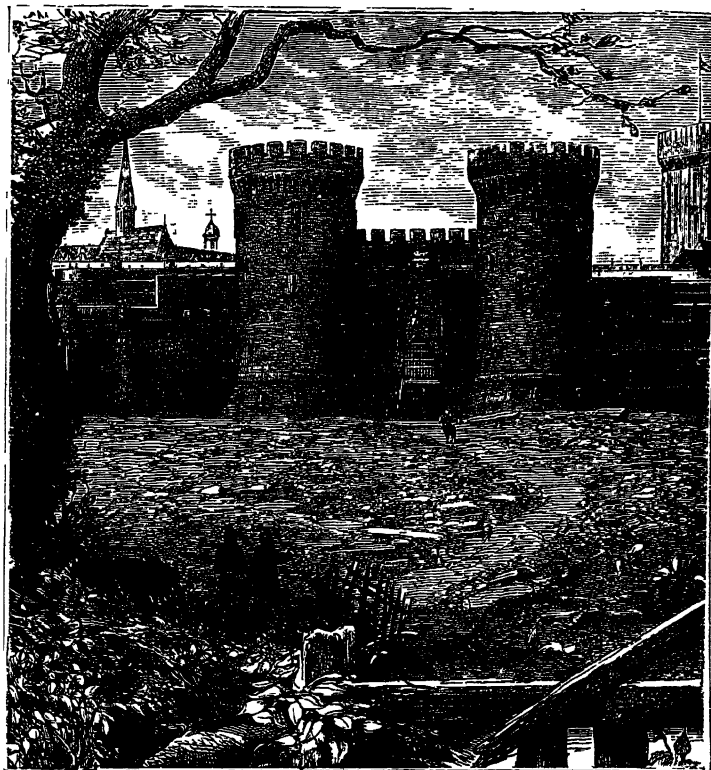
5. For a long time Italy had excited the cupidity of the French. Louis XI., among others, sought to obtain rights over it: it was at his instigation that the old King of Naples, René of Anjou, designated as his heir Charles of Maine, his nephew, to the prejudice of René II., Duke of Lorraine, son of his eldest daughter. Charles of Maine, on taking the title of King of Naples, named Louis, in his turn, his sole heir. This will was the only title on which Charles VIII. rested his pretensions to the crown of Naples and Sicily, then possessed by a Prince of Aragon, Ferdinand I., son of Alphonso the Magnanimous.

A party in the kingdom of Naples, favourable to the house of Anjou, and called the *Angevin* party, had appealed, uselessly, to René of Lorraine to come into the kingdom; in place of him they addressed themselves to Charles VIII., and offered to him the crown. This prince had still another supporter in Italy. Louis

French pretensions to Italy.

the Moor, son of the Great Francesco Sforza, was all-powerful at Milan, and held the regency of the duchy for his nephew, the young Duke John Galéas, who was incapable of reigning himself. Afflicted by the divisions in Italy, he thought of uniting it into one body: but his genius

Louis the
Moor
at Milan.



PLESSIS LES TOURS, RESIDENCE OF LOUIS XI.

provoked the jealous hate of all the sovereigns of that country. Threatened by the Venetians, and distrusting the new Pope, Alexander VI., he believed he needed the support of the French, and called them into Lombardy. From that time Charles VIII. no longer hesitated. Ferdinand I. was dead; he left two sons—Alphonso II., who succeeded him, already celebrated in his wars

against the Turks; and Frederic, to whom his brother entrusted the command of the Neapolitan fleet.

It was in the month of August, in the year 1494, that the French army began to pass over the Alps. Italy rose at their approach. The King halted at Milan and saw the Duke, John Galéas Visconti, who died soon after his departure, when Louis the Moor took the title of Duke of Milan. The French army continued its march across Lombardy, and arrived upon the territory of Florence,

where the people rose against the head of the Florentine Republic, Peter de' Medici, who sought a refuge in Venice. The Florentines hailed the French with acclamations as their liberators. Peter's crime, in the eyes of the Florentines, consisted in having delivered up some strong castles and towns to the French; but as Charles VIII. promised to respect their liberties, and restore the fortresses given up by the Medici, at the end of the war they lent him their support, and granted him a subsidy to help him in his enterprise. Ferdinand, son of Alphonso II., charged by his father to stop the French, was supported neither by the Pope nor the Florentines. Too weak to struggle alone, he recoiled before the enemy, and Charles VIII. arrived almost at Rome without drawing sword. Alphonso abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand, and retired to Mazarra, in Sicily, where he died during the same year. Ferdinand II., abandoned by the army and excluded from his capital, was compelled to withdraw, with his family, to the island of Ischia. Charles VIII. arrived before Naples, all of the privileges of which he confirmed, and made a triumphal entry into the town.

6. The French, intoxicated with glory, thought only of enriching themselves promptly. Charles refused his followers nothing they chose to ask, and by this and his want of gratitude to the Angevin barons, who had espoused his cause, he soon raised a strong party against him in Naples. The powers of Europe became alarmed at his rapid successes. Spain, Maximilian, Venice, and the Pope leagued themselves secretly together against him, and the soul of this league was his ancient ally, Louis the Moor, whom the French had refused to recognise as Duke of Milan, the Duke of Orleans claiming that title in virtue of the rights that he held from Valentina Visconti, his grandmother. Philip de Comines, ambassador from the King to Venice, hastened to give a warning to the King, and Charles ordered an immediate retreat, leaving his relation, Gilbert de Montpensier, viceroy of the kingdom, with a portion of the army. The Duke of Orleans, whom Charles had left at Asti, had attacked Louis the Moor, who, after having repulsed him, held him in a blockade at Novara. All Lombardy arose; the Venetian army arrived and united itself with the Milanese; and Charles's retreat was cut off. The French army, very inferior in numbers, met them in Fornovo; it was

Departure of
Charles for
Italy, 1494.

The French
in Florence.

Abdication and
Flight of
King of Naples,
1495.

Entry of
Charles into
Naples, 1495.

European
league against
Charles VIII.,
1495.

Retreat of the
French.

attacked in the pass of Taro, and gained a signal victory. The king, by the treaty of Vercelli, made peace with Louis the Moor, and recognised him as Duke of Milan, and that prince declared himself in return a vassal of the crown of France, for the fief of Genoa, which then belonged to France.

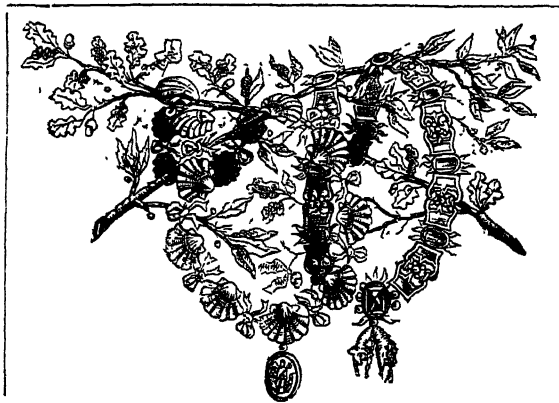
Battle of
Fornovo, 1495.

Treaty of
Vercelli.

While Charles returned to his states, Ferdinand and Gonzalvo of Cordova attacked the French left in the kingdom of Naples. Gilbert de Montpensier was compelled to evacuate the capital, and engage to leave the kingdom. An epidemic cut down his troops; he himself died at Pozzuolo: barely five hundred soldiers survived him. Charles VIII., on receiving the news of these disasters, projected a second expedition, but on April 7, 1498 he was struck with apoplexy, and he died in his château of Amboise, at the age of twenty-eight years.

Loss of Naples
and Sicily,
1496.

Death of
Charles VIII.,
1498.



COLLAR OF THE ORDER OF ST. JAMES AND GOLDEN FLEECE.



CHAPTER VIII

REIGN OF LOUIS XII., 1498-1515.

I. ACCESSION OF LOUIS XII.: THE GREAT COUNCIL: MARRIAGE WITH ANNE OF BRITTANY. 2. CONQUEST OF THE MILANESE: TREATY OF GRENADA: WAR BETWEEN SPAIN AND FRANCE: BATTLE OF CERIGNOLES: SECOND LOSS OF NAPLES. 3. SCHEMES OF THE QUEEN: TREATY OF BLOIS: MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS CLAUDE WITH FRANCIS OF ANGOULEME: DEFINITE UNION OF BRITTANY WITH FRANCE. 4. RENEWED ATTEMPTS ON ITALY: REVOLT OF GENOA: LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY: BATTLE OF AGNADEL: THE HOLY LEAGUE: BATTLE OF RAVENNA. 5. COUNCIL OF PISA: LEAGUE OF MALINES: BATTLE OF GUINNEGATE: TRUCE OF ORLEANS: DEATH OF LOUIS XII.

I. **T**HE Duke of Orleans was thirty-six years old when he ascended the throne, under the name of Louis XII. He soon took the titles of King of France, of Jerusalem, and the Two Sicilies, and Duke of Milan, in order that there might be no doubt in Europe as to his pretensions with regard to Italy. The first acts of Louis XII. were wise and useful. He diminished the taxes, re-established order in the Finances and the administration, and confirmed an ordinance signed by the late King, for the creation of a sovereign court of great council. This court, composed of the chancellor, twenty councillors, ecclesiastical or lay, and the masters of the petitions of royal mansion, was destined, said the King, to sustain his rights and prerogatives. It strengthened and adjusted the royal authority, and

Accession of
Louis XII.,
1498.

Louis XII. deserved the gratitude of the people on account of the wise reforms which it brought into the legislation. Queen Anne had retired into Brittany soon after the death of Charles VIII., her husband, and hastened to make

The Great
Council.

an act of sovereignty by issuing moneys and publishing edicts. Her duchy was about to escape from France if she did not espouse the King, and Louis resolved to accomplish this marriage. He was married to Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI.; and although there was no legal motive for such a step, he solicited and obtained a divorce from Pope Alexander VI., the duchy by the marriage contract being declared transmissible to the second child of the Queen, or, in default of a second child, to her nearest heir.

Marriage of the King with Anne of Brittany, 1499.

2. Soon after this union, Louis made his claims upon the Milanese profitable, although he could only invoke them in quality of being grandson of Valentina Visconti. They were sustained by a powerful army, which, with the support of the Venetians and the Pope, subdued the Milanese in twenty days. Louis, the Moor, took refuge with his son-in-law, the Emperor Maximilian. The administration of the French at Milan was oppressive; a revolt soon broke out, and Louis returned with opposing force. He was, however, besieged in Novara by the French under La Trémouille. The Swiss in his army capitulated and delivered him up, and he was subjected to strict imprisonment in the castle of Loches till his death. Master of the Milanese, the King assisted the Pope and the infamous Cæsar Borgia, in subduing the Romagna; then he turned his eyes towards Naples, the ephemeral conquest of Charles VIII., where Frederic, in 1496, had succeeded his nephew Ferdinand II. Louis XII. was not alone in coveting this beautiful country; Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, wished for his part. In spite of the ties of family which united him with Frederic, the King of Aragon acceded at Grenada to a secret treaty by which Naples and the Abruzzi were chosen by France and the southern provinces by Spain. Frederic, menaced by the French armies, solicited the support of Ferdinand, who hastened to send Spanish troops, under Gonzalvo of Cordova into Naples, and then showed to the unfortunate Frederic, so shamefully deceived, the treaty of division. The French and Spaniards, however, soon disputed about the revenues of the kingdom, and when Gonzalvo believed that he was strong enough, hostilities broke out. He gained two consecutive victories, the one at Aubigny, in Séminara, and the other at Cérignoles, and the French only preserved in the kingdom the single town of Gaeta. Louis XII. assembled three new armies, of which two marched upon Spain; the third advanced towards Naples, when suddenly the death of Alexander VI. deprived the King of his most powerful ally. Julius II., his successor, soon created for him in that country new perils and insurmountable obstacles. The French army, attacked by Gonzalvo on the banks of the Garillan, took to flight. Gaeta opened its gates to the Spaniards; the French were everywhere repulsed; and the Kingdom of Naples was lost a second time to France.

Conquest of the Milanese, 1499.

Treaty of Grenada, 1500.

War between Spain and France.

Battle of Cérignoles, 1503.

Second loss of Naples.

3. While France experienced in the exterior such great reverses, a greater danger threatened her in the interior. Queen Anne wished her daughter Claude to marry young Charles of Austria, afterwards the famous Charles V. This prince, son of the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Low Countries, inherited Spain through his mother, Jeanne the Foolish; and Louis XII., by the secret treaty of Blois, which was signed by the King when dangerously ill, ceded to him, as a dowry for the Princess Claude, Brittany, part of the inheritance of the dukes of Burgundy united with France, all his rights over the Milanese, and the Kingdom of Naples. In the following year he received from the Estates-General, assembled at Tours, the surname of *Father of the People*, and was entreated by them to marry his daughter Claude to his cousin Francis, Count of Angoulême, heir presumptive to the crown. This request anticipated the secret desire of the King, who, reproaching himself with the sad treaty of Blois, had already seized an opportunity to break it. He heard with favour the wish of the Estates, and the royal betrothals were immediately celebrated.

4. Louis XII., in spite of his reverses, had always fixed his eyes on Italy. Genoa then was in submission to the French, but, being oppressed by the government and nobles, they revolted, drove out the French, and elected a Doge. The revolt was promptly suppressed by the King, who entered, sword in hand, into the vanquished city, caused seventy-nine of the principal citizens, together with the Doge to be hanged, and burdened the rest with a tax of three hundred thousand florins: a sum sufficient to ruin the Republic.

Venice had served as a bulwark for France against Germany, and had shown itself her faithful ally in the campaign of Italy; but Louis XII. excited without motive the Emperor Maximilian, the Pope, and the King of Aragon, against the Venetians. The Cardinal d'Amboise was the soul of this league, known under the name of the *League of Cambray*, a town where the treaty of alliance was signed between those sovereigns and Louis XII. The French soon marched against Venice, and gained the victory of Agnadell. The King treated the vanquished with pitiless cruelty. But Pope Julius II., whose design it was to make the pontifical state dominant in Italy, to free the Peninsula from the foreign yoke, and to constitute the Swiss guardians of its liberties, and who had only entered with regret into the treaty of Cambrai, connected himself with the Venetians after their reverses, and, detaching himself from the League of Cambrai, he formed another, which he called *The Holy*, with the Venetians, the Swiss, and Ferdinand the Catholic. All together attacked the French; nevertheless the latter obtained some brilliant advantages under the young and impetuous Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, nephew of the King, who achieved three victories in three months. The glorious battle of Ravenna, where this hero

* Revolt of Genoa, 1507.

League of Cambray, 1509.

Battle of Agnadell, 1509.

The Holy League, 1510.

of twenty-three years, "a great captain before he had been a soldier," perished, dying at the moment of his triumph, was the end of the successes of Louis XII. in Italy. Battle of Ravenna, 1512.

5. A council held at Pisa by some schismatic cardinals, partisans of the King of France and the Emperor, had suspended the authority of the Pope. Julius II. responded to this boldness on the part of the King by signing the Holy League, and by convoking the council of St. John Lateran, where eighty-three bishops from all parts of Christendom recognised him as head of the Church. New disasters for France marked out the course of that year. Genoa revolted; and Ferdinand the Catholic conquered Navarre, where the house of Albret, an ally of France, reigned. Julius II. died in 1513; and the Cardinal de' Medici, as great an enemy of France, succeeded him, under the name of Leo X. Louis XII. at last became reconciled with Venice, and united himself with that Republic by the treaty of Orthez, while the Emperor Maximilian, Henry VIII., King of England, Ferdinand the Catholic and the Pope formed the coalition called the League of Malines against him. La Trémouille conducted into Lombardy a French army, which was defeated by the Swiss at Novara: it recrossed the Alps, abandoning the Venetians to themselves, and Italy was lost for ever. The English army then gained in Artois the battle of Guinegate, known in history under the name of the Battle of the Spurs, on account of the complete rout of the French Royal troops. Pressed at the same time by the Swiss, who were besieging Dijon, by the Spaniards, and by the English; deprived of his ally by the death of James IV., King of Scotland, killed at the battle of Flodden; and lastly, tormented by his conscience, Louis XII. renounced the schism, abandoned the Council of Pisa, removed to Lyons, and signed in 1514, a truce at Orleans with the Pope and all his powerful enemies. Council of Pisa, 1511.

The cost and the misfortunes of so many wars had compelled the King to increase the taxes, to reclaim his gratuitous gifts, and alienate his domain. Queen Anne was no more, and in order to insure peace between England and France, Louis demanded and obtained in marriage the hand of Mary, sister to Henry VIII., engaging himself to pay during ten years a hundred thousand crowns per annum to the English monarch. This marriage between a young princess of sixteen years and a man of fifty-three, exhausted and sickly, was fatal to Louis XII. He died, without leaving a son, on January 1, 1515, a few months after the celebration of his marriage. League of Malines, 1513.

Truce of
Orleans, 1514.

Death of
Louis XII., 1515



CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF FRANCIS I., 1515-1547.

- I. ACCESSION OF FRANCIS I.: HIS ABSOLUTISM. 2. INVASION OF ITALY: BATTLE OF MARIGNANO; ALLIANCE WITH THE SWISS; CONCORDAT WITH LEO X. 3. CHARLES V. OF GERMANY: HIS TERRITORIES: TREATY OF NOYON: ELECTION OF CHARLES TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE: FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD. 4. LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION: DIET OF WORMS. 5. COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I.: BATTLE OF BICOQUE: THE FRENCH DRIVEN FROM ITALY. 6. SALE OF THE OFFICES OF JUDICATURE: ACTION AGAINST THE CONSTABLE: SECOND CAMPAIGN IN ITALY: DEATH OF BAYARD. 7. INVASION OF PROVENCE: THIRD CAMPAIGN IN ITALY: BATTLE OF PAVIA: CAPTIVITY OF FRANCIS I.: TREATY OF MADRID: THE KING'S RELEASE. 8. THE RUPTURE OF THE TREATY OF MADRID: THE HOLY LEAGUE: CAPTURE AND SACK OF ROME. 9. FOURTH CAMPAIGN IN ITALY: THE LADIES' PEACE: REUNION OF BRITTANY WITH THE CROWN. 10. LEAGUE OF SMALCALDE: THE ANABAPTISTS: PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE. 11. MUSSULMAN INVASION: EXPEDITION OF CHARLES V. TO TUNIS: CONQUEST OF PIEDMONT: INVASION OF PROVENCE: TREATY OF NICE. 12. CHARLES V. IN FRANCE: ALLIANCE OF FRANCIS I. WITH THE TURKS: RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES: BATTLE OF CERISOLES: NEW INVASION OF FRANCE: TREATY OF CRESPIY. 13. MASSACRE OF THE WALDENSES; WAR WITH ENGLAND: TREATY OF GUINES: DEATH OF FRANCIS I.
- I. **U**NDER Francis I. all was silence around the throne: the Estates-General were no more convoked; the parliaments proclaimed the doctrine of absolute power; the submissive clergy invoked the protection of the sceptre, and the expiring genius of the old armed feudality was reduced to powerlessness by the irrevocable union of Brittany with the crown. Thenceforth, from the Ocean to the

Accession
of Francis I.,
1515.

Alps, from the Somme to the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees, was to be under the hand of one sole master.

This prince, twenty years of age at his accession, was the son of Louisa of Savoy and Charles of Angoulême, cousin-german to Louis XII., both descendants of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. As king, he considered himself absolute master of his own actions and of the nation. He maintained that every order that emanated from his mouth was a decree of destiny, and could not conceive that the Parliament, Princes, Nobility, or Estates-General could have the right to restrain his authority.

2. Scarcely had Francis I. seized the sceptre than, following the example of Louis XII., he turned his eyes towards Italy. Desirous of conquering Milan, where a Sforza still reigned, he raised a formidable army, and having named his mother regent of France, he crossed the Alps. On descending into the plains, Chabannes and the famous Bayard, the "knight without fear and without reproach," as a first exploit, surprised at table and carried off Prosper Colonna, general of Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan. This important capture was followed by the terrible battle of Marignano, under the walls of Milan, in which Francis I., who fought like a hero, completely defeated the Swiss allies of the Milanese. This bloody battle cost the lives of six thousand French and twelve thousand Swiss. The remains of the conquered army abandoned Italy. Francis I. asked, on the day after the battle, to receive the order of chivalry from the hand of Bayard, who was the most distinguished among his most valiant captains at Marignano. The rapid conquest of the Duchy of Milan was the result of this decisive victory. In order to ensure its possession, the King concluded an alliance with the Swiss, and signed a concordat with Pope Leo X., engaging himself to maintain at Florence the authority of Lorenzo and Julian de' Medici, near relatives of the Pontiff, and to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, which founded the liberties of the Gallican Church upon the decrees of the Council of Bâle.

Invasion of
Italy, 1515.

Battle of Ma-
rignano, 1515.

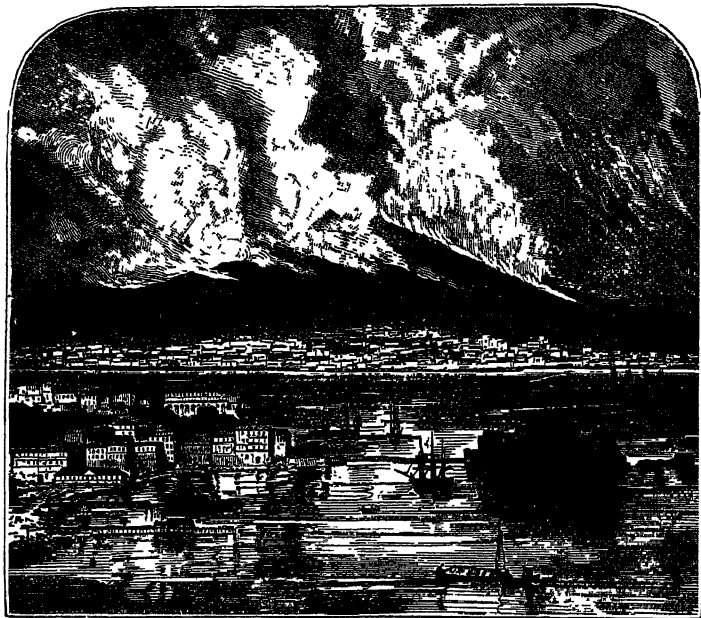
Alliance with
the Swiss, 1515.

3. The young rival of Francis I., he who was about, for so many years, to dispute with him the first rank in Christendom, now commenced to show himself upon the scene of the world. Ferdinand the Catholic died in 1516, leaving the throne to his daughter, Joan the Simple. Charles of Austria, sixteen years old, son of Joan the Simple, was associated on the throne with his mother by the Cortes of the kingdom. This young prince, known in after-time under the name of Charles V., was, through his father, Philip the Handsome, inheritor of the Low Countries, and, in 1516, the Emperor Maximilian, his grandfather, left him his hereditary states. Before he was twenty Charles found himself master of Spain, of the Low Countries, of Austria, of the Kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish possessions in America; he was already the most powerful monarch in Europe. The relations between Francis and Charles commenced by a treaty of alliance,

Charles V. of
Germany.

offensive and defensive, signed at Noyon in 1516, at the moment when Charles inherited the crown of Spain. This Prince promised Francis I. to marry his daughter, then in the cradle; the marriage was to be accomplished when she was twelve years old, and Francis had to give her as a dowry all his rights over the Kingdom of Naples.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian caused the break-



NAPLES AND MOUNT VESUVIUS.

ing out between the two monarchs of the first symptoms of the struggle that was only to finish with their lives. Both of them had pretensions to the empire; but Germany, threatened by the Turks, had need of an emperor whose states would serve as a barrier to the Mussulman invasion; and the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, having refused the Imperial crown, caused it to be given to the young Austrian Prince, so celebrated from that time under the name of Charles V. Francis I., wounded to the heart in his ambition, forgot the treaty of Noyon, redemanded Naples, taken by Ferdinand the Catholic from Louis XII., while Charles V. claimed Milan as an Imperial masculine fief, and the Duchy of Burgundy as the inherit-

ance of his grandmother Mary, daughter of Charles the Rash. The two rivals both sought the support of Henry VIII., King of England. The interview between Francis I. and the English monarch took place at Guines, near Calais. The excessive magnificence which was displayed on both sides caused the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold* to be given to the place of conference. After three weeks of rejoicing and splendid fêtes, the two kings signed a treaty of alliance, which became illusory; for Charles V., having himself first visited Henry VIII., had seduced by his largesses, and by the hope of the Papacy, Cardinal Wolsey, minister and favourite of that prince.

4. Nevertheless, in spite of so many motives of discord and jealousy, neither of the two rivals was anxious to commence the war. Germany, indignant at the shameful traffic in indulgences, had commenced to agitate, through the voice of Luther, who had burned in public at Wittenberg, in 1517, the bull of excommunication issued against him by the Pope. An act so audacious seized Europe with astonishment, and Charles V. convoked a Diet at Worms, in order, as he said, to repress the new opinions, which were dangerous to the peace of Germany. Luther appeared at this Diet, under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, and of a hundred armed knights. He energetically defended his doctrines, attacking auricular confession, the intercession of the saints, the dogma of purgatory, that of transubstantiation, the celibacy of the priests, and the authority of the Church. The Diet permitted him to retire, and soon afterwards outlawed him. The Elector of Saxony caused him to be conducted to the fortress of Wartburg, where he lived shut up for nine months, concealed from his friends and enemies. It was there that he commenced his translation of the Bible.

Luther and the
Reformation.
Diet of Worms,
1521.

5. While these great interests divided Europe, Leo X. excited the French to the conquest of Naples, promising them his support; then he treated almost immediately with Charles V. At last hostilities commenced. The Imperial troops took Mourzon and besieged Mezières, which was saved by Anne de Montmorency and the Chevalier Bayard. Lautrec, lieutenant-general of the King, badly supported by the mercenary Swiss, was beaten at Bicoque, and Milan was again lost. At the same time Henry VIII. united with the Emperor against Francis I., and both declared war against him, while Adrian VI., former preceptor of Charles V., ascended the pontifical throne.

Commence-
ment of hos-
tilities, 1521.

Battle of Bi-
coque, 1522.

6. Exhausted by the prodigalities of the King, the treasury was empty, and money was necessary. It was not possible to gather sufficient by raising the land taxes and borrowing money, so, by the advice of the minister Duprat, the offices of the magistracy, the number of which was doubled, were sold for money. In vain the Parliaments protested, the new magistrates were maintained; and this deplor-

Sale of the
offices of
judicature.

able custom of venality, for the first time avowed and recognised, lasted until the French Revolution. About this time the King's mother, Louisa of Savoy, then forty seven years old, proposed to the Constable Duke of Bourbon, the richest and most powerful noble of the kingdom, to marry her. Bourbon rejected these offers, adding irony to the refusal. The Princess, furious, brought an unjust action against the Duke; the Parliament did not dare to declare its opinion; but Francis, urged on by his mother, seized

**Action
against the
Constable, 1523.**

and united to the crown the immense possessions of the constable. He immediately treated secretly with Henry VIII. and Charles V., and invited them both to divide the kingdom. Informed of these negotiations, the King tried to seize his person. Bourbon escaped into Germany, and re-appeared soon afterwards at the head of the armies of the

**Second
Campaign in
Italy, 1524.**

Emperor. The war then commenced with advantages to France on all the frontiers. The Germans attacked Champagne and Franche-Comté without success; the Spaniards were repulsed in the South, while La Trémouille successfully defended Picardy against an English army In Italy, where Francis I. still dreamed of conquest, the French

**Death of
Bayard, 1524.**

army, under the command of Admiral Bonnivet, was compelled to retreat, and in a skirmish with the enemy in 1524, the Chevalier Bayard lost his life.

7. Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescaire invaded Provence, and a number of towns submitted. Marseilles heroically sustained a siege, which was raised by the Imperial troops, after forty days' continuance, at the approach of Francis I., who

**Third
Campaign in
Italy, 1525.** rapidly recovered the whole of the Milanese territory and besieged Pavia. Before this town the French and Imperial

**Battle of
Pavia, 1525.** troops engaged in battle on February 25, 1525. The French were totally defeated. The Imperial army entirely surrounded the King. In vain Francis I. and

his knights performed heroic exploits; the King was twice wounded and was taken prisoner, with Henry d'Albret, the young King of Navarre. The latter was imprisoned in the citadel of Pavia, from whence he contrived to escape. Francis I., 1525. was concealed from observation in that of Pizzighettone, and from there transferred to Madrid by order of Charles V.

Although Francis I., before his departure, had conferred the regency of the kingdom upon his mother, the sovereignty remained entirely in his person; he alone could accept or reject the conditions imposed on his deliverance; and the Emperor, who saw in the captivity of Francis I. the humiliation and ruin of France, resolved to profit to the utmost by his victory. The King fell ill in prison; Charles, who had, until then, refused to see him, visited him and consoled him by affectionate words; but soon after his recovery he set him at liberty upon sad and dishonourable conditions for France. By the treaty of Madrid, which Francis

signed with a secret determination not to observe it, he ceded all his rights upon Italy, renounced the sovereignty of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and abandoned to the Emperor the duchy of Burgundy; he engaged to marry Eleanor, Dowager Queen of Portugal, sister of the Emperor; he pardoned the Duke of Bourbon; and concluded an offensive and defensive league with the Emperor, promising to accompany him in person when he went upon a crusade against the Turks or against heretics. Charles V., on his side, gave up the towns on the Somme which had belonged to Charles the Bold.

After the signature of this treaty the King was released. He believed that in escaping from his enemies he was equally free from the obligations which he had contracted with them, and replied to the messengers of the Emperor that he could not ratify the treaty of Madrid without the consent of the Estates of the kingdom and of the duchy of Burgundy.

8. This declaration was merely a subterfuge; for the French King had no intention of convoking the Estates-General of the kingdom to release him from the Treaty of Madrid: he contented himself with calling the princes, nobles and bishops, who then formed part of his court. This assembly disengaged him from his word. The States of Burgundy, on their side, declared that they did not wish to separate from France.

Italy, however, had only escaped from the French to fall into the avaricious hands of the Imperial troops. Francis then, impatient for vengeance, presented himself to the people of Italy, no longer as master but as an ally; he offered the sword of France in order to free them. Venice, Florence, Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Pope appealed to him as a liberator, and the King of England himself, afraid of the colossal power of Charles V., entered into the *Holy League*. In the name of the independence of Italy, the Duke of Urbino raised an Italian army; but before the French troops had crossed the Alps, the soldiers of the Emperor, under the Constable de Bourbon, threw themselves upon Rome, the centre of the Holy League. The assault was made on the 6th May, 1527. Bourbon perished while placing a ladder at the foot of the ramparts; but Rome was taken, and the Imperial troops avenged their General by sacking the Eternal City and by a frightful massacre. The Pope had to sustain a long siege in the Castle of Saint Angelo.

9. Henry VIII. and Francis I. resolved to set free the Pontiff and Italy, and declared war against the Emperor, who heaped reproaches on Francis I., and received a challenge in answer. Lautrec entered Lombardy at the head of a French army, and penetrated into the kingdom of Naples, where his troops were destroyed by an epidemic, while he himself was attacked and died. Another French army, commanded by Saint-Pol, was defeated and dispersed at Landriano; Saint-Pol was taken prisoner. France

Fourth
Campaign in
Italy, 1528.

also lost about the same time the assistance of the celebrated Genoese Admiral, Andrea Doria: for this able sailor, being treated with disdain by Francis I., quitted his service for that of Charles V., and replaced Genoa, his country, under the protection of the Emperor.

Europe, at this period, was in fear of a new Mussulman invasion. Rhodes, in 1523, after a six months' siege, had surrendered to the Turks, and Charles V., pressed by them and threatened by the Reformers, who had commenced to call themselves "Protestants," modified his pretensions with regard to France. New negotiations were opened at Cambrai, by Louisa of Savoy, in the name of her son, and Marguerite of Austria, ruler of the Low Countries, in the name of the Emperor, her nephew. A treaty was con-

The Ladies'
Peace, 1529.

cluded, in which the King abandoned the sovereignty of Artois and Flanders, renounced all rights upon Italy, and abandoned all his allies to the resentment of the Emperor. The duchy of Burgundy still remained to the kingdom. This peace, which threw discredit on France throughout Europe, was signed in 1529, and called *The Ladies' Peace*. By it all Italy fell again, almost without resistance, under the yoke of Charles V.

The fatal Ladies' Peace was a new misfortune that France owed to Louisa of Savoy and her confidant the Chancellor Duprat. The shameful administration of this man can only boast of one measure of positive utility.

Francis I. until 1532 had governed Brittany only in the quality of duke of that province; Duprat counselled him to unite this duchy in an indissoluble manner with the crown, and he prevailed upon the States of Brittany themselves to request this reunion, which alone was capable of preventing the breaking out of civil wars at the death of the King. It was irrevocably voted by the States assembled at Vannes in 1532.

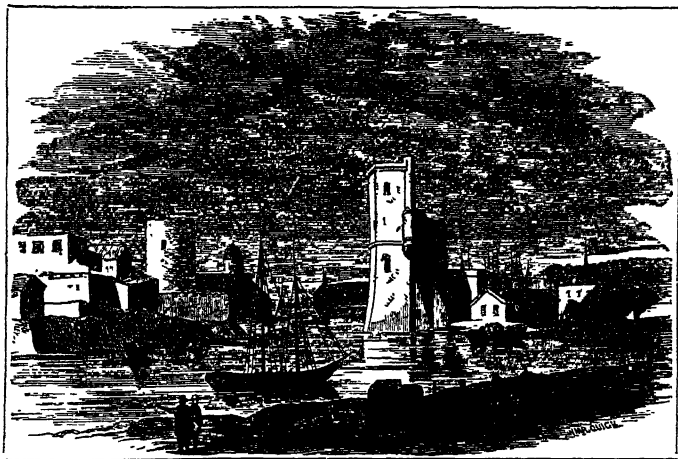
The reunion
of Brittany
with the
Crown, 1532.

10. The situation of Europe was then almost everywhere threatening or agitated. The greater part of the princes and the states of Germany had admitted the new religious opinions. Already Frederic I. had accorded freedom of conscience to Denmark, while Gustavus Vasa adhered, with the Church of Sweden, to the confession of faith drawn up at the Diet of Augsburg by Melancthon. The German princes, who were partisans of the Reformation, united together, in 1531, against the Emperor, by the celebrated league of Smalcalde. Lastly, Henry VIII., in consequence of the refusal of the Pope to sanction his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, caused himself to be proclaimed the head of the Anglican Church. The populace of a great number of countries became agitated; and many took up arms, commencing a terrible war against property and science, running from church to church, breaking the images and overturning the altars. The peasants of Suabia and Thuringia rose in insurrection; the latter, under the name of *Anabaptists*, followed the fanatical John of Leyden. They tried to join

League of Smal-
calde, 1531.

themselves with the insurgents of Franconia, Alsatia, Lorraine and the Tyrol, and did an immense injury to the cause of the disciples of Luther, who united with the Catholics in order to fight and exterminate them.

Such was the religious state of Europe when Francis I. commenced his violent persecution of the Lutherans, or Protestants. His eyes were always glancing back to Italy, the conquest of which the Pope could facilitate for him; and this motive, doubtless, led him to unite his cause with that of Rome by causing his second son, Henry II., to marry Catherine de Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII. He did not, however, obtain the advantages that he had hoped for from this union. The pontiff only survived the marriage a short time,



ROCHELLE.

and had as successor Alexander Farnese, who became Pope under the name of Paul III. Francis I., nevertheless, proved himself in France a cruel persecutor of the Protestants. He caused six persons to be burnt alive in Paris, January 25, 1535, and immediately after he issued an edict which proscribed the Reformers, confiscated their goods to the profit of their denunciators, and forbade them to print any book on pain of death. In the same year, however, recognising the necessity for relaxing these persecutions, he issued an edict of toleration, attributed in part to the influence of Antoine du Bourg, successor to Duprat in charge of the chancellorship.

11. The Mussulman invasion had made rapid progress; an immense Turkish army, conducted across Hungary under the wall of Vienna, had been repulsed in 1529; but two brothers named

Barbarossa, famous corsairs, had taken possession of Algiers and Tunis, and covered the sea with their vessels, pillaging the coasts of Spain, France and Italy, and carrying off into slavery a multitude

Expedition of Charles V. to Tunis. of Christians every year. Charles V. armed a formidable fleet against them, commanded, under his orders, by Andrea Doria; he conquered the Barbarossas, took Tunis, and set free twenty thousand Christians. In the meanwhile, Sforza, Duke of Milan, died without issue; Francis claimed the inheritance for his second son, the Duke of Orleans. Already, France, without plausible motive, had declared war against Charles III., Duke

Conquest of Piedmont, 1536 of Savoy,* brother-in-law of Charles V. Turin and all Piedmont were rapidly invaded, and the French and Imperial troops soon found themselves in each other's

presence upon the frontiers of Milan. Hostilities broke out; the French army fell back, and the Emperor invaded Provence, which he found a desert, as it had been laid waste previously by the French themselves. The Imperial army, exhausted by famine

Invasion of Provence, 1536. and disease, retraced its steps without having fought. The war subsequently raged for some time in the Low

Countries and Piedmont; at last, Pope Paul III. arranged that a truce of ten years should be signed between the rival monarchs, who divided the estates of the unfortunate Duke of Savoy, and met, with apparent esteem and friendship, at Aigues-Mortes.

12. A revolt of Ghent soon called Charles V. into Flanders; he was then in Spain, and his shortest route was through France. He requested permission to cross the kingdom, and obtained it after

Charles V. in France, 1539. having promised the Constable Montmorency that he would give the investiture of Milan to the second son of the King. This promise, however, Charles did not keep, and the King, indignant, exiled the constable for having trusted the word of the Emperor without exacting his signature, and avenged himself by making an alliance with the Turks, the most formidable enemies of the Empire. The hatred of the two monarchs was carried to its height by these last events; they mutually outraged each other by injurious libels, and submitted their differences to the Pope. Paul III. refused to decide between them, and they again took up arms. The King invaded Luxembourg and the Dauphin

Renewal of hostilities, 1542. Rousillon, and the third army Nice by land, while the terrible Barbarossas attacked it by sea. The town

was taken, the castle alone resisted, and the siege of it was raised. The Diet brought against Francis I. an army of twenty-four thousand men, at the head of which Charles V. penetrated into Champagne, while Henry VIII., coalescing with the Emperor, attacked Picardy with ten thousand English. The battle of Ceri-
Battle of Ceri-soles, 1544. soles, a complete victory, gained during the same year, in Piedmont, by Francis of Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, against the Imperial troops, did not stop this double and

* Savoy was created a duchy during the reign of Charles V.

formidable invasion. Charles V. advanced almost to Chateau-Thierry. But discord reigned in his army; he ran short of provisions, and could easily have been surrounded; he then again promised Milan to the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the King. The war was terminated almost immediately afterwards by the treaty of Crespy in Valois. The Emperor promised his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, or one of his nieces with Milan, and gave up Burgundy. Francis restored part of Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy, and renounced all pretensions to Naples, Milan, Flanders and Artois. The death of the Duke of Orleans freed the Emperor from dispossessing himself of Milan or the Low Countries; he refused all compensation to the King, but the peace was not broken.

13. Francis I. profited by the peace to redouble his severity with regard to the Protestants. He sanctioned the invasion and massacre of many thousands of Waldenses, who dwelt upon the confines of Provence and the County Venaissin, and had entered into communion with the Calvinists. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned and sacked; the inhabitants, surprised during the night, were pursued among the rocks by the glare of the flames which devoured their houses. The men perished by executions, but the women were delivered over to terrible violence. This dreadful massacre was one of the principal causes of the religious wars which desolated France for so long a time.


Charles V. then crushed the Lutherans in Germany, and maintained the Catholic faith in Spain by the Inquisition, while Henry VIII. struck equally at both Romish and Lutheran sects. The war continued between him and Francis I. The English had taken Boulogne, and a French fleet ravaged the coasts of England, after taking possession of the Isle of Wight. Hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Guines, which the two kings signed on the brink of their graves, and it was arranged that Boulogne should be restored for the sum of two millions of gold crowns. Henry VIII. and Francis I. died in the same year shortly after the conclusion of this treaty; the latter had reigned for thirty-three years. It may be remarked that this king originated the public debt of France by creating the first perpetual annuities on the Hôtel de Ville for a loan of two hundred thousand livres.



CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF HENRY II. (1547-1559).

- I. ACCESSION OF HENRY II.: DESPOTIC EDICTS: REVOLTS IN POITOU AND GUIENNE: PUNISHMENT OF THE BORDELAIS. 2. WAR WITH THE POPE: SEIZURE OF METZ, TOUL AND VERDUN: REVERSES OF CHARLES V.: CONVENTION OF PASSAU. 3. CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES: MILITARY OPERATIONS, 1552-1555: DIET OF AUGSBURG: ABDICATION OF CHARLES V. 4. TREATIES OF VAUCELLES AND ROME: RECOMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES: BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN: CAPTURE OF CALAIS: BATTLE OF GRAVELINES: PEACE OF CHATEAU-CAMBRESIS. 5. EXACTIONS OF HENRY II.: PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE: ARREST OF ANNE OF BOURG AND OTHERS; FIRST SYNOD OF FRENCH CALVINISTS; DEATH OF HENRY II.

- I. ENRY II., son of Francis I., was twenty-nine years of age when he ascended the throne. He changed the counsellors of the Crown, and took into his favour the Constable Montmorency, who ruled him during all his reign. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, sons of Duke René of Lorraine; Montmorency; Diana of Poitiers, styled the mistress of the King; lastly, the Queen, Catherine de Medici, endowed with a supple and profoundly dissimulating mind—were at the head of each of the four factions which divided the court. One of the first edicts of the new King condemned heretics to be burnt alive. Another assigned to the prévôts of the marshals, the trial of assassins, smugglers, poachers, and people who were not known. This edict, which delivered over the lives of the citizens to arbitrary judgment, was ineffectually re-

Accession of
Henry II.
1547.

Despotic
edicts.

sisted by the magistracy. A serious revolt broke out in the provinces beyond the Loire, where the tax upon salt had been recently established by Francis I. Poitou and Guienne rose; at Bordeaux, above all, the populace committed great excesses. The King sent Montmorency to the disaffected city with promises of justice and satisfaction, but he exercised a horrible vengeance on the Bordelais. Hundreds were executed, and many of the sufferers were broken on the wheel alive; a fine of two hundred thousand livres was levied on the citizens; and the city was deprived of its privileges, and only recovered them in the following year.

2. France had hardly taken breath for a year, when war broke out anew. Henry II. supported Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, against Pope Julius III. and the Emperor. The latter had gained, in 1547, the famous battle of Mühlberg over the confederates of Smalcalde. The venerable Frederic, Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, had fallen into his power. Charles V. compelled the former to cede his Electorate, which he gave to Maurice of Saxony, son-in-law of the Landgrave. The Protestant League then implored the support of Henry II., who granted it on condition that he should occupy the town of Cambria and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, to guard them as Vicar of the Empire. He soon seized them; and although he declared himself the defender of independence in Germany, he aggravated the punishments of the Protestants in France and established there an inquisitor of the faith. An unexpected success rendered the support of Henry II. unnecessary to the Lutherans of Germany. Young Maurice of Saxony, preferring the rôle of Chief of the Protestants to that of a creature of Charles V., suddenly marched in forced journeys upon Inspruck, where the Emperor, ill and almost alone, was nearly taken by surprise. Compelled to yield, Charles signed, with the Protestants, the Convention of Passau, changed three years later, at the Diet of Augsburg, into a definite peace. The era of religious liberty in Germany dates from that time.

Revolts in
Poitou and
Guienne, 1554.

War with the
Pope and
Emperor, 1551

Seizure of
Metz, Toul
and Verdun,
1552.

Reverses of
Charles V.

Convention of
Passau, 1552.

3. France had no part in these great events; but she preserved the price of her alliance in keeping the three bishoprics, in spite of the efforts of the Emperor to take them. Hostilities were still prolonged between that prince and Henry II. for three years. The principal events of the war were:—The immortal defence of Metz by the Duke of Guise, in 1552, against Charles V.; the invasion of Picardy by the imperial army, and of Hainault by the French army; the conquest of Hesdin by Henry II.; the loss of Théroüenne, which Charles V. razed to the ground; the battle of Renti, in Flanders, where Guise, Coligni and Tavannes distinguished themselves; lastly, the defence of Sienna by Montluc; the ravaging of the coasts of Italy by Dragut, an Ottoman admiral

Continuation
of Hostilities,
Military
operations,
1552-1555.

allied with the French; and the fine campaign made in Piedmont against the Duke of Alba by Marshal Brissac. After these wars, the advantages of which were equally balanced, and in the course of the great troubles in Germany, caused by the death of Maurice of Saxony, and the rivalry between Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans and hereditary sovereign of Bohemia,

Diet of Augsburg, 1555.

there was opened at Augsburg a celebrated Diet, in which it was decreed that the Catholic and Protestant States should exercise their worship in freedom; and that it should be left to the civil power of each State to regulate its doctrine and religion. Such was, in great part, the decree of the Diet of Augsburg of the 25th of September, 1555, and upon it for a long time, the religious peace of Germany reposed. This decree struck a fatal blow at the policy of Charles V., whose object was always to maintain the unity of the Church under his sole dependence. Convinced that all would perish when he could not direct everything himself, he convoked the Chiefs of the Low Countries at Brussels, and there, on the 25th of October, 1555, he solemnly abdicated his hereditary crown, and placed it in the hands of Philip II., his son. He still held the Imperial crown for six months; then he retired to the Convent of the Hieronymites of Saint Just, where he died, September 21, 1558. His brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, was his successor in the empire.

Abdication of Charles V., 1555.

4. As soon as Philip had ascended the throne, Henry II. signed a treaty with him at Vaucelles, of which the principal clause was a truce of five years, and in virtue of this treaty, Paul IV., who declared that Charles V. was privy to a plot against his life, urged Henry to make war against the Empire, promising to him, by a treaty signed at Rome, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

Treaties of Vaucelles and Rome, 1555.

Two parties then divided the Court of France: the young nobility wished for war; Montmorency was inclined for peace, and wisely advised the King to maintain it. Hostilities, however, broke out suddenly between the Pope and the Spaniards, and war was resolved upon. A French army, under the orders of the Constable and his nephew, Coligny, entered into Artois, and another into Italy, under the Duke of Guise. The first was completely vanquished through the fault of the Constable Montmorency. The road to Paris was open, but the indecision of the conquerors saved France from great disasters. Guise was soon re-called from Italy, and signalled his return by a memorable exploit. Mary of England, who had married Philip II. of Spain, had sent troops into Artois to act in concert with those of her husband. To punish her interference, the Duke surprised Calais and re-took it for France after it had remained for two hundred and ten years in the power of the English. France lost in the same year the battle of Gravelines. These two events were followed by the peace of Chateau-Cambrésis, signed in 1559. It was called *The*

Re commence-ment of hostilities, 1557.

Battle of St. Quentin, 1558.

Capture of Calais, 1558.

Unfortunate Peace. Henry II. gave up his conquests with the exception of the three Bishoprics; he re-nounced all his rights upon Genoa, Corsica, the Kingdom of Naples, and only retained in Piedmont, Pignerol and some fortresses. Battle of Gravelines. 1558.
Peace of Chaumont. 1559.

5. Henry, in order to provide for the expenses of the war and those of a prodigal and dissolute court, had recourse to deplorable expedients. He sold by auction new judgeships and offices of all kinds, and compelled most public officers to purchase their title to office anew. He established by the same means a Parliament in Brittany, and caused an Edict of Inquisition to be bought by the clergy; lastly, he gave the name of Estates-General to an assembly of notable persons, chosen by himself and devoted to his will, and he disguised under the name of loans, the taxes that he exacted from them. Exactions of Henry II.

The Edict of Inquisition which he sold to the clergy was not executed, as the Parliament of Paris resisted it. This resistance was not offered through pity for the sectarians, but because the Parliament was jealous of its rights and did not wish that another tribunal should have the privilege of prosecuting heresy and punishing it. Henry did not support his edict, and the inquisition did not take root in France.

The foreign war had, towards the end of this reign, wrought some relaxation in the Catholic persecutions. The Protestants grew bold; and many princes of the Blood Royal, and with them illustrious warriors and magistrates, embraced the new belief. The court and clergy feared that the opposition shown by the Parliament to the Edict of Inquisition would cause the Protestants to escape punishment, and the powerful Cardinal of Lorraine persuaded the King that it was his duty to censure the Parliament in person and order the execution of several counsellors who were known to be Protestants or to favour the reformed faith; while one of his ministers, De Vieilleville, afterwards Marshal of France, recommended him to leave the Parliament to itself and the punishment of heresy to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the priests. The Cardinal's party, however, ultimately prevailed with the King, who went to the chamber where the Parliament was assembled and ordered the arrest of Anne of Bourg, Louis of Faur, and five or six others who chose to sustain the right of freedom of opinion with regard to religion in his presence. These brave and devoted men Henry placed in the hands of Montgomery, the captain of his guard, and made him give instructions for their trial. Protestantism in France.
Arrest of Anne of Bourg and others.

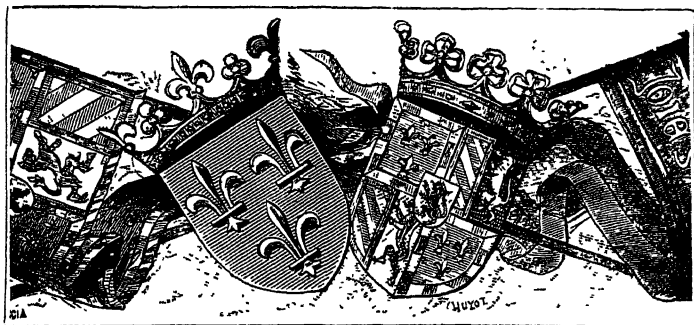
The French Calvinists held at this period their first Synod, and regulated the constitutions which should maintain in union their scattered societies, and rule them under the same discipline. The King received the news in the midst of the fêtes of the marriage of Elizabeth, his daughter, with Philip II., widower of Queen Mary Tudor of England. He swore that he would punish those whom he con- First Synod of French Calvinists, 1559.

sidered as rebels. His death prevented the accomplishment of his vow. Wounded in the eye, at a joust, by the lance of Montgomery, he died of the wound after a reign of twelve years. He left four sons, of whom three wore the crown. Francis, the eldest, had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, celebrated as much for her misfortunes as for her beauty.

Death of
Henry II.,
1559.



COSTUME OF THE TIME OF CHARLES V. OF FRANCE.



CHAPTER XI.

REIGNS OF FRANCIS II. AND CHARLES IX. (1559-1574).

1. ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II.: POWER OF THE GUISES: POLITICAL PARTIES: ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON. 2. EXECUTION OF ANNE OF BOURG: THE BURNING CHAMBER. 3. THE MALCONTENTS: THE BROTHERS CHATILON: CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE: ATTACK ON THE CHATEAU OF AMBOISE: VENGEANCES OF THE GUISES. 4. ASSEMBLY AT FONTAINEBLEAU: CONDEMNATION OF CONDE: DEATH OF FRANCIS II.: EDICT OF ROMORANTIN. 5. ACCESSION OF CHARLES IX.: POLICY OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER: THE TRIUMVIRATE: EDICT OF JULY. 6. CONFERENCE OF POISSY: EDICT OF JANUARY: MASSACRE OF VASSY. 7. FIRST CIVIL WAR: DEATH OF ANTHONY OF BOURBON: BATTLE OF DREUX: DEATH OF FRANCIS OF GUISE. 8. CONVENTION OF AMBOISE: ALIENATION OF THE GOODS OF THE CLERGY: BULL AGAINST JEANNE D'ALBRET: END OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. 9. ASSEMBLY AT MOULINS: ORDINANCES OF MOULINS: SECOND CIVIL WAR: BATTLE OF ST. DENIS: BADLY ESTABLISHED PEACE. 10. RETIREMENT OF L'HOPITAL: REFORM OF THE CALENDAR: THIRD CIVIL WAR: BATTLE OF JARNAC: DEATH OF LOUIS OF CONDE. 11. HENRY OF BEARN AND LOUIS OF CONDE JOIN THE CONFEDERATES: BATTLE OF MONCONTOUR: PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN. 12. DEATH OF JEANNE D'ALBRET: MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF NAVARRE WITH MARGARET OF VALOIS: ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF COLIGNY: MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. 13. FOURTH CIVIL WAR: FOURTH PEACE: DEATH OF CHARLES IX.

1. **F**RANCIS II. ascended the throne at the age of sixteen years. Under this young prince, in spite of his legal majority, the power was divided between Francis, Duke of Guise, his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici. The characteristic trait of this Queen, who played so great a part under the reigns of her three sons, was a profound dissimulation, united with an intriguing and corrupt spirit. The party opposed to ^{Power of the Guises.}

Catherine and the princes of Lorraine was that of Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, and of Louis of Condé, his brother, both princes of the Blood Royal, issue of Robert, Count of Clermont, youngest son of Saint Louis; it was to them that the old

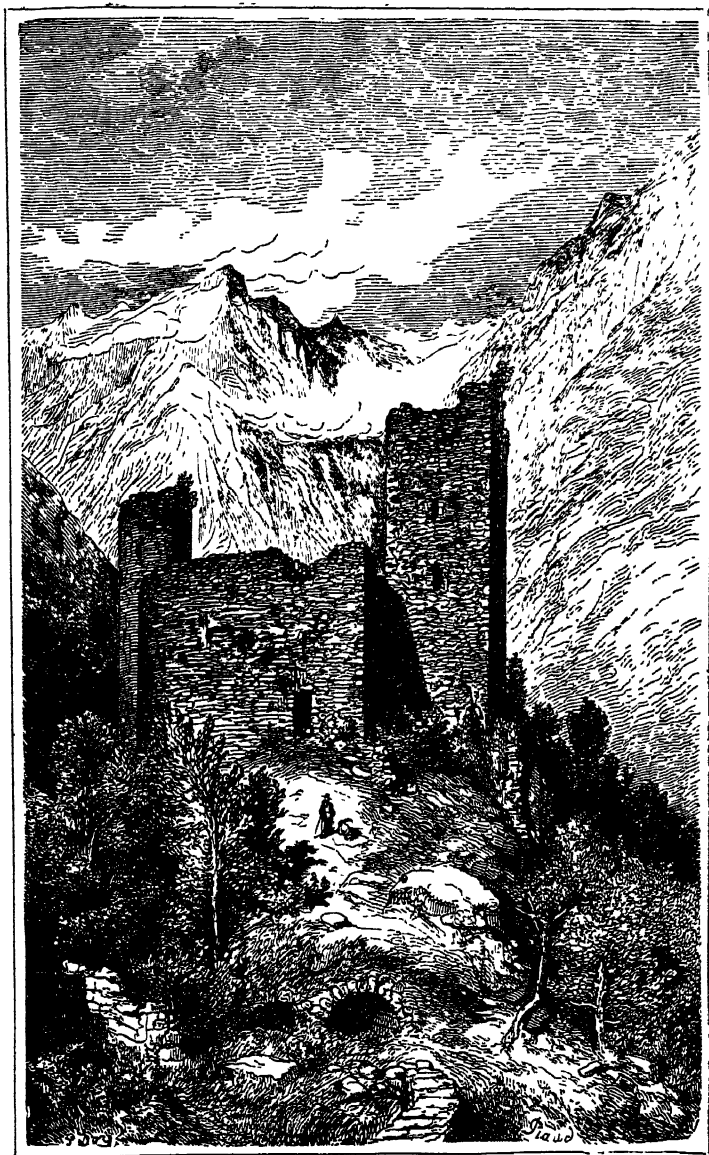
Constable of Montmorency, without credit at the court and disgraced by the Queen-mother, came and rallied ^{Origin of the House of Bourbon.} against the Guises. Secret conferences were held at Vendôme between all the malcontents, the object of which was to convoke the Estates-General and take away the power from the Guises. The latter, informed concerning these hostile projects, and knowing the weakness of Anthony of Bourbon, prevented further opposition on his part by showing him a letter from Philip II. of Spain, in which he promised to sustain in France, at any cost, the authority of the King and his ministers.

2. The Guises triumphed. They then hastened to work out the destruction of Protestantism in France, and caused the trial of the counsellor, Anne of Bourg, to be proceeded with. This brave man persisted in his faith, which he was ready to confirm with his blood. From that time his fate was sealed; still, he could not perish without being avenged; it was unfortunately by an assassin. Minard, his enemy, and the president of the council before which he was tried, was killed by a pistol-shot. This was the sinister signal for a bloody persecution. Sentence of death was pronounced against Bourg, and

he was executed on December 23, 1559. They spared ^{Execution of Anne of Bourg, 1559.} him the pain of the fire, having the grace to strangle him before throwing him into the flames. The death of Bourg seemed to give a new activity to the persecution. The Cardinal of Lorraine designed, as he had already done for Francis I., a particular chamber, charged with punishing the reformers. Fire was the chastisement which it pronounced against them, and the cruelty of its judgments gave to it the frightful nickname of *The Burning Chamber*.

3. The peace of Chateau-Cambrésis had left without employment a crowd of gentlemen and soldiers whose only resource was war. A great number came to the court to petition, some for that which was due to them, and others for pensions and pardons. The Cardinal of Lorraine threatened to hang all the petitioners who persisted in their importunities, and these men united with the nobles who were enemies to the tyranny of the Guises, and formed with them the party of *Malcontents*, which doubled its forces by allying itself with the Protestants. The latter, counted with pride in their ranks the Prince of Condé, a man of heart and head, brother of the King of Navarre, and the three brothers Chatillon, of whom the eldest, Admiral Coligni, was the most illustrious among the Protestant chiefs of France: Audelot, one of his brothers, commanded the French infantry; while his other brother, Odet Chatillon, a skilful diplomatist, had secretly embraced the reformed faith, and was married, although he was Bishop of Beauvais and Cardinal. These men became eminent among the chiefs of the disaffected party. A vast plot, known in

^{The Brothers Chatillon.}



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF LUZ.

history under the name of the *Conspiracy of Amboise*, was then formed in secret by the enemies of the government, Catholic and

Protestant. Their object was to carry off the King, to remove him from the influence of the Guises, to arrest the latter, and to cause them to be tried as guilty of

high treason. The Guises, under vague suspicion, removed the court from the Chateau of Blois to that of Amboise. The conspirators persevered in their project with an incredible audacity, but a traitor in their ranks revealed their plans to the Guises. An attack made upon the Chateau of Amboise on the 16th of March, 1560, was frustrated by troops called together in haste by the Guises. A collision took place, but the followers of Condé and Coligni were dispersed and the executions began. The vengeance of the Guises were atrocious. The waters of the Loire carried away

a multitude of corpses; the streets of Amboise ran with human blood. For a month they did nothing but behead, hang and drown. Condé himself was in peril, but he escaped immediate danger by boldly appearing at court and justifying himself before the King; he caused his accusers to be silent, but not the suspicions, and civil war appeared imminent.

4. The two parties met together in arms at Fontainebleau, where the Guises had convoked the principal magistrates to consult concerning the means of establishing peace.

Coligni in this assembly presented uselessly a petition in the name of fifty thousand *Religionnaires*, as those of

the reformed religion were called, who asked permission to pray to God according to their hearts. The assembly requested the Estates-General, and the Princes of Lorraine acquiesced in this wish. On both sides plots were woven. Orleans had been fixed upon as the place of meeting for the Estates; the King betook himself there with a threatening display. The two Bourbon Princes were drawn there by the Guises. The King of Navarre ran the risk of

his life in an audience which Francis II. gave him, and Condé was made prisoner. A commission, appointed by the Guises, condemned Condé to lose his head. The death of

the feeble Francis II., whom a disease of exhaustion consumed away, prevented the execution of the prince.

This reign finished under the most sinister auspices. The wise and virtuous Michel de l'Hôpital, the chancellor of the kingdom, made the greatest efforts to prevent the Guises from introducing into France the execrable tribunal of the Inquisition, but he

could only succeed in it by publishing the Edict of Romorantin, which attributed to the prelates of the kingdom the knowledge of the crimes of heresy (May 1560). The Parliament modified this Edict before registering it, and

permitted the laity to have recourse to the judge royal.

5. Charles IX. was only ten years old when he succeeded his brother, Francis II. The Estates-General, still assembled at Orleans, decreed the regency to Catherine of Medicis, and recognised he King of Navarre in his quality as Lieutenant-General of the King-

dom. The Chancellor L'Hôpital had refused to sign the arrest which condemned to death the prince of Condé. Catherine de Medicis, by her counsel, declared Condé innocent of the crime of which he was accused, and Montmorency was recalled to the court, where, nevertheless, the Guises remained powerful and formidable.

The Queen-mother played fast and loose between the two parties, at one time relying on the Guises and the Catholics, and at another attaching herself to the Protestants and the Bourbons. The former sought the support of the gloomy and cruel Philip II., King of Spain, and gained over the Constable to their side on the plea that the Catholic religion was endangered. The Marshal de Saint André was also gained over to the side of the Lorraine princes, and formed, with the Constable and Francis of Guise, a league which received the name of the Triumvirate. An edict, dated in the month of July, granted to the Protestants an amnesty for the past, and ordered them to live in the Catholic religion under pain of prison and exile; death would no longer be pronounced against them. This edict only made malcontents, and was never observed. The Queen endeavoured to bring together Francis of Guise and Condé; they embraced each other, but remained mortal enemies.

6. The Estates-General assembled in the course of the year at Pontoise. The electors were assembled by province, and each of the thirteen provinces having only named one deputy from each order, thirty-nine members alone sat in the Estates. About the same time a celebrated assembly was held, under the name of the Conference of Poissy, in which the Cardinal of Lorraine invited the Protestant ministers to discuss with him and the Catholic bishops the principal points of the two religions. The discussion finished like all theological disputes: each one remained more firmly fixed than ever in his own opinion.

The Edict of July was not observed in any part: the Protestants braved it openly, and united together in a great number of places. Catherine of Medicis then gave an order to all the parliaments to appoint deputies who should assist in forming an edict more suitable to the circumstances. This new assembly was presided over by L'Hôpital, and the wise *Edict of January* was the result. It was therein decreed that the Calvinists should give up the usurped churches, keep the fête days, and respect the exterior acts of the Catholic religion; they were permitted, however, to meet together, in order to exercise their religion outside the towns, but without arms. This celebrated Edict was welcomed by the Calvinists with an enthusiasm which doubled their confidence, while the Catholics received it in a stern and mournful silence. The peace that it maintained between them was of short duration, each party strengthened and prepared itself for war. The Guises had drawn to them the King of Navarre; while Condé, his brother, declared himself chief of the Protestants, towards whom the Queen-mother appeared then to incline. The Catholics, alarmed at the favour

Accession
of Charles IX.,
1560.

The Triumvir
ate.

Edict of July
1561.

Conference of
Poissy, 1561.

Edict of
January, 1562.

which Condé enjoyed, called Guise to Paris. He passed through the little town of Vassy, in Champagne, at the time when the Protestants were assembled in worship. His fanatical troops fell upon them sword in hand, and sixty Calvinists were slaughtered: this massacre became the signal for war. Guise entered Paris as a conqueror, amid the cheers of the people. The two parties in arms watched each other for many days in Paris, and the Queen, in order to prevent the shedding of blood, arranged with their chiefs, Guise and Condé, that they should leave the capital; they obeyed, but this was in order to unite their partisans and to prepare themselves for war.

7. Condé thought of making himself master of the person of Charles IX., the Triumvirate prevented him; they removed the young King to Fontainebleau, and conducted him to Paris, where Catherine herself accompanied him. The Constable commenced open war by attacking and burning several Protestant churches in Paris. Condé, Admiral Coligni, and his brother Audelot hastened immediately to Orleans, and assembled there their forces. Both sides had recourse to foreign aid; the Guises were supported by the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy; the Calvinists negotiated with Elizabeth, and called into France a body of German knights, known by the name of *Retirés*. The army of the Huguenots,* or Protestants, was remarkable for its fine and severe discipline, but both leaders and men were inspired by a fanaticism as gloomy and as cruel as that of the Catholic army.

The most frightful atrocities were committed by both sides in cold blood. Beaugency was carried by assault by the Protestants; Blois, Tours, Poitiers and Rouen experienced first all the fury of this atrocious war. The town of Rouen, defended by Montgomery, the involuntary murderer of Henry II., had been besieged by the King of Navarre, Anthony of Bourbon, who was slain under its walls. The only glory in this prince is that he was an ancestor of Henry IV. of France.

Of all the great towns of France which he had taken, Condé only possessed Lyons and Orleans, when the two armies, the one commanded by that prince and the other by the Constable, met together near to Dreux. The Protestants were defeated; Condé

Battle of
Dreux, 1562.

himself was made a prisoner; while, on the other hand, Montmorency was taken and the Marshal de Saint André killed. This new triumph, the captivity of the Constable and that of Condé, the death of Anthony of Bourbon and of Marshal Saint André, rendered Francis of Guise the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was appointed Lieutenant-General, and hastened to march upon Orleans, the siege of which he pressed. This was the end of his success and of his life. A Protestant, John Poltrot of

* They began then in France to give the name of *Huguenots* to the reformers, by which name they distinguished themselves. This word comes from the German word *eidgenossen*, which signifies *confederates*, and which they used among themselves.

Méré, assassinated him by shooting him with a pistol; his death was the safety of Orleans.

8. The ascendancy which the death of Francis of Guise had given to Condé, led Catherine to propose peace, and the Prince, unknown to Coligni, and without sufficient guarantee, accepted terms which granted to the Protestant seignors and nobles the right to exercise their religion in their seignories or houses. The bourgeois obtained liberty of conscience, but they could only exercise their religion in one town of each bailiwick and in the places which were in possession of the Protestants. The death of the Duke of Guise had placed the party of Condé in a position to dictate peace, and this treaty, called the *Convention of Amboise*, was received with indignation by Coligni, by Calvin, and by the Protestant chiefs. Peace, however, was taken advantage of in order to attack the foreigners; and the Constable, at the head of the rest of the royal army, drove the English from Havre, and the clergy paid the expenses of the expedition. Its goods, by the advice of L'Hôpital, were alienated to the value of a hundred thousand crowns per annum. This was the first time that such means had been employed in order to provide for the resources of the State. After the Convention of Amboise, Condé forgot himself for a time among the pleasures of the Court. A frightful plot for a general massacre of the Protestants, contrived by the Constable Montmorency, was baffled by the queen-mother, but the thunders of the Vatican, the anathemas of the Council of Trent, the entreaties of foreign princes, all excited the passions of the Catholics, and everything presaged that peace would be of short duration. At this period Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and widow of Anthony of Bourbon, having been suspected and convicted of heresy, a bull declared her deprived of her royal dignity, and delivered up the States to the first occupant.

Convention of Amboise, 1563.

Alienation of the goods of the clergy.

The Council of Trent approached its end, after having existed twenty-one years from its first session. Before dissolving, it issued some important decisions concerning dogmas and discipline. All concession to the spirit of the times was studiously refused. France accepted the acts of the council relative to dogmas, but refused to be bound by those which referred to discipline, as being contrary to the principles of the Gallican Church. The Council was dissolved in December, 1563.

End of the Council of Trent, 1563.

9. Charles IX., in 1564, summoned at Moulins an assembly of the principal inhabitants, to which were called, for the purpose of conciliation, the Duke of Guise, Admiral Coligni, and a great number of princes and nobles, and the presidents of the different parliaments. During the session of this assembly, L'Hôpital caused many celebrated ordinances to be passed, known under the name of the *Edicts of Moulins*, embracing, among others, a code of reformation for justice, based on principles full of moderation and equity; but all his efforts, zealously continued

Assembly at Moulins, 1564.

during the three years that preceded the next appeal to arms, failed to bring together the Guises and the Châtillons. The latter had only too much cause for alarm; everywhere the Convention of Amboise was violated by the Catholics; Catherine negotiated with Philip II. for the destruction of the Protestant chiefs; and the Swiss guards, created by Louis XI., were at the same time strongly augmented. These precautions gave umbrage to the

Second Civil War, Battle of Saint Denis, 1567.

Protestants; they had warning of the projects of their enemies, and sought to prevent them by instant action. The Admiral and Condé called their party to arms, and the second civil war was declared. The first important conflict in this war was the drawn battle of Saint Denis, in which the old Constable lost his life.

Although the battle of St. Denis had no decisive result, Catherine alarmed by the earnestness with which the Protestants threw themselves into the strife, again made advances for peace, offering for the future to observe the Convention of Amboise with strictness. Her proposal was accepted, contrary to the advice of the principal chiefs, and the two parties signed a second peace at Longjumeau. The people who foresaw the motives and results, gave to it the name of the Badly Established Peace; it suspended hostilities with difficulty, but assassinations multiplied.

Badly Established Peace, 1568.

ro. L'Hôpital endeavoured without success to conciliate the opposing parties. By the intrigues of the Catholics he was compelled to surrender the seals of office and retire to his estates, where he passed the remainder of his life.

Reform of the Calendar, 1563.

France owes to him, among other useful reforms, that of the calendar: by a decree of 1563, he caused it to be settled that the year, which, until then, had commenced at Easter, should begin on the 1st of January. This, however, was not definitely carried out and adopted until 1587.

L'Hopital having retired from public affairs, nothing could restrain the rage of the factions. The queen-mother herself seemed to have renounced temporising and prudence. She endeavoured, but vainly, to take by surprise the Protestant chiefs. Then there appeared edicts thundering against the Calvinists, and their religion was forbidden throughout the kingdom, on which they took up arms in all parts. The Catholic army, under the

Third Civil War, 1568.

Duke of Anjou and Marshal Tavannes, met the Protestant army, commanded by Condé, upon the banks of the Charente, near to Jarnac. There a sanguinary and unequal

Battle of Jarnac, 1569.

combat took place, sustained by the cavalry of the Prince alone, against all the forces of the Catholics. The Protestants were beaten; Condé who defended himself like a hero, although his leg had been broken at the beginning of the action by a kick from a horse, was forced to surrender; but soon, Montesquiou, captain of the guards of the Duke of Anjou, rushed in and assassinated the Prince in a cowardly

Death of Louis of Condé, 1569.

manner by a pistol-shot. Thus died Louis of Condé, who had scarcely attained thirty-nine years.

11. The Court was wild with triumph, but the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, a woman of great piety and of noble courage, reanimated the hopes of her party. She repaired to Cognac, in Angoumois, where the remains of the Calvinistic army were assembled, and presented to the soldiers Henry, her son, Prince of Bearn, and Henry, son of Prince Louis of Condé, both sixteen years old, as champions of religious liberty in France. Both youths swore to persevere in the common cause till death or victory had crowned their efforts, and immediately the Prince of Bearn was proclaimed General-in-Chief, amid the applause of the army, under the direction of Coligni. The combat of Roche-Abeille, the first where Henry of Bearn distinguished himself, was to the advantage of the Protestants. Soon the two armies found themselves in presence of each other near Moncontour in Poitou: the Calvinists occupied a bad position; Coligni wished to change it; the soldiers wished to fight. The action commenced. The carnage of the Protestants was frightful, and, in half an hour, of twenty-five thousand men only five or six hundred rallied round Coligni. The Admiral, however, although severely wounded, managed to conduct the remains of his forces and the young Princes in safety into Languedoc, where Montgomery rejoined them with his troops. The Calvinists re-appeared once more in an imposing attitude, and Coligni conducted them towards Paris by forced marches. On both sides the need for rest was extreme, and peace was signed at Saint Germain, where the Court was then being held.

Henry of Bearn and Louis of Condé join the Confederates, 1569.

Battle of Moncontour, 1570.

Peace of St. Germain, 1570.

12. Peace called back into France order and security; the people hoped that they had seen the end of so many evils. Jeanne d'Albret, the young Princes and Coligni were invited to the Court and went there. The King lavished upon them the most flattering words. The marriage of the Prince of Bearn with Margaret of Valois, sister of Charles, was projected. The difference of religion presented an obstacle, but the King himself smoothed away all difficulties. Jeanne d'Albret died in the middle of these negotiations, but the projected marriage was carried out between Margaret and young Henry, who immediately after the death of his mother had taken the title of the King of Navarre.

Death of Jeanne d'Albret. Marriage of the King of Navarre with Margaret of Valois.

But while the flattery and attentions of the Court party were lulling the Protestants into a false security the queen-mother and her partisans were taking steps to encompass their total destruction throughout the kingdom. The Admiral Coligni was wounded dangerously by a shot fired from an arquebuse by Maurevel, an assassin in the pay of Catherine, but the King averted suspicion of the complicity of the Court by visiting the wounded man. At last the queen-mother wrung from her son a reluctant consent for a general massacre of the Protestants, whom it was sought to draw together to the capital in the greatest numbers possible. They came to Paris in crowds, and at a Council held at the Tuileries on August 23, 1572, it was settled that the execution

would commence on the following day at dawn, Saint Bartholomew's day. Tavannes gave the order, in the presence of the King, to the prévôt of the Merchants, John Charron, to cause the companies of bourgeois to be armed, and to unite at midnight at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and to throw themselves upon the Calvinists at the first sound of the tocsin bell. The murderers, in order to recognise each other, were obliged to wear a scarf on the left arm and a white cross on the hat. At break of day, the signal was given at the gloomy sound of the bell, the town was filled with assassins, and first of all a band of soldiers, directed by Henry of Guise, sought out the house of Coligni. The gates were

Massacre of
St Bartholo-
mew. Aug 24,
1572.



HENRY OF GUISE.

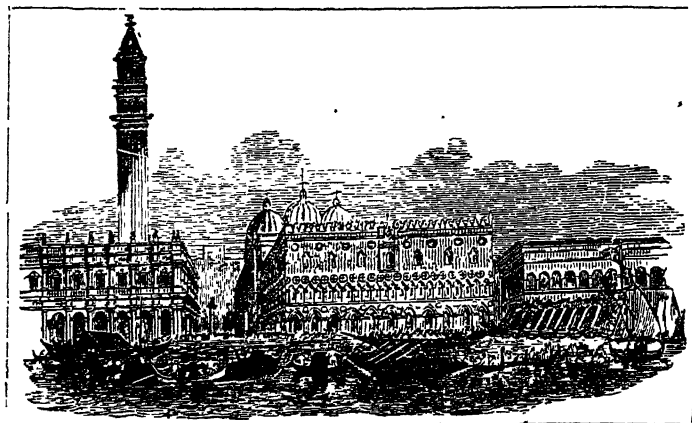
opened in the name of the King; and in a few minutes the lifeless corpse of the Admiral, whom the murderers had surprised on his knees in prayer, was hurled from the window into the street. Already death was everywhere in Paris; the Huguenots left their houses, half-naked, at the sound of the tocsin, amid the cries of their murdered bretheren, and perished by hundreds. Tavannes, the Dukes of Angoulême and Anjou, Henry of Guise and Montpensier, stirred up the executioners to the carnage, while the bourgeois were rivals in ferocity with the greatest seignors. The King himself fired from a window in the Louvre on the fugitives. The massacre lasted three days in Paris, where five thousand persons lost their lives. On the third day Charles summoned the Parliament; he dared to justify

his conduct, and the President, Christopher de Thou, had the shameless weakness to approve of it. Royal orders were hurried into all the provinces commanding similar massacres. Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Lyon, Toulouse and Rouen became the theatres of horrible scenes. The young King of Navarre and Henry de Condé ran the risk of their lives during the massacre; Charles made them come into his presence, and said to them, in a terrible voice, "The mass or death!" Yielding to necessity, the two princes apparently recanted and remained prisoners.

13. This savage massacre was promptly followed by a most terrible civil war. A great number of Catholics embraced the reformed religion on account of the horror inspired in them by Saint Bartholomew. The thirst for vengeance, carried Fourth Civil War, 1572. to rage, doubled the forces of the Protestants. La Rochelle was the principal stronghold of the Protestants. Charles felt the necessity of taking it. The defence was heroic, it lasted six months, and cost, uselessly, immense sums, and twenty thousand men to the Catholics. Sancerre also sustained a memorable siege. Montauban, Nismes, and other towns, were in the power of the Protestants. A fourth peace was signed; it granted to the reformers in these places the majority of the advan- Fourth Peace 1572. tages guaranteed by the preceding treaties.

From this time till the death of the King few events of importance occurred. The Duke of Anjou was chosen King of Poland in 1572 and quitted France. The Prince of Condé escaped from captivity in the following year but the King of Navarre was still held in durance at Court. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Charles IX. seemed to pine away, over- Death of Charles IX, 1574.whelmed at intervals by fits of delirium and unavailing regrets for the crimes which he had sanctioned. He died on the 30th of May 1574, when only twenty-four years of age.





CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF HENRY III., 1574-1589.

- I. ACCESSION OF HENRY III. : FIFTH CIVIL WAR : THE "PEACE OF MONSIEUR."
2. ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE : FIRST ESTATES OF BLOIS : SIXTH CIVIL WAR : EDICT OF POICTIERS : 3. TREATY OF NERAC : SEVENTH CIVIL WAR : PEACE OF FLEIX : DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU. 4. HENRY OF BOURBON, HEIR PRESUMPTIVE TO THE CROWN : ROUSING OF THE LEAGUE : EX-COMMUNICATION OF THE KING OF NAVARRE. 5. EIGHTH CIVIL WAR : BATTLE OF COURTRAS : DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE : EXECUTION OF MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS : RETURN OF THE DUKE OF GUISE TO PARIS : BATTLE OF THE BARRICADES. 6. THE EDICT OF UNION : SECOND ESTATES OF BLOIS : ASSASSINATION OF HENRY OF GUISE. 7. EX-COMMUNICATION OF HENRY III. : ALLIANCE WITH HENRY OF NAVARRE : MARCH ON PARIS : ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.

I. **T**HE Duke of Anjou succeeded his brother under the name of Henry III. He was in Poland when Charles IX. died, and Catherine de Medicis assumed the regency until his return. One of the first acts of her authority was to order the execution of Montgomery, made prisoner at Domfront, the accidental murderer of Henry II., and one of the most illustrious of the Protestant chiefs. His execution provoked new acts of vengeance on the part of the Protestants. A new war was announced. The Protestants saw with horror one of the principal authors of Saint Bartholomew upon the throne; one who had signalled himself the most on those execrable days. Condé assembled his forces and negotiated with the Elector Palatine, in

Accession of
Henry III.,
1574.

Fifth Civil
War, 1574.

order to obtain considerable support. Suddenly the Duke of Alençon, brother of the King, whom the queen-mother had long suspected of a tendency to favour the Huguenots, escaped from the court, though closely guarded, joined the Confederates, and reappeared before the gates of Paris. Soon after, the King of Navarre contrived to quit Paris, joined the princes, and abjured Catholicism in their camp, where he found Prince Casimir, of the Palatine, at the head of a numerous corps. Henry III. had already signed a truce with the Confederates; he engaged to deliver to them six towns, and to pay the garrison maintained under the Duke of Alençon and the Prince of Condé. The new King gave himself up wholly to unrestrained debauchery and the punctilious practices of a puerile devotion. The queen-mother, indeed, seemed to be the only one in the Court party who was capable of action. Going to the camp of the Confederates, she induced the Duke of Alençon to return to Court by tripling his appanage and giving him the title of the Duke of Anjou.

The submission of this prince led the reformers to accept peace, which borrowed from him its name, and was called the *The Peace of Monsieur, 1576.*

2. The shameful conduct of the King rendered him an object of contempt even in the eyes of his own friends. For a long time there had been formed among the princes particular leagues for the defence of the Catholic religion; soon they joined together and formed themselves into one for the maintenance of Catholicism and the destruction of Protestants, but whose real aim was the deposition of the unworthy Henry III., the descendant of Hugh Capet, and the transmission of the crown to Henry of Guise, surnamed the Balafré (on account of having a scar on his face), son of the great Francis of Guise, who was said to be descended from Charlemagne. Pope Gregory XIII. encouraged the members of the League, or Holy Union as it was also called, and Philip II. promised to support them both with men and money. *Origin of the League.*

This League had already become formidable when Henry came to know of it and understand the aim of the association. He assembled, in 1576, the Estates-General at Blois, and sought to baffle the designs of Henry of Guise and his partisans by declaring himself the chief of the Holy Union. They drew up a formulary, the monarch swore to it, caused it to be accepted by the Estates, and ordered that it be signed in Paris and in the whole of France. The three orders of the Estates concurred in demanding that the Roman Catholic religion should be the only one tolerated in France, but the Third Estate deprecated the employment of violence against the Protestants. The nobles and clergy refused to concur in this, and the King, assuming that the Estates thereby sanctioned war, revoked the Edict of Pacification after the dissolution of the Estates, and in 1577 took up arms. A brief campaign in this year, *First Estates of Blois, 1576.* *Sixth Civil War, 1577.*

* The brother of the king and first prince of the royal house was called *Monsieur.*

in which two Catholic armies, commanded, one by the Duke of Anjou and the other by the Duke of Mayenne, the brother of the Duke of Guise, succeeded in taking many places from the Confederates, was followed by the celebrated Edict of Poitiers, by which Henry III. granted to the Protestants the public exercise of their religion in each chief place of the bailiwick and in each royal jurisdiction outside Paris, and re-established them in their citizens' privileges, with right to offices and dignities. The King permitted besides, on certain conditions, the marriage of priests, repudiated Saint Bartholomew, and proscribed the League.

Edict of Poitiers, 1577.

3. The Edict of Poitiers, soon confirmed by the treaty of Nérac, would have pacified the kingdom, if the King had watched over its execution; but, freed from the cares of war, he plunged again into his shameful pleasures.

Treaty of Nérac, 1577.

Soon, upon frivolous pretexts, war rekindled in all parts. The love intrigues which, in part, occasioned it, caused it to be named the War of the Lovers. Henry III. had written to the King of Navarre, with the intention of imbroiling him with his wife Margaret. It did not succeed, and the King of Navarre answered him by the heroic taking of Cahors.

Seventh Civil War, 1590.

Condé soon showed himself in arms in Languedoc, ready to sustain him. An advantageous peace for the reformers was signed in the following year at Fleix, through the intervention of the Duke of Anjou, whose aid the Flemings had implored in their struggle for liberty with Philip II. of Spain, and whom, in return for the support promised by Henry III.

Peace of Fleix, 1581.

and the advantages likely to accrue to them from his contemplated marriage with Queen Elizabeth of England, they had proclaimed Count of Flanders and Duke of Brabant. Profiting by the Peace of Fleix, and furnished with the consent of the King, the duke recruited an army among the French reformers. With it he

Death of Duke of Anjou, 1583.

freed Cambray and took Ecluse; but having exercised in Flanders a despotic power, and caused the inhabitants of Antwerp to be massacred by his troops, he was driven out of the country by those who had called him into it, and died in retirement in 1583.

4. The King of Navarre, chief of the House of Bourbon, and descended in a direct line from Robert de Clermont, fifth son of Saint Louis, became, by the death of the Duke of Anjou, the nearest heir to the throne; but in the eyes of the people his religion rendered him incapable of holding it. This circumstance reanimated the boldness and efforts of the League, but the zealous Catholics turned their regards towards the old cardinal, Charles de Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, depending upon his name, until they could throw away the mask and declare openly for the Duke of Guise. The latter placed himself again boldly at the head of the Leaguers; however, he hesitated to break out until he was encouraged to do so by Philip II., who incited him to action by promises and threats. The Leaguers made the preachers thunder

forth from the pulpit against the heresy of Henry of Navarre, and the people, rendered furious, demanded war and the extermination of the Calvinists. Pope Sixtus V. fulminated a bull of excommunication against the King of Navarre, and declared him unable to succeed to the throne. Terrified at this popular effervescence, Henry III. had the weakness, by the Treaty of Nemours, to admit the pretensions of Henry of Guise. He forbade, under pain of death, the exercise of all religions except the Roman, throughout the kingdom; delivered the places of safety to the duke, and paid his foreign troops. Almost immediately the Calvinists took up arms, and this eighth war was called the War of the Three Henries.

Rousing of
the League.

Excommunica-
tion of the
King of
Navarre, 1585.

5. Henry of Navarre, in order to save the blood of the

Eighth Civil
War, 1586.

people, vainly proposed to his enemies in the assembly of the Estates a council or a duel, astonished them by his adroit manœuvres, and caused his authority to be recognised in many provinces of the south. But Condé was less skilful and less happy, and his army was dispersed without having fought. The brilliant Duke de Joyeuse, favourite of Henry III., commanding the Catholic army,



CONDE

met the Calvinistic troops of Henry of Bourbon near Courtras, in Perigord. A battle took place, and the whole of the army of Joyeuse was destroyed; he himself perished fighting. But Henry did not know how to profit by his triumph; he forgot himself in effeminacy, and in a short time his army was dispersed through want of pay. The Prince of Condé survived this victory only a short time; he died poisoned.

Battle of Cour-
tras, 1587.

Elizabeth, the Protestant Queen of England, then tarnished her glory in 1587 by ordering the execution of Mary Stuart, widow, by her first marriage, of Francis II., and Catholic Queen of Scotland, who, flying from her revolted subjects nineteen years previously, sought a refuge in the

Execution of
Mary Stuart,
1587.

states of her rival. The tragical death of this Queen, sister-in-law of the King of France, contributed as much as the defeat of Courtras to increase the fanatical zeal of the Leaguers and their contempt for Henry III. Henry of Guise, however, as prudent as he was brave and ambitious, always skilful in watching his advantage, increased in public favour, and the boldness of the League was doubled. The leaders of the bourgeois of Paris declared in his favour, and summoned him to the capital, which he entered, in opposition to the express orders of the King that he should not approach Paris, amid the acclamations of the multitude; his feeble

Return of the Duke of Guise to Paris, 1588. escort surrounded by an idolatrous crowd eager to see him and to touch his person or his dress. At an interview with the King, he requested that war to the death should be made against the Huguenots, and that the King's favourites and all suspected people should be driven from the court. The feeble monarch yielded, on condition that the Duke would assist in purging Paris of foreigners and people without occupation. Guise promised it, and the people murmured loudly. The King ordered the nobles to place themselves in arms round him, and sent for four thousand Swiss to come to Paris. The sight of them rendered the people furious, and excited a general uprising; the streets in all directions were rendered impassable by chains and barricades, and the royal troops saw them-

Battle of the Barricades, 12th May, 1588.

selves invested and attacked on all sides without hope of retreat or safety. The Duke of Guise, however, calmed the people and induced them to permit the unfortunate Swiss to withdraw. Later in the day, when the queen-mother hastened to negotiate with him, he asked that the Bourbons should be deprived of their privileges, for places of safety, for money and for war. In the midst of the interview the Duke learnt that the King had fled from Paris. Taking advantage of the tumult, Henry III. had left the capital at a gallop, and did not believe himself in safety till he was at Chartres, when he was rejoined by his troops and court. This famous day, when the people delivered Paris to the Duke of Guise, was called in history the Battle of the Barricades.

6. Guise set to work to gain profit out of his victory by exercising the functions of the King before taking the title; but finding himself unable to induce the Parliament of Paris to sanction the measures he proposed, he sought by the advice of the queen-mother to appease the King's anger; and negotiations were accordingly opened at Chartres. Henry consented to meet with the Duke

The Edict of Union, 1588.

of Guise; the famous Edict of Union appeared, and the King seemed to be delivered over to his enemy. He engaged by this edict to destroy the heretics even to the last man; he disinherited Henry of Bourbon from the throne, named Guise Generalissimo, with absolute power, and gave over to him, for many years, several places of safety. These concessions, however, were only made the better to conceal the designs of the King. He had already taken, without consulting his mother, an extreme resolution,

and to accomplish it, the Estates-General were convoked again at Blois. Henry of Guise and the Cardinal, his brother, presented themselves there boldly. The deputies were numerous; the election had been made under the influence of the Guises, and the greater part of the deputies belonged to the League. The King opened the Estates on the 16th of October in the great saloon of the Château of Blois; he protested, in a very remarkable discourse, his ardent desire to root out heresy and remedy the evils of the country, and, while deploring the necessity that there was for asking subsidies from the Estates, he threw the fault upon those who had wished to use violence towards himself, and who stirred up troubles in the State by means of leagues and illegal associations, pointing out clearly the Duke of Guise, upon whom every eye was turned. After the meeting, however, the Duke of Guise compelled Henry to promise to cut out from his harangue, in publishing it, the passages where he and his followers were designated as factious. His project, which he little disguised, was to depose the feeble monarch and to cause himself to be proclaimed in his place; but it was destined to be frustrated by his untimely death. The King, although he had taken the sacrament with the Duke at Blois, resolved to destroy him as speedily as possible, and bribed Loignac, chief of the gentlemen of the guard, to undertake his assassination.

Second Estates of Blois, 1588.

The hour and place were fixed; but rumours were circulated, the partisans of Guise were alarmed, and threatening notices came to him from all parts. One day he found under his napkin a note, which informed him of the designs of the King; without troubling himself, he wrote underneath, *He dare not*, and threw the note beneath the table. On the morrow, the 23rd December, he presented himself to the council; the doors were closed, and an officer notified to him that he was required at the house of the King. He directed his steps towards the cabinet of the monarch; just as he entered, Montlhéry, one of the gentlemen of the guard, plunging a dagger into his breast, cried, "Traitor you shall die!" others threw themselves upon him and struck him, while Loignac thrust his sword into his back. The Cardinal of Guise, who, seated at the council heard his dying brother's cries for mercy to God, was immediately arrested and sent to the Tower of Moullins, where he perished the following day by assassination with all the relatives and friends of himself and his brother that happened to be in Blois and were unable to make their escape. The queen-mother only survived the Lorraine princes a few days. Before her death she had advised Henry to march at once upon Paris, where the storm was brewing, and swear anew in the Estates, to the Edict of Union, before dissolving them. This, however, he did not do. He had moreover, allowed many prisoners of high importance to escape him at Blois. His two most formidable enemies, the Duke of Mayenne and Aumale, brothers of the assassinated Guises, remained at large, although closely pursued, and they hastened to raise the people and the army.

Assassination of Henry of Guise, 1588.

7. The rage of the Parisians had no need for being excited. The news of the gloomy events of Blois provoked the explosion of their hate and fury. They proclaimed the Duke of Mayenne Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; the enthusiastic Bussy Le Clerc, Governor of the Bastille, enclosed in it the majority of the members of the

Excommunication of Henry Parliament who were inimical to these proceedings, and a new Parliament was instituted. From that time all

III. hopes of conciliation with the partisans of the Guises faded away before Henry III. Pope Sixtus V. redoubled the audacity of the enemies of the monarch by excommunicating him for the murder of the Cardinal. In danger of being invested by Mayenne

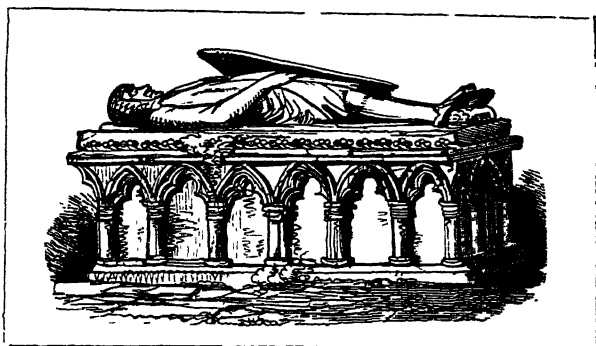
Alliance with the King of Navarre. in the town of Tours, one resource only remained to Henry, and he seized it by joining himself with the King of Navarre, whom he had just disinherited. The

frankness and loyalty of the Navarrese King soon gained the confidence of Henry III., and touched his heart. After a glorious success at La Noue, in Senlis, they marched together upon Paris; Bourbon pitched his camp at Meudon, and Henry arranged his upon the heights of Saint Cloud, where he was mortally wounded on

Assassination of Henry III. August, 1589. August 1st by a miserable fanatic named Jaques Clement who had made a vow to assassinate him. The murderer was immediately killed by the King's guards.

Henry of Navarre, when informed of the event, hurried from his quarters at Meudon to see the King, who had not many hours to live. Henry received absolution, and having exhorted his officers to recognise as his successor the King of Navarre, the legitimate heir to the throne, without regard to the difference of religion, then he expired, in his thirty-eighth year, after reigning fifteen years. With the new King Henry IV., the branch of the Bourbons mounted the throne; that of the Valois had reigned two hundred and sixty-one years, and died out after having given thirteen Kings to France.





THE BOURBON KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF HENRY IV., 1589-1610.

1. ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON: DIFFICULT POSITION OF HENRY IV.
2. MAYENNE ELECTED CHIEF OF THE LEAGUE: PROCLAMATION OF THE CARDINAL OF BOURBON AS KING: BATTLE OF ARQUES.
3. COMPETITORS FOR THE THRONE: SENTENCE OF THE SORBONNE AGAINST HENRY IV.: THE TWO PARLIAMENTS: BATTLE OF IVRY: DEATH OF THE CARDINAL OF BOURBON.
4. SIEGE AND BLOCKADE OF PARIS: THE "FLOUR BATTLE": BATTLE OF AUMALE: RETREAT OF THE DUKE OF PARMA.
5. ESTATES GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE AT PARIS: POLICY OF THE PARLIAMENT: ABJURATION OF PROTESTANTISM BY THE KING, ENTRY OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS.
6. DIFFICULTIES OF THE KING'S POSITION: ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE KING: EXILE OF THE JESUITS: BATTLE OF FONTAINE-FRANCAISE; ABSOLUTION AND RECOGNITION OF HENRY IV. BY THE POPE.
7. SUBMISSION OF MAYENNE: PEACE OF VERVINS: EDICT OF NANTES.
8. CAUSES OF TROUBLE: DIVORCE OF MARGUERITE OF VALOIS.
9. FIRST CONSPIRACY OF THE DUC DE BIRON: CAMPAIGN IN SAVOY: NEW PLOT OF DE BIRON: HIS ARREST AND EXECUTION.
10. MARRIAGE OF THE KING WITH MARIE DE' MEDICI: ADMINISTRATION OF SULLY: IMPROVEMENT OF PARIS.
11. THE KING'S FRAILTIES: CONSPIRACY OF THE COUNT D'ENTRAGUES: RECALL OF THE JESUITS: MEDIATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED PROVINCES.
12. THE KING'S GREATEST FAULT: DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST SPAIN AND AUSTRIA: EVANGELICAL UNION: CORONATION OF THE QUEEN: ASSASSINATION OF THE KING: GRIEF OF THE NATION.

I. **H**ENRY IV. had been brought up by his pious and noble mother, Jeanne d'Albret, in the fear of God and the principles of virtue. Tried early by adversity, he knew how to support it with courage and to conquer it. No prince had

found himself in a more difficult position than was his after the death of Henry of Valois; having before him the League, the anathemas of the Pope, the gold of Philip II., and the half of his own army; and while his predecessor had scarcely breathed his last sigh, he was exposed to a hard trial. The Catholic chiefs held council, and declared to the King that if he wished to reign in France he must at once abjure the Protestant faith, which he refused to do. Upon this, eight hundred gentlemen-at-arms and nine regiments left his banners. A small number of devoted friends, with the Swiss, and some companies of cavalry, formed the permanent foundation of his forces. His followers came one by one to arrange themselves under his banner, and, in default of pay, they returned to their own homes, to remain for some months. It was necessary too, to run from town to town, struggling and negotiating without intermission.

2. Fanaticism and delirium were carried to their height in Paris with the news that Henry III. was assassinated. The Parisians grossly insulted the memory of Henry III., and in their frantic joy at the King's death they declared his murderer to be a martyr. They also spread abroad furious invectives against Henry of Bourbon, recalling the Edict of Union, the bull of the Pope, and the decrees of the Sorbonne, which declared him deprived of the throne. They sought a chief, and their regards turned towards Mayenne, brother of Henry of Guise, and alone in his family capable of directing affairs. Mayenne took the title of Lieutenant-

Accession of the House of Bourbon, 1589. General of the kingdom, and caused to be proclaimed King, under the name of Charles X., the old Cardinal of

Mayenne elected Chief of the League, 1589. Bourbon, whom Henry IV., his nephew, held a prisoner at Tours. He went out from Paris afterwards at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and met, near Dieppe, the feeble army of the King, composed altogether of seven thousand soldiers. Henry, however, won a signal advantage in a bloody combat which took

Battle of Arques. place near the village of Arques, and, soon after, appeared before Paris, and attacked and plundered the suburbs, driving back the Parisians into the interior of the town. In vain he offered battle to the Duke of Mayenne; so he quitted Paris in order to subdue Lower Normandy, of which he made himself master.

3. Discord reigned in France; some wished to crown Mayenne; others declared themselves for the old Cardinal of Bourbon, while another faction supported the King of Spain, who claimed the throne for his daughter, Isabella, the niece of the late four kings by her mother, Elizabeth. The Sorbonne declared that Henry was in a state of mortal sin, and excommunicated all those who should think of adopting him as King, even if he became a Catholic. The **Competitors for the Throne.** Parliament of Paris ordered the recognition of Charles X.; the parliament sitting at Tours annulled the decrees of that of Paris, and proclaimed Henry IV. King.

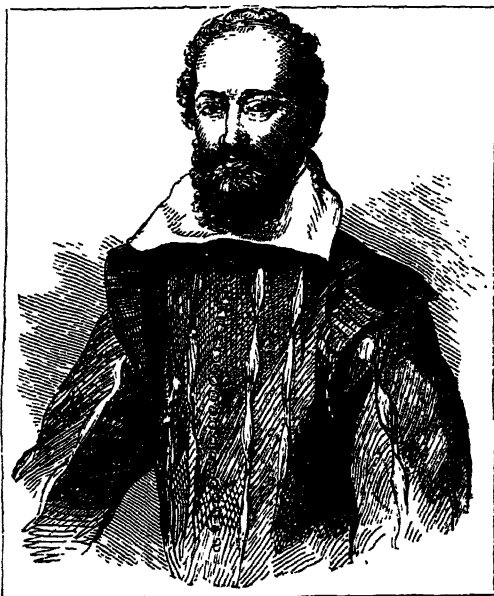
The Two Parliaments. Henry IV. again approached the capital, and Mayenne closed up

the road. The two armies met near Dreux, in the plain of Ivry. On the morrow, at break of day, arrangements were made for the battle; Henry ordered the charge, and the army of Mayenne, although very superior in numbers, was almost destroyed. The conquerer immediately marched upon Paris, and caused the town to be blockaded by his troops. The old Cardinal de Bourbon, rival and prisoner of Henry IV., died at this time.

Battle of Ivry,
1590.

Death of
Cardinal de
Bourbon.

4. The blockade of the capital brought famine and mortality into



ROSNY, DUKE OF SULLY.

its walls, and caused terrible distress among the people. At length, by order of Philip II., Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, celebrated by his exploits in Flanders, and by the taking of Antwerp, advanced upon Paris, with Mayenne, and penetrated as far as Meaux. He compelled the King to raise the blockade, forced his lines at Lagny, and re-victualled the capital. Incapable of coming to an understanding with the leaders of the bourgeoisie, and docile to the injunctions of King Philip, Farnese retreated and returned into Artois, harassed in his retreat by the Royal army.

Siege and
blockade of
Paris, 1590.

Henry returned to establish his quarters at Saint Denis, and attempted to surprise Paris by means of soldiers concealed under

sacks of flour. This abortive attempt and the stratagem to which the King had recourse, gave to this engagement the name of the Flour Battle. Discord reigned in Paris; Mayenne agitated on one side for his house; on the other a considerable faction agitated for Philip II., who paid them to advocate the claim of his daughter who was excluded by the Salic Law from the succession. A new chief divided the members of the League; the young Duke of Guise, son of the Balafre, recently escaped from prison, was received with transports in Paris, and many opposed him to Mayenne. Nevertheless, he played no important part. The new Pope, Gregory XIV., eager to sustain the League, sent him a reinforcement of soldiers, who only signalised themselves by the most horrible brigandage.

The war continued with ferocity, and the Duke of Parma re-entered France by skilful marches. Henry rashly exposed himself in the battle of Aumale, where he was wounded; Farnese nearly took him prisoner, and compelled him to raise the siege of Rouen. Although very inferior in forces. Henry sustained the war with advantage, displaying a marvellous activity, and the resources of a fertile and indefatigable genius, escaping from the enemy when the latter thought they were about to seize him, and falling upon them unexpectedly, when they thought that he was far off. It was thus, that by a course of prudent and bold manœuvres, he shut up Farnese near Dieppe, between the sea, the Seine, and the three main bodies of his army; but the Duke of Parma, unknown to the King, constructed a bridge in one night, deceived his vigilance, crossed the Seine, and covered his retreat.

5. Henry again approached Paris, when the Estates General of the League, convoked by Mayenne, at the request of Philip II., assembled together to elect a king. He caused himself to be well-informed in the Catholic religion; and Mayenne, in the midst of the factions which divided the States, remained undecided between the two principal, of which the one consented to proclaim Henry IV. if he abjured, while the other was devoted to Spain. At this juncture the King received unexpected support from the Parliament of Paris, the members of which were tired of the intimidation exercised by the leaders of the Spanish party. Upon the advice of Edward Molé, Attorney-General, it ordered the President, John Lemaitre, to present himself to the Lieutenant-General, in order to recommend him to watch so that no foreign house under the pretext of religion, should place itself on the throne, declaring all the treaties made with this aim null and contrary to the Salic Law and the constitution of the kingdom. This unexpected declaration surprised and irritated Mayenne; but John Lemaitre sustained this decree before him with courage. The matter was decided finally by the adoption of the Catholic faith by the King, who proposed a truce, at the same time fixing July 25 as the day on which the ceremony of his abjuration of Protestantism should take place. Mayenne, who saw the designs which he had

The "Flour
Battle."

Battle of
Aumale, 1592.

Estates
General of the
League at
Paris, 1593.

Policy of the
Parliament,
1593.

entertained on the crown frustrated by this step, forbade the Parisians to be witnesses, and ordered them to close their doors; they violated his order and assisted in a crowd at the ceremony. Henry made his abjuration at St. Denis, under the hands of the Archbishop of Bourges. He promised to live and to die in the heart of the Roman Catholic Church, and to defend it against all; he repeated his profession of faith at the foot of the great altar, then the *Te Deum* burst out, while the people interrupted with cries of *Vive le roi!* Mayenne, however, held Paris until the following year, and it was not until March 22, after Mayenne had quitted the capital to raise new troops on the frontiers of Champagne for the prolongation of the war, that the gates of the city were thrown open to Henry. The Parisians received him enthusiastically, the factions of Mayenne and Spain holding back through surprise and fear. His march was a triumph, and from that day he looked upon himself among the Parisians as in the middle of his children. The Spanish garrison left Paris on the same day with the honours of war. The King received the Bastille on terms of war, welcomed the repentant and submissive Sorbonne, and united to the Parliament of Paris the magistrates of the Parliaments which he had established at Châlons and Tours.

6. As to the situation of the King between the Catholics and Protestants. the former had seen his conversion with distrust, and accused him of hypocrisy. He could only gain them over by lavishing on them numerous favours. The latter, irritated at his abjuration, looked with impatience on the honours and bribes heaped upon the Catholics, and accused the King of ingratitude. Although Paris had submitted, war continued in all parts of the kingdom. However, Amiens, Beauvais, Cambrai, and Château-Thierry gave themselves up separately after the taking of Laon; soon, Montmorency, Eprenon, the Duke of Guise, La Châtre, and Bois-Dauphin submitted, but they fixed their submission at an enormous price. It was necessary that the King should deposit in their hands immense sums and an authority which nearly rendered them sovereign in their own governments; and which, later on, was the cause of great troubles.

An attempt made in 1594 by John Châtel, at the instigation of the Jesuits, to assassinate the King caused the speedy expulsion of every one belonging to the order from France. Philip II. would then have consented to a peace if Henry had consented to leave to him certain possessions in France; the French nobles of his party were equally willing on condition that they were allowed to keep the provinces of which they were masters, at the price of homage to the Crown. The King energetically repulsed these pretensions, and he declared war against Philip, whose most powerful supporters were the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany, Aumale in Picardy, and Mayenne in Burgundy. The

Abjuration
of Henry IV,
25th July, 1593.

Entry of
Henry IV. into
Paris, 22nd
March, 1594.

Difficulties of
the King's Position,
1594.

Attempted
Assassination
of the King,
1594.

Exile of the
Jesuits, 1595.

last of the three, not long ago chier or the League, and an aspirant to the crown, had become the instrument of Spain; he was accompanied by Valasco, Constable of Castille, when the King bore down

**Battle of
Fontaine-
Française,
1595.**

rapidly to receive him near Dijon. The glorious battle of Fontaine-Française, where Henry, with only three hundred horse, held ground against two thousand, and exposed his life in order to save that of Biron, confounded the hopes of Mayenne, who declared himself ready to recognise Henry as soon as that prince should have received the

**Absolution
and Recogni-
tion of Henry
IV. by the
Pope, 1595.**

absolution of the Pope. This was formally bestowed on the Abbés Duperron and D'Ossat, who were selected as the King's representatives, by Clement VIII., in St. Peter's, at Rome; and the Pope further proclaimed him King of France and Navarre.

7. This solemn act took away all motive for war and all hope from the Leaguers. Mayenne obtained from the King that his family should be declared absolved from the crime of complicity with the murder of Henry III.; he placed his submission at this price. The edict was promulgated; Mayenne recognised Henry

**Submission of
Mayenne,
1596.**

IV., and from that time served him faithfully. The King soon assembled all his forces against the Spaniards, who had just taken Calais, Amiens, and many other places. Henry, without money, made an appeal to his people. The faithful Rosny, Duke of Sully, assisted him in raising some millions and an army. Amiens was retaken in the following year; the Duke of Mercœur treated then with the King, and Brittany laid down its arms. These happy successes prepared the way for a general peace. Philip II., in 1598, six

**Peace of
Vervins, 1598.**

months before his death, signed the Peace of Vervins, delivering over to the King of France all the places occupied by his troops, with the exception of Cambrai.

Henry, freed from the cares of foreign wars, issued during the same year the celebrated Edict of Nantes, which fixed the rights of the Protestants in France. This edict, drawn up by Jeannin, Schomberg, Colignon, and the

**Edict of
Nantes, 1598**

historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, granted to the Protestants the exercise of their religion; it certified to them admission to all employment, established in each Parliament a chamber composed of magistrates of each religion, tolerated the general assemblies of the reformers, authorising them to raise taxes among themselves for the wants of their Church; lastly, it indemnified their ministers and granted them places of safety, the principal of which was La Rochelle. The Protestants were compelled to pay tithes and to observe the holy-days of the Catholic Church. The Edict of Nantes, registered by the Parliaments after long resistance, put an end to the disastrous wars which for thirty-six years had desolated the kingdom.

8. The condition of France was greatly ameliorated by the treaty of Vervins, which gave peace with the foreigners and the Edict of Nantes which re-established internal tranquility. Two causes

of agitation and disorder threatened, however, to arrest the course of this reviving prosperity: one was the dissatisfaction of a large number of Catholic and Protestant nobles, former enemies of the King, or his companions in arms, most of them suffering from the severe and economical measures of the monarch, and affected either in their fortunes or their political importance by the diminution which peace brought about; while the other sprang from the personal weaknesses of the monarch himself. The marriage of Henry with Marguerite de Valois proved barren. Marguerite, taking no pains to conceal the scandals of her conduct, lived separate from her husband; and the austere Rosny, Duc de Sully, the confidant and prime minister of the King, would, long ago, have pressed her divorce, had he not dreaded the King's weakness towards his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrees, Duchess of Beaufort, whom Henry more than once had manifested a desire to raise to the throne. Gabrielle died suddenly in 1599, and the rupture of his marriage was pronounced, the following year, by the Church of Rome.

Causes of trouble.



FOURTEENTH CENTURY STATUE—LOUIS VII.

During the negotiations the King commenced a new intrigue with Henrietta d'Entragues, who, actuated by an ambitious father, exacted a promise of marriage. Henry was imprudent enough to sign one, engaging himself to marry her if she brought him a son within the year, and he further named her Marquise de Verneuil. This guilty and unfortunate connection, and the fatal engagement that sprang from it, reanimated, later on, the hopes of the factions, and became a source of uneasiness to the State, and of bitter grief to the sovereign.

Divorce of Marguerite de Valois, 1600.

9. At the head of the malcontent nobles there were, in the Protestant party, the Dukes of Bouillon and La Tremouille; among the Catholics, the Duc d'Epemon, Charles de Valois, Count d'Auvergne, natural son of Charles IX., and uterine brother of the

**First conspir-
acy of the
Duc de Biron.**

Marquise de Verneuil, and last, but not least, Charles de Gontaut, Duc de Biron, Marshal of France and Governor of Burgundy, son of the famous Marshal de Biron, and himself one of the most illustrious and able generals of Henry IV. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, retained possession of the Marquisate of Saluces, which he had usurped; summoned by the King to make restitution of it, he came to the court of France to hatch plots, and to this end, offered one of his daughters to Biron, with the full sovereignty of Burgundy as a dowry; on this condition the marshal promised, in case of war, to arouse and gather to his standard all the malcontents against the King. Emboldened by these assurances, Emmanuel refused to make restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces, and Henry declared war

**Campaign in
Savoy, 1600.**

against him. The King set two armies in motion; he took the command of one, and confided the other to the Marshal de Biron, who was forced to conquer in spite of himself. Emmanuel sued for peace, and by a treaty, concluded at Lyons, was permitted to retain the Marquisate

**Treaty of
Lyons, 1601.**

of Saluces in exchange for Bresse, Bugey and De Gex, which were ceded to France. Henry IV. had received intelligence of the trafficking of Biron with his enemies. In a conversation he had with him at Lyons he revealed to him his suspicions; the marshal did not deny his crime, and was generously pardoned. The King, however, had been but imperfectly informed, and Biron made only an incomplete avowal; this was one of the causes of his downfall. He renewed his guilty correspondence with the Duke of Savoy, and drew into his conspiracy the Duc de Bouillon and the Count d'Auvergne. They fomented disturbances throughout the western provinces, whilst Limoges and many towns of Guienne rose against a recently imposed tax, of a sou per livre, and known under the name of the "Pancarte Tax." They at the same time spread the rumour that the odious tax of "the Gabelle" was to be re-established in Guienne, and in the other districts which had been freed from it. At last, Biron and the Duke of Savoy flattered themselves with the belief that an approaching insurrection was about to aid their projects. Meanwhile, the King had

**New plot of
de Biron,
1601.**

become acquainted with the intrigues of the marshal, whilst the latter believed himself in profound security. His secretary had preserved the written proofs and details of the crime, and these he gave up to the King. Biron was immediately summoned to Fontainebleau, where the court was held; he repaired there. Henry received him graciously; he offered him, if he would confess, an unconditional pardon and his favour; but Biron remained inflexible. Unable to induce him to secure his safety by a frank acknowledgement of his guilt, the King had no alternative but to order him and the Count d'Auvergne

to be arrested and taken to the Bastille. When confronted with his secretary who had betrayed him, the unfortunate marshal could no longer deny his guilt, and he was condemned to death and beheaded in the Court of the Bastille, December 2, 1601. The Count d'Avergne was pardoned.

His arrest and execution.

10. Henry was then at the height of his fortune. After his divorce he had espoused Marie de' Medici, niece of Francis II., reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany. The year following she gave to her husband a son, who became Louis XIII*. the kingdom prospered by the vigilant attentions of the monarch, by his economy, and above all, in consequence of the care of Sully. It is an immortal honour to the memory of Henry that he should have given all his confidence to this austere minister, who had so little indulgence for the frailties of his master. This able statesman, after the signature of the Treaty of Vervins, found in the kingdom neither an organised army, nor commerce nor industry, while an enormous debt weighed upon the treasury, and the credit of France was annihilated. In a few years, however, he created an imposing war *matériel* and placed the army upon a formidable footing; he exposed the frauds of the farmers of the revenue, who scarcely allowed one-tenth of the public revenue to find its way into the treasury, and suppressed the system of underletting, together with a multitude of offices of finance. Lastly, he established order and the strictest economy in all branches of the administration; revised the funds of the state, and quickly abolished any vexatious imposts; encouraged agriculture and manufactures, laying the foundation of the silk trade of France by the introduction of mulberry trees; and made roads and built bridges in all parts of the kingdom. The King heartily seconded Sully in all his wise schemes, and turned his attention to the enlargement and embellishment of Paris. He joined the faubourg Saint Germain to the city, and caused it to be paved; he commenced the Place Royale, and finished the Pont Neuf, and the beautiful facade of the Hotel de Ville, as well as the gallery which unites the Louvre to the Tuileries.

Marriage of the King with Marie de Medici, 1600.

Administration of Sully.

11. Henry IV., notwithstanding his advancing years, still listened to his passions, and fresh frailties were nearly proving fatal to him. An intrigue with the youngest daughter of the Count d'Entragues, sister of the Marquise de Verneuil, inspired her father with the hope of rendering valid the promise which the Marquise de Verneuil had formerly obtained from Henry IV., of nullifying his marriage with Marie de' Medici, and thus declaring the Dauphin illegitimate and elevating the eldest son of his daughter Henrietta to the throne. His principal accomplices were the Count d'Auvergne, and the Duc de Bouillon; the former put himself in communication with the

* The other children by this union were Gaston, Duke of Orleans; Elizabeth, wife of Philip IV., King of Spain; Christine, married to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, and Henrietta, wife of Charles I., King of England.

Conspiracy of the Counts d'Entraques, 1601. court of Madrid, and they all counted upon the intervention of a Spanish army. It was arranged that the king should be attacked and carried off, but an attempt made by a number of masked men to seize the King in a wood was frustrated by his courage and presence of mind. The conspirators were discovered: the Counts of Entraques and Auvergne were arrested, with the Marquise de Verneuil and many others. The two Counts, however, and Henrietta were pardoned, but many of their accomplices were executed. The Duc de Bouillon soon afterwards made his submission; and Henry had now reached the zenith of his glory and of his strength. Master of a flourishing kingdom, of a treasury of forty millions, of a numerous army containing the finest artillery in Europe, he found himself possessed of the respect of all his contemporary sovereigns. Henry decided between them as an arbitrator, and reconciled their disputes. During the five previous years, he had enjoyed the favour of the Papal court, having regained it by the recall of the Jesuits at the pressing solicitations of his confessor, Father Cotton. The King had, moreover, the glory of acting, in 1609, as mediator between Spain and Holland. The new-born, but already formidable navy of that republic, attacked the Spanish and Portuguese establishments in the Indies, whilst her armies triumphed under the famous Maurice of Nassau, son of William of Orange. Mediation between Spain and the United Provinces, 1609. Henry IV. brought about a truce of twelve years, signed in 1609, between the two nations.

12. It was at this period that he committed the greatest fault of his reign, that which most troubled his peace of mind and stained his glory. Loving to infatuation Charlotte de Montmorency, whom he himself had caused to be married to the young Prince de Condé, he could not master his fatal passion. Condé, alarmed, took flight, and requested the protection of the Archduke Albert, governor of the Low Countries. Upon receiving this unexpected news, Henry burst forth into menaces, and summoned the Archduke to send back to him the fugitives. Condé left Flanders and repaired to Germany, whilst the Archduchess took the young princess under her safeguard to Brussels, keeping her out of the reach of the emissaries of the King, who suddenly declared war against Spain and Austria. This sudden declaration of war, the apparent motive of which was personal vengeance and the desire to gratify a guilty passion, evoked a general outcry against him. War against Spain and Austria, 1609.

Henry, notwithstanding, formed some useful alliances. John William, last Duke of Cleves, was just dead, without children; several pretenders disputed his heritage, and the Emperor Rudolph II. had summoned the decision of the cause to his tribunal. The Protestant princes would not accept of him as judge, and formed against him, at Halle, a celebrated league, known under the name of the "Evangelical Union." They asked for the support of France, and obtained it. Henry also allied himself with the Duke of

Savoy, with the petty sovereigns of Italy and with the Grisons. Philip III., justly alarmed, talked of peace, and offered his daughter, the Infanta, to the Dauphin.

Evangelical
Union, 1609.

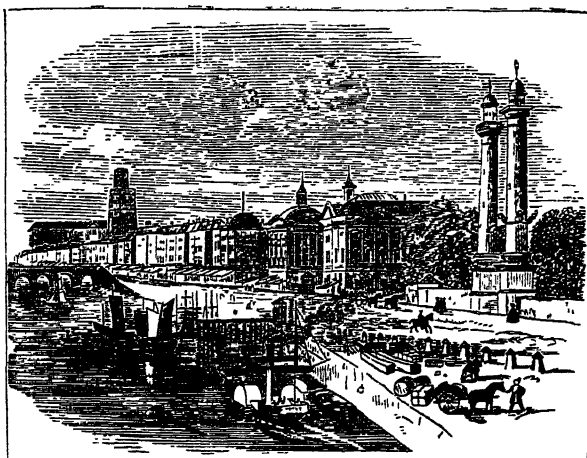


ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.

Henry rejected this pacific proposal; he was alive to his own wrong-doings; but though he suffered he could neither justify himself nor change his conduct. Disquieted, irritated, his sole thought was of the young princess whom he pursued, and he hastened the warlike preparations, impatient to command his army and to march upon the frontier of Flanders.

He designed that the Queen should assume the regency during this campaign, and to render her authority more imposing, he ordered that she should be crowned. This ceremonial took place on the 13th of May. Throughout the whole day the King was restless and melancholy: on the day following his melancholy increased; he was agitated with painful presentiments, which his friends could not remove. After dinner, about four o'clock, the officer of his guard persuaded him to take the air in his carriage. On entering the Rue de la Ferronnerie, a confusion, occasioned by two vehicles, obliged the royal carriage to stop, and dispersed the royal servants. At this moment, a man named Francis Ravallac mounted upon the wheel, and dealt the King a blow with a knife, between the second and third ribs. Henry
**Assassination
of the King,
1610.** cried out:—"I am wounded!" but the assassin, not disconcerted, dealt the King a second blow, stabbing him through the heart, on which the King, heaving a deep sigh, died immediately. Thus perished Henry IV., at the age of fifty-seven. The regicide, who made no attempt to escape, was immediately arrested, tried, and condemned to be torn asunder by horses. Never did the death of a King cause such a general stupor, or cause more tears to flow. France was plunged into mourning; trade was suspended in Paris; work of all kind ceased; the country-folks when assured of their misfortune, cried with sobs:—"We have lost our father!" Henry was worthy of the grand and endearing title of "father of the people," for the happiness of his subjects was the aspiration of his heart, and the end of his whole life. He ameliorated their condition, created for them new sources of wealth, and rendered his kingdom, whose limits he enlarged, as flourishing as it was possible to make it in twelve years after the horrible calamities of the wars of religion. The wise administration of this good King, as well as the heroic qualities which distinguished him, well merited the surname of "Great," which posterity has bestowed upon him.






BORDEAUX.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII. TO RICHELIEU'S MINISTRY, 1610-1624.

1. FRANCE AT THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XIII.: MARIE DE' MEDICI, REGENT: TAKING OF JULIERS. 2. RETURN OF CONDE: EXACTIONS OF THE NOBLES: ELEVATION OF CONCINI. 3. REBELLION OF CONDE: THE "PALTRY PEACE."
4. ESTATES-GENERAL OF 1614: MEMORIALS OF THE THIRD ESTATE: FRESH CIVIL TROUBLES: MARRIAGE OF LOUIS XIII.: TREATY OF LOUDUN. 5. ARREST OF CONDE: MURDER OF CONCINI: EXILE OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER. RISE OF THE DUC DE LUYNES. 6. POLICY OF DE LUYNES: FRESH DISTURBANCES: RECONCILIATIONS OF THE KING AND THE QUEEN-MOTHER. 7. GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF LA ROCHELLE: WAR AGAINST THE HUGUENOTS: DEATH OF DE LUYNES: DEFECTION OF PROTESTANT CHIEFS: PEACE OF MONTPELIER: SUPREMACY OF RICHELIEU.

- I.  ENRY IV. left his kingdom in a flourishing state—treasure amounting to fifteen millions, large bodies of well-disciplined troops, strong places abundantly supplied with the material of war, firm alliances with other kingdoms, and a well-composed council of state. After his death, the feebleness of the Government, the quarrels of the princes and the jealous ambition and caprices of the queen-mother, speedily scattered all these elements of prosperity. Marie de' Medici, an imperious, violent and vindictive woman, at once claimed the right to assume the regency of the kingdom. There was no law, however, by which she could legally claim this office, and none which defined its attributes. The monarchy had no fundamental institution, and it was from this

France at the accession of Louis XIII, 1610.

Marie de' Medici, Regent, 1610.

fact that arose the numerous plagues which afflicted France on each occurrence of a minority. On the other hand, none of the members of the Bourbon family were in a position to dispute her authority. The Parliament of Paris was immediately convoked, and, three hours after the death of the King, his widow was declared to be the Regent.

The question of war or peace was the first which had to be decided. Sully wished to maintain to the death the war with the House of Austria; but his advice was only followed in part. The Duke of Savoy was abandoned to the resentment of Spain, while in Germany, operations were confined to the siege and capture of Juliers, which was subsequently given up. This was the only result of the campaign; and the unsettled state of the country then rendered it necessary for the Regent to abandon entirely the policy of Henry IV.

2. Condé re-entered France, and, as the price of his adhesion to the regency, demanded immense pecuniary compensation. All the courtiers followed his example, claimed gold or honours, and supposing that, to secure the peaceful possession of the regency, it was only necessary to enrich her friends and her enemies. Medici converted into gifts and pensions the treasure left by the late King, and when it was exhausted, found herself deprived of the means of defence against those whose cupidity or ambition she had excited without possessing the means of satisfying them. The whole of France appeared to be delivered over to the mercy of a number of plunderers whose numbers insured them immunity. The nobles demanded tolls on roads which were free, and taxes in cities which were exempt from them. They created offices, patents of nobility, and privileges of all sorts for money, and secretly increased the amount of every species of duty and excise. The honest Sully unable to support a government which connived at such proceedings, quitted the council and retired to his estates.

The Guises and the Condés, the Bouillons and the Epermons, remained the sole masters of the kingdom, and vied with each other in cupidity, egotism and violence. In the midst of these disorders Marie de' Medici, raised her favourite Concini Marquis d'Ancre, an Italian, to the highest pinnacle of honour and fortune. He was a Marshall of France although he had never borne arms.

3. A revolt burst forth at length, but it was not the excess of the public misfortunes which lit its flame. At the commencement of 1614, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Nevers, Mayenne, Bouillon and Longueville, being leagued against Concini, siezed Mezières in the Ardennes, and raised the standard of insurrection. Condé was at the head of the movement, and published a manifesto which exposed, in bitter terms, the ill administration of the Queen, reproaching her with having failed to observe the Edict of Nantes, and with having overwhelmed the poor with taxes; and openly attacking the insolent foreigners in whose hands was the government of the kingdom. This movement

**Taking of
Juliers, 1610.**

**Exactions of
the Nobles.**

**Elevation of
Concini.**

**Rebellion
of Condé,
1614.**

made by grandees in the name of the popular interests, attracted, however, but little popular sympathy. The mass of the people and the Protestants perceived beneath this mask the real passions and aims of ambitious and discontented men, and "Paltry Peace" 1614. remained deaf to the appeal. The Queen, by the advice of Concini, bought over the malcontents, in 1614 by the treaty of



MARIE DE' MEDICI.

Sainte-Menehould, surnamed the "Paltry Peace." By this treaty the Queen increased the dignities and pensions of the rebel lords, and promised a prompt assembly of the Estates General.

4. Louis XIII. was now in his fourteenth year, and was recognised as of age, but it was long after this ere he was anything save King in name; Marie de' Medici still retained her power; and for the purpose of executing the treaty of Sainte-Menehould, she convoked the Estates General for the 26th October of that year. These Estates were the last which assembled before those of 1789. The Queen and her Ministers endeavoured to paralyse their influence by setting each order against the others, and in this they Estates General, 1614. were successful.

The Assembly was dissolved in the course of the following year without having achieved any important result; and the deputies were dismissed with a vague promise that the Government would

examine their memorials and take into consideration their demands.

Memorials of the Third Estate. The memorials of the Third Estate contained the elements of a portion of the reforms accomplished, at the close of the following century, by a more celebrated Assembly. These were, an uniform system of customs and weights and measures, the abolition of masterships and warderships, the suppression of farmers-general of the finances and of exceptional tribunals and the diminution of the excise duties, and of aids. But, of all these wise and legitimate demands, not one was granted.

The discontented party, and Condé especially, offered an energetic opposition to the marriage of Louis XIII. with the Infanta of Spain, afterwards celebrated under the name of Anne of Austria, urging the necessity of crushing the

Fresh civil troubles 1615. House of Austria rather than adding to its strength. The Queen treated these representations with contempt, and the marriage was resolved on. Condé immediately withdrew to Clermont in Beauvoisis, Bouillon to his principality of Sedan, Mayenne to Soissons, Longueville to Picardy. They no longer hoped for success save by force of arms, and prepared for the conflict. The Protestants, excited to action by the Duc de Rohan, ranged themselves on their side, and began to levy troops. The principle Ministers of the King were, at that time, the aged Villeroy, the President Jeannin, and the Chancellor de Sillery. They treated the above-mentioned hostile demonstrations with indifference, and hastened the conclusion of the marriage. Immediately afterwards, the Queen-mother entered into

Marriage of Louis XIII., 1615. negotiations with the young King's enemies, and signed the treaty of Loudun, the terms of which were entirely to their advantage. The Prince and his adherents were declared innocent and good servants of the King; considerable sums of

Treaty of Loudun, 1616. money were bestowed upon them; and a certain measure of satisfaction was accorded to the Calvinists and the Parliament.

5. The old Ministers, were immediately dismissed. Du Plessis, Bishop of Luçon, afterwards the famous Cardinal Richelieu, entered the new council, which was under the chief direction of Condé, who speedily became all powerful, and made his power felt by Medici and her favourites, and especially so by Marshal d'Ancre. The Queen-mother, who, saw plainly that Condé sought to reduce her authority in the state to a nullity, and possibly aimed at the throne

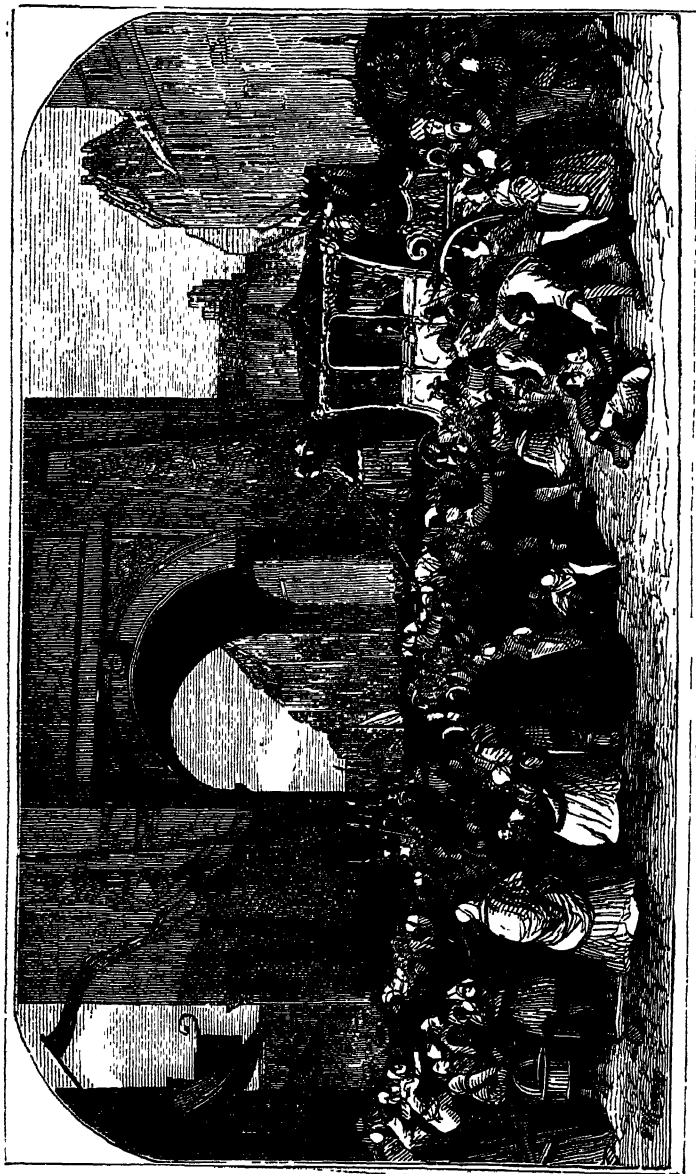
Arrest of Condé, 1616. itself, caused the Prince to be arrested in the name of the King, on the 1st September, as he was entering the council chamber. Orders had been given to seize his partisans, but they escaped and flew to arms.

Condé was shut up in the Bastille, and the Queen sent into the field three armies against the insurgents, who had fled to Soissons. Concini reappeared at the court, more powerful than ever, inflated with the most unbounded pride, and so rich that he was able to maintain an army of five or six thousand men at his own expense.

The young King, however, whose wishes he frequently thwarted, bore the tyranny of the Marshal as impatiently as that of the

Prince, and resolved at length to release himself from his state of pupillage. He might have achieved this purpose by legal methods, but his dark, vindictive spirit preferred assassination. On Monday, April 26th, as the Marshal was entering the Louvre, to attend the council, Vitry, the captain of the guards, stopped him, and demanded his sword. Concini made a movement, ^{Murder of Concini, 1617.} but immediately fell, pierced by three balls, and expired on the spot. When informed of the great catastrophe, the insurgents, who had fled to Soissons, laid down their arms and gave themselves up to the King without making any terms, imputing to the Italian tyrant all the troubles and misfortunes of France. The late Ministers, Villeroy, Sillery, Jeannin and Duval, returned with them. The Queen-mother was exiled from the Court, and selected Blois as her place of residence. The able ^{Exile of the Queen-mother,} Du Plessis, who had been Minister under Concini, demanded permission to follow her, apparently, the devoted servant of a protectress, of whom, at a later period, he was the most implacable enemy. He who had the greatest share in this revolution, and who profited by it the most, was the young Charles d'Albert de Luynes, the companion of the King's pleasures, who had risen rapidly in the Royal favour. He was created a duke, overwhelmed with honours and riches, and became the possessor of all the late Marshal's property, which had been confiscated, and all his power.

6. Condé, in the depths of his prison, and the Queen, in the place of her exile, continued to brew plots, and instigate their partisans; but the Duc de Luynes neutralised their influence by setting them one against the other. Now he menaced Condé with the recall of the Queen to Court, and now he threatened the Queen that Condé should be set at liberty. A skilfully contrived conspiracy, however, ^{Policy of de Luynes.} speedily changed the whole aspect of affairs. By the aid of the Duc D'Epemon, the Queen-mother escaped from the château of Blois where she was kept under strict surveillance, and retired to Angoulême. When the Court received information of the Queen's escape, Luynes was for immediately pursuing her with an armed force; but the King preferred to temporise, and an able peace-maker presented himself in the person of Du Plessis, who, after having secretly obtained the King's consent, persuaded the Queen to confide in him by the aid of the jealous D'Epemon himself, and a peace was in due course arranged by his exertions. The Queen obtained the government of Anjou, with regal rights, and three towns which were given her as places of safety. De Luynes, more a courtier than a statesman or soldier, was not equal to the work of maintaining order in France. The disturbance had scarcely subsided before it again arose; the partisans of the Queen, or rather the enemies of the favourite, seized a number of places, and were speedily in possession of half the kingdom. The Queen-mother at this time was at Angers, and Mayenne and D'Epemon, fearing a surprise, wished her to retire to Guienne. Du Plessis, however,



TRIUMPHANT ENTRY OF RICHELIEU.

who was secretly in the King's interest, resisted this measure, and the Queen remained. Louis XIII. set out at the head of his army, and having first reduced Normandy, arrived before Angers with all his forces. An engagement took place at Pont-de-Cé between his troops and those of the Queen, in which the latter were immediately routed. Peace was now concluded, and a reconciliation took place between Marie de' Medici and her son. The Queen returned to Paris, and Du Plessis received the promise of a Cardinal's hat in return for his double treason. The King led his army into Bearn, where the revolt had found a certain number of partisans, and re-established in this province, by a solemn decree, the Catholic religion, which had been abolished by Jeanne d'Albret. Finally, he bestowed a Parliament on Pau, and then returned to Paris, where he was received in triumph.

7. The reformed party in the kingdom became more and more disquieted by the manifest Catholic tendency of the Government. At the General Assembly of La Rochelle, in 1621, they distributed their seven hundred churches in eight circles, and drew up a species of constitution, in forty-seven articles, which regulated, *under the King's authority*, the levy of the taxes and the discipline of the troops, and which was, in fact, the creation of a distinct government in the bosom of the State. Louis XIII. marched against them, and subdued Saintonge and Poitou. Rochelle was invested, and Montauban, defended by the Marquis de la Force, resisted a siege which cost the Catholics the useless loss of eight thousand men and the Duke of Meyenne, the son of the famous chief of the League.

War against
the Hugue-
nots, 1621.

There was a universal outcry in France against the Duc de Luynes, to whom was attributed the blame of this reverse. In the course of this expedition the favourite had still further aggrandised his position, and had added to his numerous offices those of Constable and Keeper of the Seals. He knew that if he would retain his influence with the King he must be everything; but he did not long enjoy his new dignities, for a fever carried him off in four days. The Protestant Lesdiguières, commander-in-chief of the Royal army, became a convert to Catholicism, and was created Constable. His conversion was the signal for numerous defections in the Protestant party. The Marquis de la Force and the Count de Châtillon, Coligny's grandson, surrendered, the one Montauban and the other Aigues-Mortes, in return for large sums and Marshals' batons. Rohan, however remained incorruptible and desired peace, which was signed at Montpellier. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed; the King allowing the Protestants to assemble for the purposes of their worship, but prohibiting them to meet for political objects. Du Plessis, after the peace of Montpellier, obtained the Cardinal's hat, and henceforth became known under the celebrated name of Cardinal Richelieu, and was soon after made a member of the council. This able statesman soon obtained a great influence

Death of
de
Luynes, 1621.

Defection of
Protestant
Chiefs.

Peace of Mont-
pellier, 1622.

over the young King's mind by pointing out to him the vices of his Government, the immense resources of France, and the secret of its strength; and ultimately became all-powerful, possessing the great art of rendering himself indispensable to the King, although the latter by no means liked him. Louis XIII., in fact, who dearly liked arbitrary power but was incapable of compelling obedience, found in Richelieu the strength of mind in which he was deficient, and believed that, with his aid, he was an absolute monarch, whilst in reality he was a slave all his life.




RICHELIEU.



CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.—FROM RICHELIEU'S MINISTRY TO THE KING'S DEATH, 1624-1643.

1. POLICY OF RICHELIEU: WAR IN THE VALTELINE: SECOND WAR AGAINST THE HUGUENOTS. 2. TREATY OF MONCON: CHALAIS, CONSPIRACY AGAINST RICHELIEU: RICHELIEU'S REVENGE. 3. ASSEMBLY OF NOTABLES: ORDONNANCE OF 1629. 4. DESCENT OF THE ENGLISH ON THE ISLE DE RHE: SIEGE OF ROCHELLE: FALL OF ROCHELLE. 5. SUCCESSION OF THE DUKES OF MARITUA: TREATY OF SUSA: RUIN OF THE PROTESTANT PARTY: PEACE OF ALAIS. 6. NEW WAR AGAINST THE EMPIRE AND SPAIN: PEACE OF RATISBON: ARREST OF THE BROTHERS MARILLAC: FLIGHT OF GASTON D'ORLEANS: FLIGHT OF MARIE DE' MEDICI. 7. THE CARDINAL'S VENGEANCE: REVOLT OF GASTON OF ORLEANS: BATTLE OF CASTELNAUDARY: EXECUTION OF MONTMORENCY: GASTON'S MARRIAGE: INVASION OF LORRAINE: ANNULMENT OF THE MARRIAGE OF GASTON D'ORLEANS: BIRTH OF THE DAUPHIN. 8. ORIGIN OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR: ELECTION OF FERDINAND II.: FREDERICK V. KING OF BOHEMIA: DIET OF RATISBON. 9. CONTINUATION OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR: COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH PERIOD: MILITARY DISPOSITIONS OF RICHELIEU. 10. CAMPAIGN OF 1635. 11. CAMPAIGN OF 1636: INVASION OF FRANCE: RETREAT OF THE IMPERIALISTS: CAMPAIGN OF 1637: DEATH OF FERDINAND II. 12. CAMPAIGN OF 1638: VICTORY OF RHINEFELD: OPERATIONS IN 1639. 13. MISERY IN FRANCE: INSURRECTION IN NORMANDY: INSURRECTION IN CATALONIA. 14. CAMPAIGN OF 1640: SUCCESS IN PIEDMONT: CAMPAIGN OF 1641: OPERATIONS IN 1642: CONQUEST OF ROUSILLON: VICTORY OF LERIDA. 15. CONSPIRACY OF CINQ-MARS: EXECUTION OF CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU: DEATH OF MARIE DE' MEDICI AND RICHELIEU: DEATH OF LOUIS XIII.

- i.  LL became changed in France as soon as Richelieu seized with a firm hand the direction of affairs. The resolutions of the council, which the Spaniards, by the assistance of

Anne of Austria, had hitherto always known, were now kept secret.

Policy of
Richelieu.

The ambassadors were instructed to speak and act with boldness. The ambassadors from Rome having pointed out to the Cardinal the various steps which he should take in his negotiations with that Court, Richelieu replied, "The King is not willing to be trifled with; you will tell the Pope that an army will be sent into the Valteline." This was the first step in the new path of French diplomacy. The Valteline, a valley of the

War in the
Valteline.

Tyrolese Alps, was important to Austria as a means of communication between the Tyrol and the Milanese territory. The people of this valley, who were Catholics, had been incited to revolt against the Protestant canton of the Grisons, to which they belonged; and forts had been raised to command its passage, which, in accordance with a convention with Spain, were garrisoned by Papal troops. The Marquis de Cœuvres, in pursuance of orders from Richelieu, arrived suddenly in the Valteline with a body of troops, repulsed those of the pontiff, and rapidly took possession of the forts and all the strong places. The Spaniards avenged themselves by promising their support to the Calvinists, who complained that the conditions of the peace of Montpellier had been ill observed; and that new forts had been erected around Rochelle. On this occasion they were the aggressors.

Second war
against the
Huguenots,
1625.

Soubise, with a fleet, made a descent upon and seized the Isle of Rhé, and Rohan raised a revolt in Languedoc. Richelieu sent against them D'Epemon, Thémînes, and Montmorency. The latter dispersed their fleet, Toiras wrested from them the Isle of Rhé,* which was the defence of the port of Rochelle, and the Minister granted a fresh peace to the vanquished.

2. The Valteline war was then terminated by the treaty of Moncon,

Treaty of
Moncon, 1625.

in Aragon, by which the Valteline was restored to the Grisons. The two queens, Marie de' Medici and Anne of Austria, were in the highest degree jealous of his influence over the King, and condemned his policy of hostility towards the Pope and Spain. Gaston, the King's

Chalais, Con-
spiracy against
Richelieu,
1626.

brother, hated Richelieu because he had refused him any place or authority in the council; and the courtiers, from whom Richelieu withheld all access to the public treasury, overwhelmed him with insults and accusations. It was against this formidable league that the Cardinal now had to contend. The soul of the conspiracy was its principal concocter, the young and imprudent Chalais, a passionate admirer of the Duchess of Chevreuse, one of the Cardinal's enemies. With Gaston and Chalais were joined the Duke of Vendôme, governor of Brittany, the grand-prior of Vendôme, his brother, both natural sons of Henry IV., the Queen, and a multitude of inferior accomplices. The object of this league was to overthrow the minister; and those of whom it

* The Isle of Rhé formed a strong and well fortified position, and caused the discomfiture of the Duke of Buckingham when he attempted a landing there instead of at Oleson.

was composed were even accused of a desire to depose the King, crown Gaston in his stead, and marry the latter to Anne of Austria. Informed of this vast conspiracy, Richelieu made the King acquainted with its existence, and cunningly frightened him by a prospect of dangers which only threatened his own ministry. The feeble Gaston betrayed his accomplices. ^{Richelieu's Revenge, 1626.} The brothers Vendôme were arrested and sent to the Château of Amboise. Chalais, discovered to have been guilty, by his letters to the Duchess of Chevreuse, of having insulted the King, and given seditious advice to Gaston, was condemned to death by a commission, and executed. The grand-prior died at Amboise; whilst the Duke of Vendôme was only released from prison after having made all the confessions required of him. The Queen was subjected to the observance of a severe system of etiquette; and the entrance of men into her apartments in the King's absence was strictly forbidden. A great number of nobles were disgraced; and a guard of musqueteers was granted to the Cardinal. Finally, Gaston, in return for the confessions which he made, and his consent to espouse Mdlle. Bourbon Montpensier, received the rich Duchy of Orleans, in exchange for the Duchy of Anjou, of which he had hitherto borne the title. The result of this great intrigue was to increase the power of the Minister, who exercised the sovereign authority without any of those who possessed the great offices of the Crown being able to counterbalance his authority. There was no longer any constable, that office having been abolished after the death of Lesdiguières; and that of grand admiral had been converted into a general superintendence of commerce and naval affairs, which Richelieu had adjudged to himself.

3. An Assembly of Notables, convoked in 1626, was opened at the Tuileries by the Chancellor Marillac, keeper of the seals. It sanctioned all the proceedings of the Cardinal; ^{Assembly of Notables, 1626.} further demanded that the national power should be supported by a standing army; that the commercial spirit and traffic with distant parts should be encouraged by the establishment of great companies; and that the classes engaged in peaceful pursuits should be protected against the outrages of the military. They finally voted with enthusiasm the equipment of two fleets, the one for the high seas, and the other for the Mediterranean—France at this period possessing only a few galleys. The Notables separated in February, 1627, and a commission was immediately appointed to reduce to a code or body of laws the reforms promised either to the last Assembly or to the Estates of 1614. Two years were devoted to this great work, and at length, in January, 1629, an ordonnance was promulgated, consisting of 461 articles, which is one of the great monuments of old French Legislation. This ^{Ordonnance of 1629.} code met on many points the necessities of the period; but afforded no relaxation to the shackles of the municipal régime, which it subjected to one uniform rule for the whole kingdom; and we here see that tendency to centralisation which is doubtless useful when its action is limited to matters which properly come

under the notice of the State, but which, when abused, has led France into excesses, and all the dangers of modern civilisation.

4. Fresh conspiracies were speedily formed against Richelieu. Under pretence of the oppressions suffered by the Protestant Churches, a rupture took place between France and England, and Buckingham, with a formidable fleet, descended upon the coasts of Aunis. Many Calvinist

Descent of the English upon the Isle de Rhé, 1627.

leaders supported the invasion, but their rising cost them dear. The English had disembarked near Rochelle, in the Isle of Rhé, and attacked the Citadel of Saint-Martin, but on the approach of the Marshal de Schomberg with numerous reinforcements, Buckingham set sail and abandoned his imprudent allies. The moment

had now come for the Cardinal to destroy a perpetual source of disturbance, and the Protestant party; and he laid siege to Rochelle, commanding the forces in

person. The siege was a remarkable one for the courage and perseverance which were displayed on each side. An attempt made by the English to relieve the besieged by an attack on the King's troops from the sea proved abortive, and at length, after an heroic

defence of a year's duration, the Rochellois, driven to despair, consented to surrender. The result was that their town lost its privileges, but that they retained the

right of worshipping according to their faith. France, delivered at length from the apprehension of civil war, now ardently desired peace; but, if there had been no longer any national difficulties and perils, there would have been an end of Cardinal Richelieu's administration. It was to Richelieu's interest, therefore, to create an incessant series of fresh embarrassments, and only to put an end to one war for the purpose of commencing another. He determined to carry out the projects of Henry IV. against Austria, and for rendering France the first nation in Europe; and a pretext for war was not long wanting.

5. Vincent de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, died in 1627, and his cousin, Charles de Gonzaga, Duke of

Nevers, claimed to be heir of his states. But the Emperor, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Savoy, set

up in opposition to him the Duke of Guastalla, a member of the elder branch of the Gonzaga family, and supported his pretended rights by the invasion of the two principalities. Richelieu pointed out to the King how much it was to the interest of France to assist a prince who was half French, and especially to counterbalance the influence of Austria in Upper Italy. Louis XIII. arrived with his army, in the depth of winter, at the foot of the Alps, and having forced the pass or defile of Susa, and defeated the Piedmontese troops which held it, the Duke of Savoy, terrified,

abandoned the Spaniards, and signed at Susa a treaty which secured to the Duke of Nevers the peaceable possession of Mantua and Montferrat. Louis XIII.,

on his return from Piedmont, fell rapidly upon the small number of strong places still possessed by the Protestants, and burnt or de-

Treaty of Susa, 1628.

stroyed those which still existed. Rohan now sent in his submission, and peace was concluded on the 27th June, at Alais. The Protestants, however, still preserved the right of worshipping according to their own tenets, and all their privileges as established by the Edict of Nantes.

Burn of the Protestant party. Peace of Alais, 1629.

6. The flame of war was speedily relighted in Italy. The empire and Spain had refused to recognise the Treaty of Susa; the ambi-



ENTRY OF LOUIS XIII. INTO ROCHELLE.

tious Duke of Savoy had hastened to support anew his former allies in their designs upon Mantua and Montferrat. His son, Victor Amadeus, husband of the Princess Christina, sister of Louis XIII., succeeded him in 1630, and adopted his policy. The presence in Piedmont of a French army, and the conquest of Pignerol and other places from Victor Amadeus, could not prevent the capture of Mantua. The capitulation of Casal speedily followed this catastrophe, but the signing of peace at the Diet of Ratisbon put an end to this war of succession. The Emperor undertook to put the Duke of Nevers in possession of Mantua and Montferrat; and France promised to restore the conquests made at the expense of Victor Amadeus, and to form no alliance with the enemies of the Empire.

New war against the Empire and Spain, 1630.

Peace of Ratisbon, 1631.

Various attempts were now made to destroy Richelieu's influence

in the affairs of the country. The Queen-mother, always hostile to the Cardinal, and enraged at the results of the war in Piedmont undertaken against her son-in-law, Victor Amadeus, demanded of the King, with indignant tears, that he should disgrace the Cardinal in her presence. Louis XIII., to put an end to this painful scene, abruptly ordered Richelieu to retire. The latter considered himself disgraced, but, encouraged by his friends, he determined, before departing, to make a final effort. He obtained an interview with the King, justified himself, received orders to remain at the helm of the State, and, whilst his enemies were already triumphing over his fall, reappeared, more powerful than ever. The first act by which Richelieu attested his re-establishment in power was the arrest of the two brothers Marillac—the one a

Arrest of the Marshal of France, the other the Keeper of the Seals—
Brothers Ma- who had shown themselves his most bitter enemies.
rillac.

Before punishing them, however, Richelieu sought to abate or put an end to the hostility of his powerful foes, and overwhelmed with favours and promises the friends of Gaston of Orleans, whose favour he thus sought to gain. But, urged on by the two queens, Gaston visited the Minister at the head of a crowd of gentlemen, insulted him, and threatened him with the full weight of his vengeance. After this, the prince retired to his

Flight of Gas- appanage of Orleans, and began to levy troops; but, at
ton of Orleans. the approach of the royal army, he fled, without offering any resistance, and passed into Lorraine. It was not

yet enough. So long as the Queen-mother remained at the Court, Richelieu could never be sure of the morrow. Perceiving that he was sufficiently strong to make a daring stroke, he told the King that he must choose between his mother and him-

Flight of Marie self. The King, cold of heart and feeble in mind, did
de' Medici, 1631. not hesitate. Blinded with rage, the Queen-mother withdrew into Spanish Flanders, and never again re-entered France.

7. Free from henceforth to listen to the dictates of his wrath, and to satisfy his vengeance, Richelieu adopted the most vigorous measures. All those who had hesitated between his party and that of the Queen-mother were forced to quit the court and their offices.

Marshal de Marillac was tried and condemned to death; **The Cardinal's** his brother, the Keeper of the Seals, died in prison.
vengeance.

The Cardinal's vengeance was still further signalised by numerous proscriptions; many of the nobles were condemned to lose their estates and their heads, for having joined the Duke of Orleans and Marie de' Medici in foreign countries.

Whilst Richelieu thus executed his vengeance, the Queen-mother and her emigrant son continued their intrigues, and **Revolt of Gas-** Gaston, having become a widower, secretly married
ton of Orleans.

Princess Marguerite, sister of Duke Charles IV. of Lorraine. Finally, he entered France and joined Marshal Duke de Montmorency, who had agreed to raise Languedoc, of which he was governor, in favour of Gaston. But Richelieu anticipated his

enemies, and the Marshals de la Force and Schomberg entered Languedoc at the head of two Royal armies, at the moment when Gaston was effecting his junction with Montmorency. The hostile troops met near Castelnaudary. Montmorency was surrounded, captured, and carried away a prisoner under the very eyes of Gaston, who made no effort to rescue him, and whose whole army immediately disbanded itself. Richelieu never failed to regard Gaston as the heir-presumptive to the crown, and he made terms with him and permitted him to retire to Tours, where the Prince arrived more disgraced by his cowardice than by his rebellion. Montmorency was condemned to death and executed; a crowd of others lost their heads on the scaffold; and Gaston, terrified at the Cardinal's rigour, once more quitted France. The King, on being informed of his brother's marriage, refused to sanction it, and invaded Lorraine with a demand that Charles IV. should give his sister into his hands. The latter, however, escaped, and joined her husband at Brussels. The whole of Lorraine was overrun, and Nancy fell into the hands of the French. The unfortunate Duke Charles abdicated in favour of Cardinal Nicolas Francis, his brother, who hastened, without consulting Rome, to lay aside the hat, and to marry his cousin Claude. Soon afterwards he retired from Lorraine with his wife, abandoning his states to the French King, who everywhere established garrisons, pending the surrender of the Princess Marguerite. Whilst Louis XIII. thus endeavoured to annul this alliance by force, the Parliament of Paris, to whom he had referred the matter, declared Gaston's marriage void, while Richelieu endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain from the Prince, who had returned to the French court, an avowal that his marriage was illegal. This Gaston obstinately refused to do, but an event occurred three years afterwards, which reduced him to a secondary position. A reconciliation had taken place between Louis XIII. and the Queen, who had long lived apart from him, and on the 5th September, 1638, Anne gave birth to a son, who became Louis XIV.

Battle of Castelnaudary, 1632.

Execution of Montmorency, 1632.

Invasion of Lorraine, 1632.

Annulment of the marriage.

Birth of the Dauphin, 1638.

8. At the period when the reins of Government passed thus to a king in a perpetual state of pupillage, from Concini to De Luynes, and from the latter to Richelieu, in whose hands they remained, great events, in which France had not as yet interfered, were taking place in Germany. The Emperor Mathias, having no children, had chosen as his successor his cousin-german, Ferdinand, of Styria, grandson of Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., and had had him elected King of Bohemia, in his own life-time. This prince attempted to deprive the Protestant Bohemians of liberty of conscience, for which they took up arms against him.

In the meantime, Mathias died, and Ferdinand, besieged in Vienna by the victorious Bohemians, could hardly keep possession of the Imperial Crown. The Diet, however, confirmed the accession of Ferdinand, who was proclaimed

Origin of the Thirty Years' War, 1618.

Emperor at Frankfort, on the 28th August, 1619. On this the Bohemian States offered their Crown to the Elector Palatine,

Election of Ferdinand III. 1619. Frederick V., son-in-law of James I. of England, and nephew of the Stadtholder of Holland. The whole Confederation of the Protestant states of Germany recognised him as their head, and set him up in opposition to the Emperor, who supported the Catholic League. Frederick,

Frederick V., King of Bohemia. in a bloody battle fought on the White Mountain, near Prague, lost not only his new crown, but also his hereditary states. Emboldened by this success, the

Emperor carried war into the Palatine, and threatened to extirpate Protestantism throughout the whole of Germany. To save its liberties, the Evangelical Union, in 1625, chose as its leader Christian IV., King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein; and then commenced the second period of the Thirty Years' War, called the Danish Period. It was no less fatal than the first to the Protestant cause; for Christian, vanquished by the celebrated imperial generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, was compelled to sign the humiliating peace of Lubeck, in 1629. The whole of Protestant Germany was under the yoke, and the cause of Liberty of conscience seemed desperate. Then, in 1630, assembled the imperial Diet of

Diet of Ratisbon, 1630. Ratisbon to discuss the great questions which for twenty years had agitated the German empire; and now there came a check to the fortunes of the House of Austria.

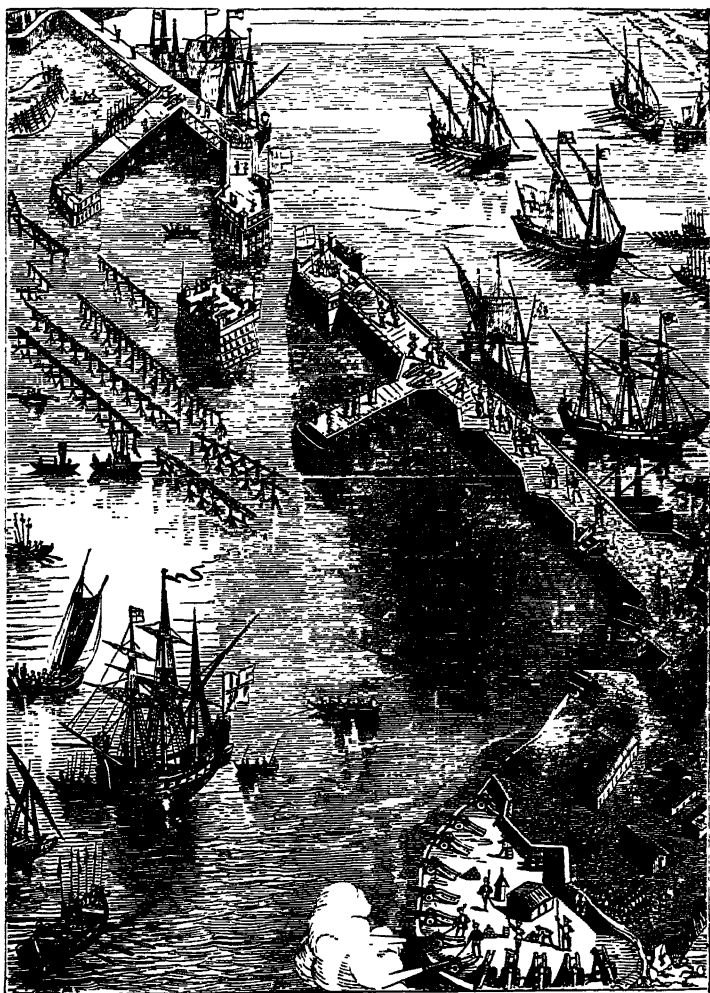
The Catholic Electors, alarmed at his ambition and despotism, demanded of him the disbanding of his army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, and the dismissal of Wallenstein. It was at Ratisbon, also, that was regulated the succession of Mantua, which the Emperor had pretended to dispose of as an imperial fief. This was the second step which France took in its interference with the affairs of the empire; the first being the occupation of the Valte-line.

9. Richelieu saw with disquiet the progress of the House of Austria; but the time was not yet come for France

Continuation of the Thirty Years' War, 1630-1635. openly to interfere. Richelieu contented himself with promising as a subsidy 1,200,000 livres a year to the

young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, towards whom the eyes of all Protestant Europe were now turned. Victorious at Leipsic, in 1631, and again at the passage of the Lech, where Tilly lost his life, he retaliated upon the Catholic League all the evils they had inflicted on the Evangelical Alliance, and prepared to strike a final blow by attacking Ferdinand in his capital. The Emperor, in terror, then recalled the illustrious Wallenstein, whom he had disgraced; and the two rivals in glory encountered each other at Lutzen, in 1632. Gustavus was the victor, but died on the field of battle, leaving the command to another hero, Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. The latter, however, after great successes, lost, in 1634, the decisive battle of Nordlingen against the Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's eldest son. The conquests of Gustavus Adolphus were nullified, and the House of Austria

which had been kept in check by the successes alike of the great Swedish King and of the Hero of Weimar, began to raise its head



SIEGE OF ROCHELLE.—From an Engraving by Callot.

anew. The Emperor, Ferdinand II., pursued the war with untiring energy and perseverance. He was now relieved from his chief

opponents, and became once more all-powerful. Here ends the Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War, and commences the

**Commence-
ment of the
French Period.**

fourth and last epoch, to which has been given the name of the French period. Richelieu made the greatest efforts to secure the success of his military plans. He formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland and Sweden, and signed, at the same time, fresh treaties with the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, and Parma, amongst whom he promised

**Military dis-
positions of
Richelieu,
1635-1643.**

to divide the Milanese territory. His plans for war embraccd at once Flanders, the Rhine, the Valteline, and Italy; and he formed four armies, intended to act simultaneously on all those points. Believing himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, the Cardinal resolved to direct from his cabinet all the movements of the armies in the field.

10. The army of the north, under Marshals de Chatillon and de Brezé, was to join in Luxembourg that of the Estates-General of Holland, for the purpose of driving out of Belgium the

**Campaign of
1635.**

Spaniards, commanded by Prince Thomas of Carignan. This prince was defeated in the plain of Avaine, by the

French, who effected their junction with the Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Orange, before Maëstricht. The united army gave itself up to the most frightful excesses. The sack of Tirlemont roused the Belgians against the French; they ran to arms, and thus gave time for the arrival of the Imperial army, under Piccolomini, who forced the invaders to raise the siege of Louvain, and remain in a state of inaction till the end of the campaign. The Franco-Swedish army of Germany divided into several corps, under the command of Marshal de la Force and the Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, was opposed to the Imperial troops led by Duke Charles of Lorraine and the celebrated Gallas, who blockaded a portion of Bernard's army in Mayence, and held that general himself in check at Sarrebrück. Duke Bernard was relieved by a second French army, which was obliged through famine and disease to fall back on Metz. A third force under the King occupied Lorraine, and this and what remained of the other two armies, acting upon the frontier of the Rhine, covered Champagne and Lorraine, now threatened by the Imperialists. In Italy the French Army under the command of Marshal de Crequi, having failed in its attack on Frascorolo, had been compelled to raise the siege of Valanza, and Crequi retreated towards France, abandoning the allies of France, the Dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua, whose states were immediately invaded. The French Arms were only successful in the Valteline, where the Duke de Rohan succeeded in cutting off all communication between the Imperial troops of Lombardy and Austria. Victorious at Morbegno, he repulsed Ferramont in the Tyrol, and then drove Serbelloni and the Spaniards from the Valteline, after the glorious battle of the Val de Presle. At this point only was the campaign of 1635 honourable for France.

11. Richelieu entered upon the following campaign with as many armies as he had in the preceding one, and suffered great reverses

The Imperialist generals, the Cardinal-Infant, brother of the King of Spain, Piccolomini, and John der Werth, a Bavarian, entered France at the head of forty thousand men. The line of the Somme was forced; Corbie, the last strong place on this frontier, fell into the hands of the Imperialists, whilst a second army, under Gallas and the Duke of Lorraine, entered Burgundy. Terror reigned in Paris, and the popular fury was directed against the Cardinal, who was accused of all the ills of France. But the latter, superior to fear, called to arms the noblesse and the various trading bodies for the defence of the kingdom, and at the end of a month an army of forty thousand men marched to drive the enemy from France. The Imperial generals did not await the onslaught, but hastened to recross the frontier; all the fortresses of Picardy were retaken by the French; the progress of the invasion in Burgundy was checked; the Spaniards who attempted an invasion of the southern provinces were beaten back, and French soil was delivered from foreign invaders. In Italy, a bloody victory obtained by Marshal de Crequi and the Duke of Savoy over the Imperialists near Lake Maggiore had no result.

Campaign of 1636.

Invasion of France, 1636.

Retreat of the Imperialists.

The following year, 1637, was distinguished by the death of several of the sovereigns engaged in the war. The Emperor Ferdinand II. died after having had the King of Hungary, his son, elected as his successor, and France lost its two Italian allies, the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy. The only important military fact of this campaign was the evacuation by the Duke de Rohan of the Valteline, from whence he was driven by the old allies of France, the Grisons, who had now turned against her.

Death of Ferdinand II. 1637.

12. The war was continued in 1638 with results unfavourable to France. In the north it was found necessary to raise the siege of Saint-Omer, and on the Spanish frontier the French were forced to abandon the siege of Fontarabia. The victory obtained on the Rhine by Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, alone compensated for so many disasters. by John der Werth to raise the siege of Rhinefeld, he suddenly reappeared, cut the Imperialists to pieces, and took John der Werth and three other generals prisoners. In the year following this able general died, and the command of his army was given to the Duke de Longueville, who carried on the campaign during two years beyond the Rhine, without any decided success, and at the same time without any disgrace. In 1639 the success on the side of the French was confined to the capture of Hesdin; whilst Piccolomini vanquished near Thionville another French army under Feuquières. Thus ended in the north the campaign of 1639. In Piedmont, where Cardinal Maurice and Thomas, Prince of Carignan, brothers of the late duke, with the support of the King of Spain, disputed the regency with his widow, Christine, daughter of Henry IV., Henry de Lorraine, Count of Harcourt, victualled Casal then,

Campaign of 1638.

Compelled

Victory of Rhinefeld, 1638.

Operations in 1639.

besieged by Spaniards. he effected in admirable order a difficult retreat from Chiari to Carignan, in the presence of the much larger armies of Spain in Piedmont, and was victorious at the glorious battle of La Rotta.

13. The principal belligerent powers, France, the Empire, and Spain, reaped no fruits from this disastrous war. The two kingdoms were exhausted, and in each there occurred simultaneously a popular outbreak, which led to very different results. During the last years the taxes in France had been raised to a hundred millions,

Misery in
France.

which was double the amount levied in the time of Henry IV. The burden of taxation had become intolerable. The poll-tax, especially, was levied upon the peasants with frightful rigour; after paying for themselves, those who were better off than their neighbours were forced to pay the taxes of those who were unable to do so. At last, driven to despair, many of the inhabitants of Lower Normandy, took up arms and entrenched themselves on the slopes of Avranches. Foreign troops, under Colonel Gassion, drowned this insurrection in the blood of the insurgents. The parliament of Normandy was suspended, all franchises suppressed, and an enormous sum levied on the city of Rouen. The revolts in Spain were more serious. Catalonia, with its annexed districts of Roussillon and Fer-

Insurrection
in Catalonia,
1644.

dagne, formed a province almost independent of the Spanish monarchy. Treated harshly by Olivarez, the Catalans rose in insurrection, and gave themselves to the crown of France. The Portuguese also, enslaved by Spain for sixty years, threw off the detested yoke; John of Braganza, descendent of their ancient monarchs, was elected king, and he hastened to ally himself with France and Holland against Spain.

14. The war continued to rage in Germany, but the two principal scenes of military operations were Artois and Piedmont. A numerous army assembled in Picardy under the three marshals, La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and

Campaign of
1640.

Chaulnes, entered Artois and invested Arras, which capitulated, after the Cardinal-Infant had made fruitless attempts to force the French lines and to drive back the besieging forces. The campaign

of Piedmont was still more glorious to the French arms. Count d'Harcourt forced the Spaniards and Piedmontese to raise the siege of Casal; and then,

advancing rapidly and boldly upon Turin, he invested it. An attempt to relieve the city ended in the defeat of the Spanish general Léganez and the capitulation of Prince Thomas of Carignan. In the campaign of 1641, France retained the

Campaign of
1641.

advantages acquired during the preceding one in Artois and in Piedmont. Guébriant, the colleague of the Duke de Longueville, vanquished Piccolomini at Wolfenbüttel and Lamboi at Kempen, and all Saxony was reduced to subjection.

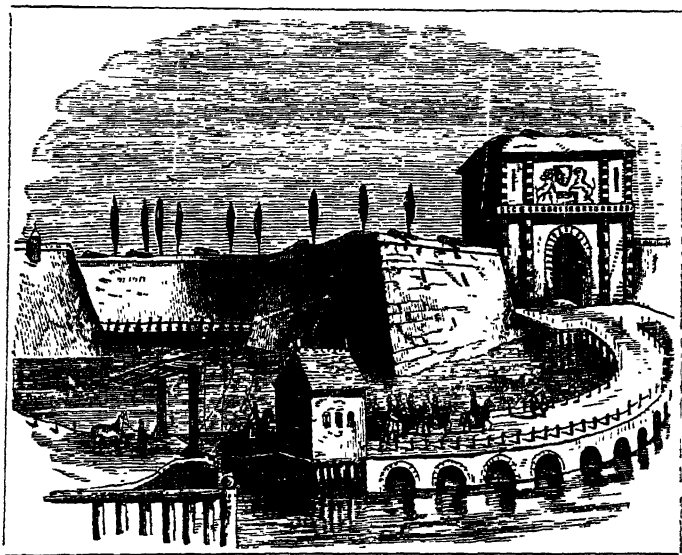
In 1642 Richelieu resolved to strike at the very heart of Austria's power. The invasion of Spain was decided on; and the Royal army poured towards the Pyrenees.

Conquest of
Roussillon, 1642.

Before crossing the mountains, however, it was important to complete the conquest of Roussillon, and Perpignan was besieged.

Spain exhausted herself in her endeavours to save this place ; but she was vanquished both by land and sea, and after an heroic resistance of four months, the governor capitulated on the 9th September, 1642 ; and the battle of Lerida, in which the Spanish general Léganez was beaten by Lamothe-Houdancourt, completed the conquest of Roussillon, which henceforth formed a portion of the kingdom of France. Louis XIII. and his Minister survived the victory but a short time

Victory of
Lérida, 1642.



CITADEL AT ANTWERP.

15. During the campaign of Roussillon a final and bloody catastrophe raised Richelieu's power, and the terror inspired by his name, to their height. The Cardinal had placed near the King the young Effiat, Marquis de Cinq-Mars, twenty-one years of age. This young man, appointed master of the horse, made rapid progress in the good graces of the sovereign, and, discovering the King's antipathy for the Cardinal, conceived the hope of overthrowing him. With this object he allied himself with the Queen, with Gaston d'Orleans, and the Duke of Bouillon, who always flattered himself that he should one day replace Richelieu. The Cardinal allowed the imprudent Cinq-Mars and his accomplices to implicate themselves with the Spanish minister Olivarez. He became possessed at length of the copy of a treaty of

Conspiracy of
Cinq-Mars, 1642.

alliance between the Spaniards and the conspirators, and sent it to Louis. Cinq-Mars was immediately seized, together with the young De Thou, his friend and confidant, but not his accomplice. A commission was opened to try them. The crime of Cinq-Mars was not proved; but the cowardly confessions of the Duke d'Orleans destroyed him. Cinq-Mars was condemned to death and executed, with the young De Thou, who was guilty of not having denounced his friend. The Duke of Bouillon, who had been arrested, lost his principality, but obtained his pardon in exchange. Gaston of Orleans obtained permission to live at Blois in privacy.

**Execution of
Cinq-Mars and
De Thou, 1641.**

The Queen-mother died in indigence at Cologne, and Richelieu followed her shortly afterwards to the tomb. His eyes had scarcely been closed when the King at once abandoned the course pursued by the Cardinal. The prisons were thrown open, and banishments ceased. Vendôme, Elbœuf, Bassompierre, and Guise reappeared at Court, and preluded by empty quarrels the storms which were to disturb the reign about to commence. Louis XIII., in fact,

**Death of Louis
XIII., 1643.**

only survived his terrible minister six months, and died at Chateau-Neuf, Saint Germain, at forty-two years of age. A few days before expiring he had nominated Anne of Austria regent, and Gaston, his brother, lieutenant-general of the kingdom; joining with them a Council of Regency, under the presidency of Condé.





DUNKIRK.

CHAPTER IV.

MINORITY OF LOUIS XIV., 1643-1661.

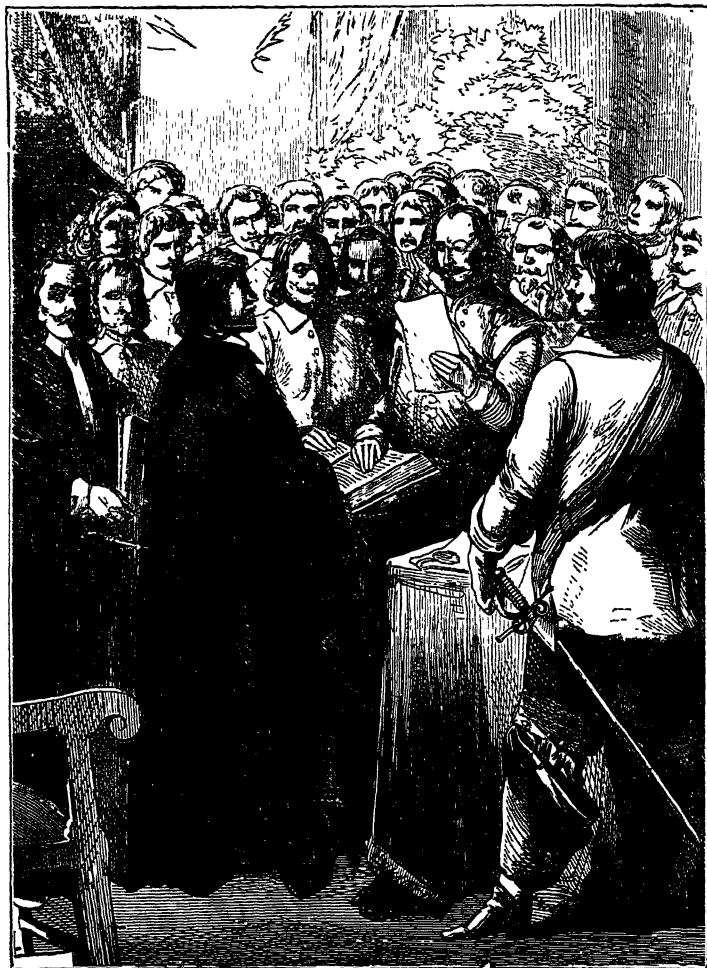
1. ANNE OF AUSTRIA ABSOLUTE REGENT: CARDINAL MAZARIN HER FIRST MINISTER. 2. MILITARY OPERATIONS 1643-1648: BATTLE OF ROCROI: BATTLES OF FRIBOURG AND NORDLINGEN: CAPTURE OF DUNKIRK. 3. BATTLE OF LENS: PEACE OF MUNSTER, OR WESTPHALIA. 4. ADMINISTRATION OF MAZARIN: EDICT OF UNION: THE MAZARINS AND FRONDEURS. 5. ARREST OF DE BROUSAL: POPULAR TUMULT: COMMENCEMENT OF CIVIL WAR: BLOCKADE OF PARIS: PEACE OF RUEIL. 6. ARREST OF CONDÉ: PLOTS AGAINST MAZARIN: FIRST RETIREMENT OF MAZARIN: RETURN OF MAZARIN. 7. MILITARY OPERATIONS: BATTLE OF BLEREAU: DEFENCE OF PARIS AGAINST THE KING: TERROR IN PARIS: SECOND RETIREMENT OF MAZARIN: THE KING ENTERS PARIS. 8. MAZARIN AGAIN RECALLED: END OF THE WAR OF THE FRONDE: ALLIANCE WITH CROMWELL; BATTLE OF THE DUNES: PEACE OF THE PYRENEES: MARRIAGE OF LOUIS XIV.: DEATH OF MAZARIN: ASSUMPTION OF POWERS BY THE KING.

ANNE of Austria, the regent, appointed the Duke of Beaufort, second son of the Duke of Vendôme, and grandson of Henry IV., governor of her two children, and selected as her Minister Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, a man of small talents, and totally unacquainted with public affairs. She then applied to the Parliament to dissolve the Council of Regency, which was done, and the Queen was recognised as absolute Regent, and acknowledged to be at liberty to compose her council as she chose.

Anne of
Austria Absolute
Regent,
1643.

Cardinal Mazarin, who was a member of the Council of Regency,

was of opinion that it ought to be dissolved. The Queen rewarded his devotion by making him her First Minister, and bestowed all



SIGNING THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.

her confidence on him. France now enjoyed some peace, as far as domestic affairs were concerned, for three years.

2. The war with the Empire and Spain continued to the glory of France on all her frontiers. Louis of Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, so celebrated under the name of the Great Condé, had gained in Flanders, five days after the death of Louis XIII., the battle of Rocroi over the Spaniards. The important capture of Thionville was quickly followed by the defeat of the French under the Count de Rantzau, at Duttlingen by the Duke of Lorraine and the two illustrious generals, John de Werth and Mercy. Brilliant successes, however, atoned for this reverse; d'Enghien, with Turenne under his orders, vanquished Mercy at Fribourg. In the following year he marched to the assistance of Turenne, who had been surprised and beaten at Mariendal, and gained the battle of Nordlingen; the death of Mercy decided the victory. In Flanders, the Duke of Orleans, the King's uncle, aided by Marshal de Gassion, had seized Gravelines and Courtray, and taken Mardick in the presence of an enemy's army. On the sea, also, the French arms had been successful. Twenty of their galleys had vanquished, in 1646, the Spanish fleet on the coast of Italy, and in the same year the Duc d'Enghien, assisted by the celebrated Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, gave Dunkirk to France. He then set sail for Spain, where he met with a repulse before Lerida, the siege of which he was forced to raise.

Military operations, 1643-1648.

Battle of Rocroi, 1644.

Battles of Fribourg and Nordlingen, 1644.

3. The years 1647 and 1648 were fatal to the House of Austria. Turenne, with the assistance of the Swedes, gained the battle of Sommerhausen; General Wrangel took Little Prague; and the battle of Lens terminated the war. This battle was fought by the Duc d'Enghien, now Prince of Condé, in 1641, against the Archduke Leopold, the Emperor's brother. Broken down by so many reverses, Ferdinand III. consented to negotiate, and peace was at length signed at Munster in Westphalia. By this peace it was agreed that France should retain a great part of Alsace, the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and the two fortresses of Philipsborg and Pignerol, the keys of Germany and Piedmont. The Peace of Westphalia put an end to the Thirty Years' War in Germany; but Spain refused to accede to it, and the war continued between that country and France.

Battle of Lens, 1648.

Peace of Munster, 1648.

4. At the time when the celebrated peace was signed, the interior of the kingdom was much disturbed. Mazarin, having become all-powerful, had roused against himself almost universal hatred and indignation. Ridiculous by his accent and his manners, and odious as a stranger, he was the object of numerous cabals. He wished, in common with Richelieu, that the Royal power should be absolute, and his despotism excited as much hatred as did that of his predecessor. In addition to other arbitrary acts Mazarin desired to keep back four years' salaries from the members of all the sovereign courts, with the exception of the Parliament of Paris, and he threatened to abolish

Administration of Mazarin.

the law which secured to the families of magistrates the possession of their offices in perpetuity. This arbitrary proceeding aroused a universal clamour; and the Parliament assembled and passed the celebrated Edict of Union, in accordance with which two councillors chosen from each of its chambers were to confer with deputies from the other bodies in the common interest of all. Mazarin declared that such a decree was an attack on the rights of the Crown, and Anne of Austria wished to inflict immediate punishment on all those who had signed it. The Chamber of St. Louis voted twenty-seven articles, which were to be submitted for the approbation of the Parliament and the sanction of the regent. Of these, some secured the payment of their bonds on the Hôtel-de-Ville, relieved commerce of odious monopolies, and reduced by one-fourth the odious tax of the *taille*, which only fell on the humbler classes; while others prohibited, on pain of death, the levying of any tax save by verified edicts sanctioned by the sovereign courts; and declared that none of the King's subjects should be in custody more than twenty-four hours without being interrogated and brought before a proper judge. The propositions of the Chamber of Saint Louis were practically the bases of a national constitution, and the citizen classes received them with enthusiasm. The people saw its own cause in that of the magistrates who had adopted them, and the Parliament deliberated upon them, in spite of the prohibition of the Regent, who called these articles so many attempts at assassination of the Royal authority. The Court, the army and the multitude were now divided into two factions, that of the Mazarins and that of the Frondeurs, or partisans of the Parliament. Amongst those who were the most eager in supporting the Parliament was the famous Paul de Gondi, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, and at a later period known by the name of Cardinal de Retz, an able man, who was especially ambitious of being at the head of a party. His magnificent charities had long before gained him the heart of the people; at the commencement of the political disturbances he had offered his support to the Regent, who had the imprudence to despise it, and he immediately passed over to the Parliamentary side.

5. The arrest of the three most obnoxious members of the Parliament, the presidents Charton and Blancmenil, and the councillor Broussel, was carried out by order of Anne of Austria in the midst of the rejoicings for the celebrated victory of Condé at Lens. The first escaped, but the two others were arrested. The fact soon became widely known; the people rose; barricades were erected; the carriage of the Cardinal was pursued; and the soldiers were massacred, amidst cries of "Broussel and liberty!" The Parliament proceeded in a body to the Palais Royal, energetically represented to the Queen the danger which she incurred, and, supported by Mazarin, obtained the freedom of the two magistrates. Mazarin saw very clearly that moderation was necessary; and, guided by

**The Mazarins
and the Fron-
deurs, 1648.**

**Arrest of
De Broussel.
Popular
tumult, 1648.**



THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES AT THE PALAIS ROYAL.

his advice, Anne of Austria dissimulated, and sanctioned on the 24th October, 1648, in a celebrated declaration, the greater number of the articles of the Chamber of Saint Louis. On the same day peace was signed with the Empire at Munster. Spain alone remained at war with France. A certain number of regiments were immediately recalled from Flanders to the environs of the capital. In consequence of a quarrel with the Duke of Orleans, the Prince

Commence-
ment of civil
war, 1648.

of Condé had joined the party of Mazarin, whom he detested, and promised him his support; and Anne of Austria now believed herself to be able to crush her enemies. Accompanied by the Cardinal, she suddenly quitted Paris for Saint Germain; where she denounced the magistrates of the Parliament as guilty of a conspiracy against the Royal authority, and of being in league with the enemies of the State, and moved troops upon the capital. The Parliament, on its side, raised money and soldiers, and published a decree, which declared Mazarin to be a disturber of the public peace, and ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. This was the commencement of the civil war. Condé commanded the Royal army. The greater number of the princes and greater lords of the kingdom, as Conti, Longueville, Nemours, Beaufort, d'Elbœuf, and Bouillon, embraced the cause of the magistracy and liberty. Turenne declared himself for the Parliament against the Court, but after having endeavoured, without success, to raise an army against Anne of Austria, he fled from France and joined the Spaniards. A first

Blockade of
Paris.

compromise took place without any decisive result to the advantage of the Parliament. The Queen and the Cardinal having re-entered Paris, found themselves insulted by frightful libels. They left it once more, with the young King, and determined to blockade it and to reduce it by famine. Condé directed the military operations against Paris, and Mazarin sent to the Parliament a *lettre de cachet* which banished it to Montargis. The Parliament replied by a decree which declared Mazarin an enemy to the King and the State, and again ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. Already, however, the Parisians were weary of war and hunger; the civil troubles proved

Peace of Rueil,
1649.

advantageous to the Spaniards, who were in league with the Fronde, and the parties made a peace at Rueil on the 11th March 1649, which satisfied no one. The Parliament remained at liberty to assemble, and the Queen retained her Minister.

6. Condé presuming on his great services, became insupportable to the Queen in his pride and exaggerated pretensions. The Frondeurs vainly sought to attach him to themselves; he despised them, and commenced a process against the coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and Broussel, whom he accused of having attempted to murder him. Mazarin effected a reconciliation with the coadjutor, and chose the moment when Condé had rendered himself as hateful to the Fronde as himself to crush him. An insult from him to the Queen determined her to take the most rigorous

measures against him. Having been enticed to the Palais Royal, on the 18th January, under the pretence of the holding of a council, he was arrested with his brother the Prince Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duke of Longueville, and sent to Havre. The Duchess of Longueville proceeded to Stenay, to Turrene, whom she once more roused against the Court. This great man, allied with the Spaniards, was beaten at Rethel by Duplessis-Praslin. The young Princess of Condé, assisted by the Dukes of Bouillon and De la Rochefoucauld entered Bordeaux, which she induced to revolt, and raised the whole province. Mazarin proceeded thither with Anne of Austria and the young King; the rebellion was suppressed, but Bordeaux remained attached to the Princes. In the Cardinal's absence fresh plots were contrived against him, and when he returned to Paris, he found a formidable league ready in arms.

Arrest of
Condé, 1650.

Plots against
Mazarin.

The people received him with murmurs; the Parliament, at the instigation of the coadjutor, demanded the freedom of the captive Princes, and the Duke of Orleans demanded the banishment of Mazarin. The Cardinal bowed before the storm; and quitting Paris, he proceeded to Havre, where he set free the Princes, who treated him with contempt. Banished for ever by the Parliament, he sought refuge with the Elector of Cologne, at Bruhl, whence he continued to govern the

Retirement of
Mazarin, 1651.

Queen and the State. The enemies of Mazarin soon ceased to be friends with each other. Condé controlled the Parliament, and offended the Queen by his pride and suspicions. He reproached her for retaining as her Ministers Le Tellier, Lyonne and Fouquet, creatures of the Cardinal, and demanded their dismissal. Anne of Austria, thoroughly enraged, sent for the coadjutor, and entreated him in the most urgent manner to employ his influence in favour of Mazarin against the Prince. Gondi, a mortal enemy of the Cardinal, resisted all the Queen's appeals in behalf of her favourite; but he promised to remove Condé. The two rivals for power presented themselves at the Parliament on the 21st August, each accompanied by a numerous troop of armed partisans; threats were exchanged; thousands of swords and daggers were drawn in the precincts of the palace, and the coadjutor was on the point of being assassinated. The Parliament pronounced in his favour, and Condé, finding the Queen, the Fronde and the people all against him, quitted Paris and proceeded to Guienne, where in concert with Spain, he prepared for war. Almost all the provinces beyond the Loire, Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge and Angoumois, declared in his favour. Anne of Austria now once more quitted Paris, in order to reduce the revolted provinces to obedience. Having reached Bruges, she despatched to the Parliament an edict, which declared Condé a rebel and traitor to the King and France, and which the Parliament sanctioned. At this juncture, in obedience to the wishes of Anne of Austria the Cardinal returned to France accompanied by an army of seven or eight thousand men, whose officers wore

Return of
Mazarin, 1652.

his colours, and who were commanded by Marshal d'Hocquincourt. The coadjutor immediately perceived the fault which he had committed in permitting the Court to remove from Paris; and he raised the people against the partisans of Mazarin and the Queen. The Parliament put a price on Mazarin's head, but he continued his march to join the Court at Poitiers, and the King received him with every distinction. Anne of Austria eagerly replaced in his hands the burden of public affairs, and he returned to be more powerful than ever.

7. Gaston of Orleans again declared against the Regent, effected a reconciliation with Condé, then in Guenne, and joined to the troops of that Prince, which were commanded in his absence by the Duc de Nemours, all those at his own disposal.

Nemours at the head of an army of twelve thousand French, Germans and Spaniards, marched upon Guenne, which Condé at that time defended against D'Harcourt, whilst Anne of Austria, with the object of re-entering Paris, approached Orleans. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, however, sent by Gaston of Orleans, her father, to defend this place, persuaded the citizens to close the gates of the city against the King.

The Royal army, under the command of Turenne, who had come over to the Queen's party, and d'Hocquincourt, ascended the Loire, and crossed it at Gien, in the environs of Bleneau, almost in the face of the rebels, who were commanded by Nemours and Beaufort. Marshal d'Hocquincourt, contrary to the advice of Turenne, divided his troops amongst several villages around Bleneau. Turenne took up his quarters and entrenched himself at Gien, where were the Court and the King. Suddenly, in the middle of the

Battle of Bleneau, 1653. night, a furious attack was made upon the royal army, the villages were set on fire, and five of Marshal d'Hocquincourt's positions were carried in succession. This was done by Condé who had arrived unexpectedly and assumed the command of the rebels. He carried Bleneau and marched upon Gien; but Turenne awaited him there so skilfully posted, that Condé found his progress stopped. Turenne had torn from him the prize of his victory, and had saved the King and army. The Court gained Lens, and established itself in the environs of the capital.

Condé followed the Royal army; and braving the decree of the Parliament which condemned him, he entered the city with his principal officers, Beaufort, Nemours, and La Rochefoucauld, and prepared to defend it against the King. At the approach, however, of the troops of Marshal de la Ferté, who sought to effect a junction with Turenne, encamped with Denis, Condé endeavoured to retreat upon

Defence of Paris against the King. Conflans by skirting the walls of Paris, unobserved by the Royal army. Turenne, however, perceived the movement, and falling with his forces on the Prince's troops, gave him battle in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine; a desperate conflict ensued. Condé, whose troops were much inferior in number, was about to suffer defeat, when the

populace, harangued by Mademoiselle, the daughter of Gaston, rose in favour of the Prince. The gates of the city were opened, and the Prince's army was saved. Paris now became the scene of frightful disorders. The two Princes excited the populace against the council, which was adverse to them. The people besieged the Hotel-de-Ville, and prepared to set it on fire. Many magistrates issued forth in terror, and were slain. Anarchy and terror reached their height. The Princes made Broussel provost of the merchants, and the Duke of Beaufort governor of Paris. Terror in Paris, 1653. The famous coadjutor, Paul de Gondi, always hostile to the Prince of Condé, put the archbishopric in a state of defence. The magistrates whom self-interest or fear made submissive to the Princes, proclaimed Gaston lieutenant-general of the kingdom, until the expulsion of the Cardinal, and Condé generalissimo of the forces. The King annulled this decree, and ordered the Parliament to transfer itself to Poitiers. Many members obeyed this order and went there, where they were presided over by Molé. Each army, therefore, was now supported by a parliament, as in the time of the League. The two parties were weary of this disastrous war; and as Mazarin seemed to be the only obstacle to the conclusion of a peace, the Regent, yielding to the persuasions of the wiser of her party, at length consented to dismiss him, and he retired to Sedan. Second retirement of Mazarin, 1653. The people of Paris received the news of the Cardinal's dismissal with enthusiastic delight. Condé was forced to quit the capital, and proceeded to ally himself with Spain. The coadjutor visited the King, received the red hat, and arranged the Royal return to Paris, which Louis XIV. re-entered on the 21st October, amidst the acclamations of the people. The King banished from the capital the Duke of Orleans and the leaders of the revolt. The King enters Paris. The coadjutor, henceforth known as Cardinal de Retz, almost alone opposed the return of Cardinal Mazarin. Discontented with the Court, he meditated a fresh attack against it; but Anne of Austria anticipated him by having him arrested and lodged in Vincennes.

8. The Spaniards had profited by the civil troubles in France; for Gravelines, Mardick and Dunkirk, had fallen into their hands; and Condé advanced at the head of an army. Turenne, at the head of a smaller number of troops, checked his march. Anne of Austria then recalled Mazarin to Paris, where she received him with transport, and the fickle populace with joyous acclamations. Mazarin again recalled, 1653. The Cardinal assumed an absolute authority; subjected the revolted provinces of Bordeaux and Guienne. He triumphed over all his enemies; had Condé condemned to death by the Parliament; and gave one of his nieces in marriage to the Prince of Conti. Monsieur remained at Blois in retirement. The Cardinal de Retz, after having been transferred from Vincennes to the castle of Nantes, End of the War of the Fronde, 1653. succeeded in escaping, and quitted the kingdom. Thus terminated the war of the Fronde; Condé alone still kept the field; and Louis XIV. made his first campaign against him in Picardy

under the guidance of Turenne. The issue was successful, for Turenne attacked the enemy's lines before Arras, carried them, and obliged Condé to raise the siege of that place. That able general, however, continued to maintain himself in arms, and in 1657, when Turenne commenced a fresh campaign in Flanders, in which he took the offensive, he was compelled by Condé to raise the siege of Valenciennes. France and Spain at this time contended with each other for the alliance of England, now become a republic, and governed by Cromwell as Lord Protector. He put a price on its alliance, and Mazarin carried it off from Philip IV. by promising



LOUIS XIV., SURNAMED THE GREAT.

to deliver Dunkirk to the English, if this place should be retaken by France, and to abandon the cause of the two sons of Charles I., *Alliance with who were both, through their mother, grandchildren of Cromwell, 1658.* Henry IV., and who passed from the camp of Turenne to that of Condé. On these conditions Cromwell furnished the French with a fleet and six thousand troops. Flanders was still the theatre of war; and the battle of the Dunes, in which *Battle of the Dunes, 1658.* Turenne triumphed over his illustrious rival, caused Dunkirk to fall into the hands of the victor, who immediately transferred it to the English. This victory, followed by the capture of a great number of towns and fortresses, decided Philip IV. in favour of peace, which was signed on the 7th November, 1659. This peace, known as the Peace of the Pyrenees, was

the most useful and memorable act of Mazarin's life. By it Philip IV. confirmed the cession of Pignerol, and a great portion of Artois and Alsace to France, which restored Lorraine, but retained the duchy of Bar, Roussillon and Cerdagne, up to the foot of the Pyrenees, and many towns in Luxembourg. It was stipulated that Condé should submit to the King, with the assurance of a pardon and the government of Burgundy, and that Louis XIV. should espouse Maria Theresa of Austria, the daughter of Philip IV. Europe was now at peace, and France had arrived at the moment when Louis XIV. was to take the reins of government into his own hands. Mazarin, for so many years the absolute ruler of the kingdom, was drawing near the close of his life. He died on March 9th, 1661, and the monarch of twenty years of age announced on the day following the death of his Minister, in whose hands was henceforth to be the chief authority.

Harlay de Chanvallon, President of the Council of the Clergy, having asked him to whom he was now to apply with reference to affairs of State, Louis XIV. replied, "To me." From this moment he became the sole ruler of France, and continued to be so till his death.

Peace of the
Pyrenees, 1659.

Marriage of
Louis XIV.,
1660.

Death of
Mazarin, 1661.



LOUIS XIII.



CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV., FROM THE DEATH OF MAZARIN TO THAT OF COLBERT, 1661-1685.

FIRST ACTS OF LOUIS XIV.: COLBERT, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL OF FINANCE: NATIONAL PRIDE OF LOUIS XIV.: CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW NATIONAL ARMY. 2. ADMINISTRATION OF COLBERT: CONSTRUCTION OF FRENCH NAVY. 3. CLAIMS ON FLANDERS: CONQUEST OF FLANDERS AND FRANCHE COMTÉ: FIRST COALITION: TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. 4. WAR AGAINST HOLLAND, THE EMPIRE AND SPAIN: PREPARATIONS OF LOUIS XIV.: SITUATION OF HOLLAND: CONQUEST OF HOLLAND: SEA FIGHTS AT SOLEBAY: EVACUATION OF HOLLAND. SECOND CONQUEST OF FRANCHE COMTE. 5. BATTLE OF SURF: TURENNE IN ALSACE: HIS BURDENS: DEATH OF TURENNE: LAST CAMPAIGNS OF CONDE. 6. VICTORIES OF STROMBOLI AND AGOOTA: CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS: PEACE OF MINNIGUEN: SURPRISE OF STRASBOURG. 7. TRUCE OF RATISBON: BOMBARDMENT OF GENOA: THE FOUR ARTICLES ON THE CLERGY: COMPLICATIONS WITH ROME. 8. POWER OF LOUIS XIV.: CREATION OF THE POLICE: ESTABLISHMENT OF FRENCH COLONIES. 9. THE KING'S CONCEIT: DEATH OF MARIA THERESA AND COLBERT.

1 **T**HE first acts of Louis XIV. revealed the jealousy he entertained with respect to his authority, and his determination to retain it exclusively in his own hands. In accordance with the advice given him by Mazarin, he declared, in the first place, that he would have no Prime Minister. His council, formed by the Cardinal, consisted of the Chancellor Segur, Keeper of the Seals; De Le Tellier, Minister of War; De Lyonne, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and De Fouquet, Minister of Finance. It was not long,

however, that De Fouquet held office, for the King, convinced by Colbert of his criminal exactions, caused him to be arrested at Nantes, and tried before a tribunal appointed for the purpose. The punishment to which he was condemned by his judges was banishment; but Louis XIV. changed it to one of perpetual ^{Colbert Comp-}detention. The finances were entrusted to Colbert, with ^{troller-general} the title of Comptroller-general; and from this moment ^{of Finance, 1661.} order took the place of chaos in all the branches of the public administration.

Louis XIV. displayed an excessive jealousy with respect to the honour of his crown, and a great impatience to give to France the leading place amongst European nations. He forced ^{Pride of Louis} Philip IV. to acknowledge that he was the inferior ^{XIV.} power, because the Spanish ambassador had by force taken precedence of the French ambassador at a public ceremony in London. Imbued with the belief that power is the only law in politics, Louis successfully supported Portugal against Spain in defiance of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. He afforded a more honourable assistance to the Emperor Leopold against the Turks. A French corps, under the command of the Counts Coligni and La Feuillade, covered itself with glory at the battle of Saint-Gothard, where Montecuculi completely defeated the Grand-Vizier, and by this victory procured a truce of twenty years' duration between Turkey and Austria. The King, by the advice of Colbert, concluded a useful commercial alliance with Holland, and supported this Republic against England until the Peace of Breda, in 1667. He entrusted, at the same period, to the Duke of Beaufort a fleet which freed the Mediterranean of pirates, and carried the terror of the French arms even to Algiers. He created a new army, and, with the assistance of his minister, Louvois, son and successor of Le Tellier, gave ^{New national} to this army an organisation which was the admiration ^{array.} and envy of Europe.

2. France soon began to taste the fruits of Colbert's vigilant supervision of every branch of the administration. ^{Administration} Brought up at a counter, and the son of a wool merchant ^{of Colbert.} of Rheims, he succeeded in effecting the most difficult reforms, and the execution of all his plans by the aid of a strong will and indefatigable industry. He reduced the burden of taxation, but, at the same time, greatly augmented the revenue. He opened to France new sources of wealth, and laid the foundations of its prosperity in commerce and industry. He established manufactories for the production of the French *points*, looking-glasses, cloths, tapestries, carpets, silks and watches; and took pains to secure outlets for all these products of French industry. He founded colonies; and established chambers of commerce and insurance, storehouses, means of transit, and a new system of customs favourable to commercial transactions. On the other hand, he had been justly reproached with having too greatly sacrificed the agricultural interests to those of commerce, not only by prohibiting the exportation of grain, but also by prohibiting its free circulation in the interior. A navy was necessary

for the protection of commerce; and Colbert in a short time displayed, before the eyes of astonished Europe, a hundred vessels of war, and an army of sailors. He had the port of Rochefort, on the Charente, dug out, and those of Brest and Toulon, which were fortified by Vauban, deepened. Finally, his mode of administration furnished the King with the means of covering the French frontiers on the north and east with a line of fortresses, and of regaining Dunkirk, that city so necessary to the defence of the kingdom, which was shamefully sold to Louis XIV. by Charles II., in defiance of all the interests of England.

3. The King lost Anne of Austria, his mother, in 1669. Phillippe IV., his father-in-law, had died in the preceding year, and Louis, without paying attention to the formal renunciation made by Maria-Theresa, immediately set up claims in her name to Flanders, to the exclusion of the rights of Charles II., the younger son of Phillippe IV., on the pretext that her dowry had not been paid. He gained over the Emperor Leopold to his side by making him hope that he would obtain a share of the spoils wrung from Charles II., and took the field at the head of his army. In these weeks he rendered himself master of French Flanders. This success was followed by the conquest of the

Conquest of Flanders and of Franche-Comté, a province ruled by Spain under a republican form of government, which was achieved within a month. Europe became alarmed at the rapid successes, and a triple alliance was formed against Louis between Holland, England and Sweden. The Grand-Pensioner of Holland, John de Witt, became the soul of this league, and it forced the King to sign the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), in accordance with which he retained Flanders, but was compelled to restore the Franche-Comté.

4. During the continuance of the peace, Louis XIV. devoted his attention to the internal administration of the kingdom. He then considered how to avenge himself upon Holland, and punish her for having taken part in the Triple Alliance. Offended by some medals which represented the United Provinces as the arbiters of Europe, and irritated at the impertinence of certain gazetteers, the King seized upon these frivolous pretexts and declared war upon the Dutch: at the same time detaching from their alliance Charles XI., King of Sweden, and Charles II., King of England, always ready to sell his support, and to sacrifice the interests of his people to his pleasures.

The Dutch fleets covered the seas and secured the commercial prosperity of Holland by protecting its magnificent establishments in the East Indies. Louis XIV. reinforced his own by fifty English vessels, and entered Holland at the head of a hundred thousand men accompanied by Turenne, Vauban, Luxemburg Louvois, and by Condé who was in command of the army.

To oppose a hundred thousand troops, supported by a formidable artillery, and commanded by the most celebrated generals, the United Provinces had about twenty long,

The French Navy.

Claims on Flanders.

Conquest of Flanders and of Franche-Comté

First Coalition

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

War against Holland, the Empire, and Spain, 1672-1678.

Situation of Holland.

thousand troops ill accustomed to war, commanded by Prince William of Orange, a young man of feeble constitution and only twenty-two years of age, who had seen neither sieges nor battles. Though brave and undaunted by reverses, he could not check the torrent which flowed down upon his country; and all the places on the Rhine and the Yssel fell into the hands of the French. The Prince of Orange, in default of sufficient troops to support the campaign in the open field, hastily formed lines beyond the Rhine which he soon saw it would be impossible to defend. In the passage of this river, by the French, the Duke of Longueville lost his life, while Condé received a wound and resigned the command to Turenne. Within a few months three provinces and forty strong places had been taken, and Amsterdam itself was threatened. An attempt made by the peace party under the Grand-Pensioner, John de Witt, to put an end to the war, signally failed, on account of the insulting and humiliating terms demanded by the King. Despair lent strength to the vanquished. They opened their dykes and laid the country under water, for the purpose of compelling the French to evacuate it. The Dutch Admiral Ruyter struggled gloriously against the combined squadrons of France and England, and the battle of Solebay secured the coasts of the Republic from any chance of attack. Europe rose in favour of Holland. The Emperor Leopold, the Kings of Spain and Denmark, the greater number of the Princes of the Empire, the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, the founder of the high fortunes of his House—all, alarmed at the ambition of Louis XIV., leagued themselves against him, whilst Charles II. himself was compelled by his Parliament to break off his French alliance. Louis XIV., threatened by so many enemies, could not collect together sufficient troops to carry on the campaign, and in a short time the whole of Holland was evacuated with the exception of Grave and Maestricht. The Franche-Comté, however, indemnified him for so many losses. The whole province was conquered in six weeks, and a second time wrested from Spain, never to return.

Conquest of
Holland, 1672.

Sea fight at
Solebay.

Evacuation of
Holland. Second conquest
of Franche-Comté, 1674.

5. The Great Condé, having the Prince of Orange in front of him, now fought his last battle near Senef, in Flanders. The French gained the victory, but William rallied his troops and held the victors in check. Three times Condé attacked him without being able to drive him from his last and impenetrable position. The loss of each side was frightful; twenty-seven thousand dead were left on the field of battle; Condé had three horses killed under him; the contest lasted fourteen hours, and was a drawn battle.

Battle of
Senef, 1674.

Turenne had then to defend the frontiers on the side of the Rhine; and after a rapid and skilful march, he crossed that river at Philisbourg, took Sintzheim, and at the same time defeated Caprara, the Emperor's general, and the old Duke of Lorraine Charles IV. He next vanquished the Prince of

Turenne in
Alsace. His
victories, 1674

Bournonville, near Ensheim, and then retreated and took up his winter-quarters in Lorraine. The enemy believed the campaign to be at an end; but for Turenne it had only commenced. Brisach and Philisbourg were blockaded, and seventy thousand Germans occupied Alsace; but Turenne, with twenty thousand men and a few cavalry, suddenly appeared in Upper Alsace in the midst of the enemy, who believed him to be still in Lorraine. He vanquished successively at Mulhausen and at Colmar the corps which offered resistance, and utterly routed a formidable body of German infantry at Turkheim. Alsace remained in the King's possession, and the generals of the empire recrossed the Rhine, closely followed into the Palatinate by their conqueror. At length the Emperor sent against Turenne Montecuculi, the first of his generals and the vanquisher of the Turks at Saint-Gothard. The two great opponents were on the point of giving battle to each other near the village of Salzbach, in Baden, and Turenne was confident of victory, when, on visiting a

**Death of
Turenne, 1675.**

battery, he fell dead, struck by a cannon ball. Montecuculi, informed of his death, drove the French troops across the Rhine and penetrated into Alsace. Condé

was sent to oppose him, and was able to check the progress of the

**Last Cam-
paigns of
Condé, 1675.**

Imperial army, and to force Montecuculi to raise the sieges of Haguenau and Saverne. Alsace was evacuated, and this brilliant campaign was the last conducted by the two illustrious rivals. The Great Condé henceforth lived in glorious retirement at Chantilly, where he died in 1688; whilst Montecuculi withdrew from the Emperor's service.

6. Duc de Créqui was beaten in 1688 at Consarbruck, near Trèves, by the Duke of Lorraine; but excellent successes followed this reverse. Messina had shaken off the yoke of Spain, and had placed itself under the protection of France. Assisted by the Dutch fleet, the Spaniards endeavoured to retake it; but Duquesne, defeated the combined fleets in the sea-fights of Stromboli and Agosta, in the latter of which the Dutch admiral De Ruyter lost his

**Victories of
Stromboli and
Agosta, 1676.**

life. These operations were followed by two brilliant campaigns, conducted by the King in Flanders. The heroic capture of Valenciennes, made in the open day by the Musqueteers—those of Cambrai and St. Omer—and the victory of Cassel, gained by the King's brother over the Prince of Orange, terminated this war, which was unjustly commenced, but was gloriously concluded. Louis now found

**Campaign in
Flanders, 1677.**

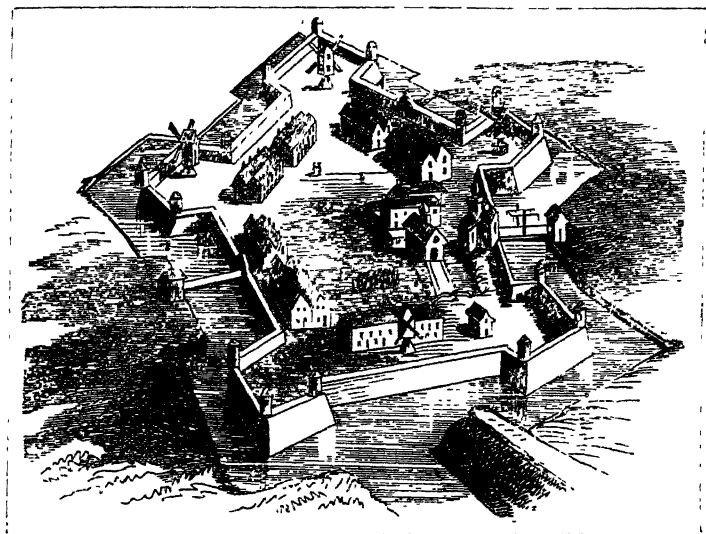
himself the arbiter of Europe. The Estates-General of Holland were weary of a struggle which had been maintained but by their subsidies; and a Congress assembled at Nimeguen, at which peace was signed on the 10th August, 1678.

**Peace of
Nimeguen,
1678.**

Holland recovered all that had been taken from her during the war; Spain abandoned the Franche-Comté, and many places in the Low Countries; the right of France to the possession of Alsace was confirmed. Lorraine remained in the occupation of the French. Sicily was evacuated. To the advantages secured by the Peace of Nimeguen Louis

added others, not less important, and which he obtained by fraud and violence. In addition to portions of the domains of the King of Sweden, the Duke of Wurtemberg, of Deux-Ponts, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Trèves, and a number of other princes, which he claimed in a most arbitrary manner as dependencies of countries ceded to him by the treaty, Louis seized upon the free city of Strasbourg, and Vauban fortified it so as to make it the rampart of the kingdom against Germany.

Surprise of
Strasbourg,
1681.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITADEL OF ANTWERP IN 1603.

7. Justly irritated at these usurpations, the Powers of Europe formed a fresh league on the day of the capture of Strasbourg. But three hundred thousand Turks at the same time poured down upon the Empire; and Leopold and the great number of the powers, being too feeble to recommence the war, protested, without taking any active measures. Spain alone dared to enter the field, and lost Courtray, Dixmunde and Luxembourg. A truce of twenty years, to which the Emperor and Holland acceded, was concluded at Ratisbon, according to which the King was to retain, during his life, Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and all the annexations pronounced legitimate by the Sovereign Courts. Everywhere the terror of his arms prevailed. The ships of Spain lowered their flags before his; Duquesne freed the

Truce of Ratis-
bon, 1684

Mediterranean of the pirates which infested it, and Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli made their submission. Genoa accused, falsely perhaps, of having assisted the pirates, was bombarded and

Bombardment of Genoa, 1683-1684. its Doge was forced to go to Versailles to implore the compassion of Louis XIV. The Roman Court, already

deeply humiliated by him, was beaten a second time on the subject of the *Droit de régalé*.* This law, up to the time of Louis XIV., did not affect the churches of Guienne, Provence, and Dauphiné; but by a royal edict, issued in 1673, they were now all rendered equally subject to it. The Pope, Innocent XI., vigorously opposed this innovation, and a long-continued struggle ensued; but

The Four Articles of Clergy, 1682.

at length, in 1682, an assembly of the French clergy drew up, at the instigation of Bossuet, the four famous Articles, in which is set forth the doctrine of the Gallican Church.

They are to the effect—1st, That the ecclesiastical power has no authority over the temporal power of princes; 2nd, That the General Council is superior to the Pope, as was determined by the Council of Constance; 3rd, That the exercise of the Apostolic power should be regulated by the canons and the usages in vogue in particular churches; 4th, That the judgment of the Sovereign Pontiff in matters of faith is not infallible until sanctioned by the Church. The Pope condemned these articles and refused bulls to all those who had been members of the Assembly of 1692. The bishops nominated by the King continued, however, to administer their dioceses, by virtue of the powers conferred on them by the chapters. This expedient, suggested by Bossuet, prevented perhaps a complete schism between the Church of France and the Church of Rome.

8. Louis XIV., feared by Europe, was an absolute king in his own dominions, and could say with truth, "The State—it is

Power of Louis XIV., 1661-1683.

I!" He had destroyed the few national franchises which had hitherto been preserved rather by custom than by law. Everybody in the State rivalled each

other in testifying their devotion and obedience to him. The high clergy had lost all political influence. The nobility was kept under by the habit of a brilliant servitude to the monarch, and the enticements of Court pleasures and fêtes. The Parliament found its functions limited to the administration of justice. The Third Estate lost its municipal liberties by the definitive establishment of intendants and the sale of the perpetual mayorships. The three orders were finally reduced to a political nullity by the King's prejudice against the Estates-General, and his invincible resolution never to convoke them. The chains of a central administration,

Creation of the Police, 1667.

the occult power of the police, newly established, and the maintenance of a numerous standing army, completed the reduction of the kingdom to a state of pas-

* This was the name given to the privilege enjoyed by the Kings of France, and by no other monarchs, of possessing during the vacancy of episcopal sees, and until the registration of the oaths of new bishops, the revenues attached to them, and also of conferring certain benefices as belonging to these sees.

sive and slavish obedience—a state in which the King kept it by the dazzling glory of his victories, and the marvellous works effected during his reign. France now began to possess colonies, which, unlike those previously founded in the Floridas, Canada and Africa, were dependent on the mother country. Colbert purchased the establishments at the Antilles in the name of Louis XIV., and placed under the protection of the French government a portion of the great isle of St. Domingo, which had been taken by French filibusters from the Spaniards. A West India company, established



MARSHAL TURENNE.

by his efforts in 1664, purchased the French possessions in America, from Canada to the Amazons, and in Africa, from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope. Another company called the East India, also arose at this period. Founded at first at Madagascar, it soon quitted that isle and planted itself in the Indies. It established a factory at Surat and founded Pondicherry, which became the centre of our operations in India.

9. Beneath all this grandeur, however, there were concealed many vices and numerous perils. Louis XIV. believed that he possessed an absolute right over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and called himself God's lieutenant upon earth. Dazzled by the prodigies effected in his reign, intoxicated by incessant praise, victorious over all opposition, he almost reached the point of persuading himself that his glory, rendered

Establishment
of French
Colonies.

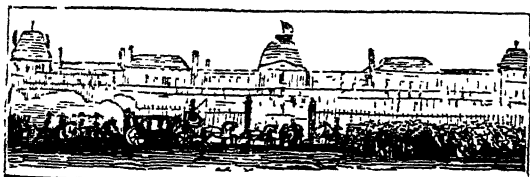
The King's
conceit.

lawful on his part, what, in the case of other men, was most criminal in the sight of God.

He gloried in triumphing over difficulties, and in undertaking what seemed impossible things; and Colbert, who encouraged his taste for building, saw with terror the public treasure engulfed at Versailles in gigantic and useless works. It was easy to foresee all the miseries with which France was threatened, if the will of the Prince, without counterpoise, should cease to be guided by the councils of genius, and should yield to those of ignorance and fanaticism: and if his prejudices and the interests of his power and those of his family, should ever be in antagonism with the interests and requirements of France. These gloomy forebodings of superior minds were too soon justified. Colbert died in 1683, in

the same year as Maria-Theresa; and from that time the rising prosperity of the reign received a check. The prodigalities of the King, and the expenses of the late war, which had been undertaken against the advice of Colbert, had already obliged the latter to have recourse to loans and to vexatious taxes, which excited the murmurs of the people. After his death, the finances fell into a frightful state of confusion, and it almost seemed as though this great minister had carried with him to the tomb the fairest portion of his master's glory and good fortune.

Death of
Maria Theresa
and
Colbert. 1683.





CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION AND END OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV., 1685-1715.

1. THE KING'S ILL-HEALTH: INFLUENCE OF LOUVOIS AND MADAME DE MAINTENON: THE SECRET MARRIAGE: REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.
2. THE KING'S CONDUCT TO FOREIGN NATIONS: LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG AND SECOND COALITION: SECOND ENGLISH REVOLUTION: BURNING OF THE PALATINATE: CAMPAIGN OF LUXEMBOURG IN FLANDERS: CAMPAIGN OF CATINAT IN PIEDMONT.
3. BATTLE OF THE BOYNE: CAMPAIGN OF LOUIS XIV. IN FLANDERS: CAPTURE OF NAMUR: VICTORIES OF LUXEMBOURG AND CATINAT: NAVAL BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.
4. ATTACKS ON THE FRENCH COLONIES BY THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH: FRENCH REPRISALS: PEACE OF RYSWICK.
5. SPANISH SUCCESSION: THIRD COALITION: WAR OF SUCCESSION: CAMPAIGN IN PIEDMONT.
6. SURPRISE OF CREMONA: VICTORY OF LUZARA: FRENCH REVERSES IN FLANDERS: VICTORIES OF VILLARS.
7. DEFEAT OF TALLARD AT HOCHSTETT: WAR OF THE CAMISARDS: CAPTURE OF GIBRALTAR BY THE ENGLISH: SEA-FIGHT OFF MALAGA: CAPTURE OF BARCELONA: BATTLE OF CASSANO.
8. DEFEAT OF VILLEROI AT RAMILIES: ROUT OF THE FRENCH BEFORE TURIN.
9. VICTORY OF BERWICK AT ALMANZA: BATTLE OF OUDENARDE: CAPTURE OF LILLE.
10. DISTRESS IN FRANCE: FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE: BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET: VICTORY OF VILLAVICIOSA: ACCESSION OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES TO THE IMPERIAL CROWN: VICTORY OF VILLARS OVER PRINCE EUGENE AT DENAIN.
11. PEACE OF UTRECHT: ITS PROVISIONS: PEACE OF BADEN.
12. WILL OF THE KING: DEATH OF LOUIS XIV.

1. **T**HE health of Louis XIV. had suffered since 1682 an alteration which, whilst it soured his temper, inclined him to abandon himself without reserve to the fatal suggestions of Louvois and Madame de Maintenon. The former, an egotistical, proud and cold-hearted man, had been the personal

enemy of Colbert: the latter, the talented widow of the poet Scarron, had raised herself from the obscure post of instructress of the children of Louis XIV. to the most elevated rank; for there is no doubt that the King secretly married her; and the year 1685 is that in which this clandestine marriage is said to have taken place. From that moment, Louis XIV. appeared to have survived himself. Great talents still shone around him, and glorious victories checked the current of his adversity; but his resolutions were ever subject to pride or superstition: most of them hurried on the ruin of the monarchy, and none of them really tended either to his greatness or prosperity. One of the first and most disastrous acts of this period of his reign was the revocation of the Edict of

Influence of Louvois and Madame de Maintenon. Nantes. The decree by which this Edict was suppressed was issued on October 22, 1685. It interdicted throughout the whole kingdom the exercise of the Reformed religion, ordered all its ministers to leave the kingdom within a fortnight, and enjoined parents and tutors to bring up the children in their care in the Catholic religion. Emigration on the part of the Protestants was prohibited under pain of the galleys and confiscation of property. But in spite of this, a hundred thousand industrious families escaped from France; and the foreign nations which received them with open arms became enriched by their industry at the expense of their native country. This odious decree intensified the hatred of the Protestants for their King, and increased their resources and their strength, whilst it enfeebled those of the kingdom; for there were formed many regiments of French refugees who inflicted more than one severe blow on the persecuting monarch.

2. The conduct of this prince in respect to strangers was neither more just nor more prudent. His overbearing pride, the disdain with which he treated all foreign powers, and his usurpations after the peace of Nimeguen, which he maintained with so much arrogance, and to which in 1687 he added the seizure of Avignon, which for centuries had belonged to the Popes, disgusted all Europe. The Prince of Orange, against whose consent the peace of Nimeguen had been concluded, had become the soul of a new league, which took the name of the League of Augsburg, from the city in which it was first agreed upon. The Emperor, the Empire, Spain, Holland and Savoy, formed a coalition against France; and Louis sent a large army into Germany under the orders of the Dauphin.

League of Augsburg, 1685-1698. This campaign commenced at the period of the second Revolution in England. James II., brother and successor of the immoral Charles II., had been compelled to quit the throne for endeavouring to re-establish the Catholic faith in his kingdom, and William of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of James II., had been proclaimed King and Queen of England.

James II. sought an asylum in France. Louis XIV. received him

with royal magnificence, and immediately took up his cause, in spite of all the enemies, who on the north, the east, and the south, threatened his frontiers. The Dauphin, assisted by Henri de Duras, Marshal Duras, Catinat and Vauban, had already taken Philisbourg, and before the end of the campaign had become possessed of Mayence, Trèves, Spire, Worms, and other places in the Electorate of Cologne. Thus, at the commencement of the war, Louis XIV. found himself master of the three ecclesiastical electorates and a portion of the Palatinate. This unhappy province, by an order of Louis XIV., signed by Louvois, was inhumanly ravaged, with the intention of keeping back the enemy, and forty cities and a multitude of boroughs and villages were given to the flames. Germany burst into a cry of horror, and at once sent into the field three large armies, the command of which was entrusted to the Duke of Lorraine, Charles V., the Prince of Waldeck, and the Elector of Brandenburg. Charles V. retook Bonn and Mayence, drove Marshal Duras back into France, and died in the midst of his successes. Waldeck vanquished Marshal d'Humières in Flanders. Luxembourg was then appointed to the command of the grand army of the north; and justified the King's choice in the most brilliant manner. His first achievement was the defeat of the Prince of Waldeck near Fleurus; but the victory, which seemed to be a decisive one, had, nevertheless, no decisive result. The remains of the vanquished army joined at Brussels the army of the Elector of Brandenburg; whilst Louvois, jealous of the victor, deprived him of a portion of his troops. The enemy was thus enabled to regain his supremacy; and Luxembourg was reduced to acting on the defensive. Catinat now gained in Piedmont the battle of Staffarde against Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, whose States were lost for France as soon as won. The Duke of Bavaria and Prince Eugene,* a general in the service of the Emperor, compelled Catinat to recross the Alps.

Burning of the
Palatinate,
1689.

Campaign of
Luxembourg,
in Flanders.

Campaign of
Catinat in
Piedmont.

Battle of the
Boyne, 1691.

Campaign of
Louis XIV. in
Flanders,
1691.

3. James II. had gone in the preceding year to Ireland, where the Catholic population remained faithful to him, and still hoped, with the aid of Louis XIV., to recover his crown. The decisive battle of the Boyne, however, ruined his hopes; and, in the following year, the result of the battle of Aghrim planted the crown firmly on the head of William III. Louis XIV., with Luxembourg and La Feuillade, made a campaign in Flanders in 1691, the only important results of which were the capture of Mons by the King and the glorious battle of Leuze, which resulted in the defeat of the Prince of Waldeck. This success, however, was of no permanent advantage to France. The distress which prevailed throughout the kingdom was now extreme. The Treasury was

* Prince Eugene was the son of the Count de Soissons, of the House of Savoy, and of a niece of Mazarin. Upon being refused, by Louis XIV., first an abbacy, and next a regiment, he entered the service of the Emperor.

exhausted by the King's prodigalities and the maintenance of four hundred and fifty thousand men in the field. A loan was opened for six millions of funds; offices were created, which financiers were compelled to purchase; considerable donations were demanded of the cities; while the King redoubled his efforts, and made immense preparations for carrying on the war. He marched into Flanders himself at the head of eighty thousand men, with Luxembourg and the Marquis de Boufflers under his orders, whilst Catinat carried on the war in Piedmont. Louis XIV. now had before him his illustrious rival King William, who had come from England to command his army in Flanders. The King in person took Namur, whilst Luxembourg, on the banks of the Méhaigne, covered the siege, and held the forces of William in check. After this and of Catinat, exploit, Louis XIV. quitted the army and resigned the command to Luxembourg, who covered himself with glory at the battle of Steinkerque, in which William was defeated and compelled to retire, a movement which he effected in good order. In the following year, 1693, at Nerwinde, Luxembourg again obtained a signal victory over this prince, but again failed to derive any particular advantage from it. William once more made an admirable retreat, and Louis XIV., who had formerly made so many conquests almost without fighting, could now scarcely achieve the conquest of Flanders after numerous bloody victories. Catinat, no less successful than Luxembourg, was victorious in Piedmont. But all these glorious successes were counterbalanced by the disastrous invasion made by Victor Amadeus into Provence and the fatal battle of La Hogue, in which the French fleet under Tourville was defeated and almost destroyed by an English fleet under Admiral Russell.

4. This ruinous war was still prolonged during three years, during which Europe hurled back on Louis XIV. the evils he had made her suffer. The Dutch seized Pondicherry, and ruined French commerce in the Indies. The English destroyed the French plantations at Saint Domingo, and bombarded Havre, Saint Malo, Calais and Dunkirk, and reduced Dieppe to ashes. Duguay-Trouin and Jean Bart avenged these disasters at the expense of the enemy's maritime commerce, and Commodore Pointis surprised the city or Carthagenæ. These successes, however, but ill repaired the great losses suffered by France. At length, after the ineffectual campaigns of Boufflers on the Rhine and of Vendôme in Catalonia, Louis entered into negotiations for peace. He first of all succeeded, in 1696, in detaching from the League the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, who gave his daughter in marriage to the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis; while in Catalonia, Vendôme, after many successes, achieved the important conquest of Barcelona. These last events, and especially the defection of the Duke of Savoy, hastened the progress of the negotiations, and at length peace was signed at Ryswick on the 20th September, 1697. By this treaty the King of Spain resumed possession of many places in the Low Countries; the

**Victories of
Luxembourg
and of Catinat,
1692-1693.**

**Naval battle
of La Hogue.**

**Peace of
Ryswick, 1697.**

possession of Strasbourg was confirmed to France, but she agreed to restore all the annexations with the exception of Alsace. The Elector Palatine resumed possession of his domains, and the Duke of Lorraine that of his duchy, now diminished by Longwy and Sarrelouis, which remained in the hands of France. Finally, the Dutch restored Pondicherry, and signed an advantageous treaty with France, which kept her colonies and preserved her possessions at Saint Domingo.

5. Charles II., King of Spain, languished in expectation of approaching death. He

Spanish Succession, 1699.

had no children, and the Kings of France and England, and the Emperor Leopold, coveting his domains, had entered into a secret agreement to divide them, when Charles nominated as his successor Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of his eldest sister, Maria Theresa, and second son of the Dauphin of France. If Philip became King of Spain, he was to renounce his eventual rights to the throne of France. Charles II. died in 1700. Louis XIV. knew that to accept this testament was to break the agreement which he had previously signed, and to expose France to a new war with Europe. But notwithstanding this, he accepted the will, recognised the Duke of Anjou as a King under the title of Philip V., and sent him to Spain with the memorable words: "There are no longer any Pyrenees." The Emperor immediately protested; and a year had

scarcely elapsed before Holland, Eng-

land and the Empire had made common cause with him against Louis XIV. This monarch had committed two enormous faults: one in sending to Philip V. letters patent, by which his rights to the throne of France were preserved to him, contrary to the express will of the testator; and the other, in recognising the son of James II. as King of England after his father's death, in spite of a formal clause in the treaty of Ryswick. The Confederate powers immediately made preparations for the terrible war, known in history as the War of Succession, in which the North of Europe, then divided between Peter the



LOUIS XIV.

War of Succession.
1701-1713.

Great and Charles XII., took no part. Louis XIV. and Philip V. had as their allies against this formidable league only the King of Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the Dukes of Parma, Modena and Mantua. Hostilities first commenced in Lombardy, where Prince Eugene commanded the Imperial army of forty thousand men. The Duke of Savoy was opposed to him, having as his seconds in command the illustrious Catinat and Villeroi. The first event of this war was the defeat of the French at Chiari, on the Oglio, after which Catinat, who directed a retreat,

Unfortunate
Campaign in
Piedmont,
1701



EUGENE OF SAVOY.

led the French across the Adda. Winter separated the two armies.

6. In 1702, Eugene surprised Cremona, where Villeroi, who had been commander-in-chief,

Surprise of
Cremona, 1702

was made prisoner. The French speedily retook this city; and the King appointed Vendôme, who was adored by the soldiers, to the command of the army. Vendôme reanimated the courage of his troops, and signalled his arrival amongst them by the victory of Luzara.

Victory of Lu-
zara, 1702.

In the course of this year, the English general, Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, vanquished in Flanders the Duke of Burgundy, heir-presumptive to the Crown, and Marshal Boufflers, and freed the course of the Meuse from the occupation of Spanish troops; while the French and Spanish fleets

French Re-
verses in Flan-
ders, 1702-1703.

were defeated in the port of Vigo, in Galicia, by Admiral Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, who seized the rich galleons of Havana. Villars, however, who commanded as a lieutenant-general a corps in Alsatia, partly counterbalanced the defeat of the Imperialists, under the Prince of Baden, in the battle of Friedlingen. This was followed by the victory of Donauwerth, which Villars, who had been made a marshal of France, gained over the Imperialists in the plains of Hochstett, in concert with the Elector of Bavaria. Tallard was almost at the same time victorious at Spurbach; and the road to Vienna appeared open to the French, but there their successes ceased.

Victories of
Villars.

7. The Duke of Savoy abandoned France, and supported against Philip V. and the Duke of Burgundy, his two sons-in-law, the cause

of the Emperor. Villars was succeeded in his command by the Count de Marsin, on account of a want of concord between him and the Elector of Bavaria, whose troops were united with his own; he was sent to put down the Protestants, who had fled to Cevennes, and who had been driven to revolt by despair. Portugal then broke its alliance with France. The many reverses France had now suffered were speedily followed by a still more terrible blow. Marshal Tallard, the Elector of Bavaria, and Count de Marsin were completely defeated in the battle of Hochstett, or Blenheim, by Eugene and Marlborough; their united armies were destroyed, and Tallard himself was taken prisoner. This unfortunate battle cost the French fifty thousand men and a hundred leagues of country. The enemy advanced into Alsatia, and took Traerbach and Landau. The frontiers had been crossed by the enemy, and every day the war of the Cevennes became more formidable. The Calvinist mountaineers had formed themselves into regular regiments, under the name of Camisards. Louis XIV. so far bent his pride as to treat, as one power treats with another, with their leaders just escaped from the scaffold; and one of them named Cavalier, celebrated for his invincible courage, who had formerly been a butcher's boy, received from the King a pension and a colonel's commission. Villars arranged this necessary pacification.

Defeat of Tallard at Hochstett, 1704.

War of the Camisards, 1702-1704.

In 1704, the English took from Spain the fortress of Gibraltar, and in the same year fought a drawn battle with the French fleet off Malaga. This combat seriously weakened the naval power of France under Louis XIV., and the remains of the fleet sent under Marshal Tessé in the following year to retake Gibraltar was destroyed by the English and by tempests. In 1705, the English under the Earl of Peterborough laid siege to and took Barcelona, where the Archduke Charles was proclaimed King of Spain. Vendôme, in Piedmont, victorious over Eugene at the bridge of Cassano on the Adda, in 1705, alone interrupted the torrent of misfortune which swept over Louis XIV. and Philip V. at this period.

Naval battle off Malaga, 1704.

Battle of Cassano, 1705.

8. The year 1706 was still more fatal to these two monarchs, although the campaign opened in the North and South under the most favourable auspices. Vendôme having gained, in the absence of Eugene, the victory of Calcinato over the Imperials, marched upon Turin, the only important place which remained in the hands of the Duke of Savoy, and laid siege to it. Villars drove before him the Duke of Baden as far as the German frontier; but in Flanders Villeroi was completely defeated by Marlborough at Ramilies. The loss on the side of the French was frightful; twenty thousand were slain or taken prisoners. The whole of Spanish Flanders was lost; Marlborough entered Brussels in triumph, and Menin surrendered. The King now transferred Vendôme from Italy to Flanders, and this measure was the cause of a new and terrible disaster. Eugene had already

Defeat of Villeroi at Ramilies, 1706.

crossed the Po, in spite of the French army which closed against him the road to Turin, and effected at Asti his junction with the Duke of Savoy. Marshal Marsin had succeeded Vendôme in the command of the army, with which was the Duke of Orleans, and being unable to check the progress of Eugene, had joined La Feuillade before Turin. Eugene threw himself upon the French before the French entrenchments, and carried them. **Bout of the French before Turin, 1706.** Marshal Marsin was killed; the French troops were dispersed; and the military chest, together with a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Milanese territory, Mantua, and consequently the kingdom of Naples, were lost for Philip V. Eugene marched unopposed upon France; whilst Lord Galway took possession of Madrid, where he proclaimed the Archduke.

9. The Emperor Leopold had died in the preceding year; but his son and successor, Joseph I., carried on the war with vigour. France, without allies, lay open to the enemy; when Villars, re-appointed to the command-in-chief of the army, took the lines of Stalhoffen, and advanced into Germany; but being unsupported, he was compelled to retreat and re-enter France. **Victory of Berwick at Almanza, 1707.** Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II., gained in Spain the battle of Almanza, which reopened to Philip V. the road to his capital; and Marshal Tessé forced the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Toulon.

The army of Flanders, under the orders of the Duke of Vendôme, amounting to a hundred thousand men, was the last hope of France. Louis XIV. appointed his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, to command it jointly with Vendôme. An unfortunate misunderstanding divided the two generals, and the result was the defeat of Oudenarde and the capture of Lille, in spite of the gallant defence made by Boufflers. **Battle of Oudenarde, Capture of Lille, 1709.** The enemy was allowed to take Ghent and Bruges, and all its military posts in succession. The road to Paris was now unprotected, and a Dutch corps, advancing as far as Versailles, took prisoner on the bridge of Sèvres the King's Master of the Horse, whom it mistook for the Dauphin.

10. The war had exhausted all the resources of France, and the severe winter of 1709 brought the general misery to its greatest depth. **Distress in France, 1709.** The people in many provinces perished of famine; revolts broke out in every direction; and payment of the taxes was refused. Louis XIV. sent to propose peace to the Dutch, whom he had formerly so cruelly humiliated, but his envoy, the President Rouillé, was received in Holland with haughtiness and contempt. **Negotiations for Peace.** The Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, Prince Eugene and Marlborough scornfully rejected the propositions of Louis XIV., who offered to abandon the monarchy of Spain, and to grant to the Dutch a Barrier which should separate them from France. He demanded that the King should give up Alsatia and a part of

Flanders, and insisted that he should assist them against his grandson. The President Rouillé was ordered to convey this



CAPTURE OF MARSHAL TALLARD AT BLENHEIM.

ultimatum to Louis XIV., and to quit Holland within four-and-twenty hours. By the King's orders, the extravagant demands of the enemy were published throughout the kingdom; whereupon indignation aroused patriotism, and France redoubled its efforts;

but, on the other hand, Villars lost in Flanders, against Eugene and Marlborough united, the sanguinary battle of Malplaquet. The result was that many strong places fell into the hands of the allies: whilst in Spain, the defeat of Saragossa compelled Philip a second time to fly from his capital and to traverse his kingdom as a fugitive. At this juncture, unexpected events occurred to help France. Vendôme reappeared in Spain, where his name effected prodigies. His victory of Villaviciosa destroyed the army of the Archduke Charles, and saved the crown of Philip V. The death of the Emperor Joseph at this time also proved of considerable assistance to France. The Archduke Charles, his brother, the competitor of Philip V., obtained the Imperial Crown, and incurred in his turn the reproach of aspiring to universal monarchy. From this time, England was no longer interested in supporting his claims to the throne of Spain, and agreed to a truce with France. Marlborough was recalled, and the Duke of Ormond, his successor, received orders to remain neutral. Eugene, however, continued his career of conquest in Flanders. He was master of Bouchain and Quesnoy; and between him and Paris there was no strong fortress. Louis saw his capital threatened, and was overwhelmed with domestic troubles, for in the space of a year he lost the Dauphin, his son, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son. Vendôme died in Spain. The Court and the kingdom were paralysed with fear, when Marshal Villars saved his country by carrying

Victory of Villaviciosa, 1711.

Prince Eugene's entrenched camp at Denain, and defeating the combined dukes and Imperial troops under this prince and the Duke of Albemarle. Having entered Denain as a victor, Villars immediately sent the Count de Broglio to Marchiennes, whence the enemy procured his provisions and munitions of war, whilst he himself pursued the vanquished along the Scheldt. The bridges broke down under the crowds of fugitives; all were taken or slain; and Eugene himself could not cross the stream. Marchiennes, Douai and Quesnoy successively surrendered, and the frontiers were secured against attack.

Victory of Villars at Denain, 1712.

11. This great success hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed at Utrecht in 1713. Its principal provisions were, that Philip V. should be acknowledged as King of Spain, but that his monarchy should be dismembered. Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King. The English obtained Minorca and Gibraltar; France also ceding to them Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and St. Christopher. Louis XIV. promised to demolish the port of Dunkirk; abandoned a portion of his conquests in the Low Countries; and recovered Lille, Aire, Béthune and Saint-Venant. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognised as King of Prussia, and obtained the upper Guelderland, the principality of Neufchâtel, and many other districts. The Emperor Charles VI. refused at first to join in this

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peace, but Villars forced him to do so by crossing the Rhine; and a preliminary treaty was signed between Villars and Prince Eugene at Rastadt; peace being, definitively concluded on the 7th September following at Baden, between France, the Emperor and the Empire. By this peace, the Emperor obtained the Low Countries, the Milanese and the Kingdom of Naples, detached from the monarchy of Spain; and also recovered Fribourg and all the forts on the right bank of the Rhine. France retained Landau and the left bank of the Rhine. The Elector of Bavaria was re-established in his rights and dignities. All the sovereign Princes of the Empire recovered their States. Holland obtained, by a third and final treaty, which was signed in 1715, the right of garrisoning many places in the Low Countries which France restored to it; but it retained the principality of Orange, with respect to which the House of Nassau had ceded its rights to that of Brandenburg. Such were the results of this disastrous war of twelve years' duration. France preserved its frontiers by the peace of Utrecht; but its immense sacrifices had opened an abyss in which the monarchy was finally engulfed.

To the close of his long life, the King showed himself determined to set, for the sake of his family, his own personal will above the laws of the kingdom and every moral consideration. He married his natural daughter, Mademoiselle de Blois, to his nephew, Philip of Orleans, afterwards Regent; and he caused his sons by Madame de Montespan—the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse—to be legitimated, giving them precedence over all the first nobles of the kingdom; and, by an edict issued in 1714, the right of succession to the throne in default of legitimate princes.

12. The King was now growing feebler day by day. His great grandson, who was to succeed him on the throne, was only five years of age, and the regency would devolve upon his nephew, Philip of Orleans. Anxious with respect to the future prospects of the two princes, whom she had brought up, Madame de Maintenon persuaded the King to make a will, which limited the power of the regent by the establishment of a council, of which the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, his sons by Madame de Montespan, were to be members. Louis XIV. himself had little confidence that obedience would be paid to this testament, which he confided to the Parliament, with orders that it was not to be opened before his death.

About the beginning of August, 1715, the King complained of sciatica in the leg, which was found to be an incurable wound. On the 14th, the malady declared itself. Louis nevertheless continued to work in his bed, rising from time to time. On August 24th, he confessed himself to Father Tellier, and on the following day, feeling very ill, he received extreme unction from Cardinal Rohan. From this time he languished, calmly contemplating his end, till September 1st, when he expired at Versailles, in his seventy-seventh year, after a reign—the longest recorded in history—of seventy-two.

Peace of
Baden, 1714.

Will of the
King.

Death of Louis
XIV, 1715.

Madame de

Maintenon. eighty-two years of age, retired to the house of St. Cyr, which she had founded for the education of three hundred daughters of the nobility of slender fortune, and she remained there till her death.



MADAME DE MAINTENON.



CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS XV.; REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND MINISTRY OF THE DUC DE BOURBON, 1715-1726.

1. REJECTION OF THE KING'S WILL: COUNCIL OF REGENCY: FIRST ACTS OF THE REGENCY: THE SEVEN COUNCILS OF STATE. 2. PARTIES IN FRANCE: ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND: THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE. 3. DISORDER OF FINANCES: DEPLORABLE EXPEDIENTS FOR RAISING MONEY: LAW'S PROJECTS: ESTABLISHMENT OF A BANK. 4. THE REGENT'S SUPPORT OF LAW: SUPPRESSION OF THE COUNCILS: CONSPIRACY OF CELLAMARE. 5. DISTURBANCES IN BRITTANY: WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN: ADHESION OF PHILIP V. TO THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE: CREATION OF THE KINGDOM OF SARDINIA. 6. LAW'S FINANCIAL SYSTEM: RUINOUS SPECULATION: TEMPORARY PROSPERITY OF THE GOVERNMENT. 7. FALL OF LAW'S SYSTEM: RECALL OF D'AGUESSEAU: EXILE OF THE PARLIAMENT: INSPECTION OF STATE BONDS. 8. PESTILENCE IN PROVENÇE: MAJORITY OF LOUIS XV.: DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS. 9. MINISTRY OF THE DUC DE BOURBON: MARRIAGE OF LOUIS XV.: PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI.: TREATY OF HANOVER. 10. DISMISSAL OF THE DUC DE BOURBON: ASSUMPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT BY THE KING.

I. **I**N appointing his nephew, Philip of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom, by his will, Louis XIV. had merely bestowed upon him a title, without any real power. He separated the regency from the tutorship of the young King, which, together with the command of the royal household troops, was confided to the Duke of Maine. A council of regency, formed of courtiers and former ministers, and in which the Duke of Orleans was only to have a deliberative voice, was to exercise the real sovereign authority. On the day following the late King's death, the Duke of Orleans presented himself before the parliament, accompanied by the princes, the peers of the kingdom, and a numerous following of courtiers and officials, whom he had gained over to his interests. In a very

*Rejection of
the King's
will.*

skilful harangue, the Duke displayed his anxiety to receive from the parliament the title to which, by his birth, he had a right; and then, after having given this assembly to understand that he would attend to their suggestions, he read the will. The greater number of the magistrates were devoted to the Duke, and the testament was unanimously set aside. The parliament acknowledged the Duke as Regent of the kingdom, with full power and liberty to compose the council of regency as he might think proper.

Council of Regency.

Orleans summoned to it those whom Louis XIV. had selected, with the addition of the Duc de Saint-Simon, and de Cheverny, formerly Bishop of Troyes. The Duke of Maine retained the superintendence of the education of Louis XV., who was being brought up at Vincennes; but he was deprived of the command of the household troops. The various ministries were suppressed, the Regent substituting for them six distinct councils; that of conscience, and those of war, finance, marine, foreign and home affairs, which were presided over by Cardinal de Noailles, Marshal Villars, the Duc de Noailles, Marshal d'Estrées, Marshal Uxelles, and the Duc d'Antin. To these a seventh was subsequently added, entitled the council of commerce.

First Acts of the Regency.

The Regent reserved to himself personally the superintendence of the Academy of Sciences. His first measures were generally approved of. He ordered judicial inquiries into the conduct of the financiers; fixed the value, which had hitherto been vacillating, of the various gold and silver coins; inspected the royal prisons, and revoked the arbitrary judgments passed by Louis XIV. against many who had unfortunately offended him, and amongst whom was the celebrated Fénélon. It was under these happy auspices that his government commenced.

2. The influential men were divided into two parties: the one, having at its head Marshal Villeroy, the young monarch's governor faithful to the policy of Louis XIV., wished to maintain a strict alliance with Spain, then governed by the famous Cardinal Alberoni, who, from being a simple country curé, had risen to be the first minister of Philip V.; whilst the other inclined to an alliance with England. Lord Stair, the English ambassador, with the assistance of Dubois, the minister of the Regent's debaucheries, drew him into this alliance, and made him purchase it by the expulsion of the Pretender, the son of James II., and the demolition of the port of Mardick, which Louis XIV. had intended to be a substitute for that of Dunkirk. A triple alliance was formed

Alliance between England and Holland, 1717. Quadruple Alliance, 1719.

between France, England and Holland. In the following year, these three powers signed, conjointly with the Emperor, a new treaty, known by the name of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance; and Spain was summoned to accede to it within three months. The Regent, always anxious on the subject of the pretensions of Philip V. to the throne of France and the intrigues of Alberoni, had in the heart of his kingdom many enemies, some of whom had been roused against him by the force of

circumstances, and others by the errors of his government and his personal misconduct. His partiality for England, and the rigorous measures taken by him against the legitimated princes, whom he had deprived of the rank of princes of the blood at the request of the dukes and peers, had alienated from him their numerous partisans, as well as those who adhered to the policy of Louis XIV. But nothing caused so wide-spread a feeling of anger against the Regent as his financial operations.

3. The public debt left by Louis XIV. amounted to nearly five milliards of our present money; the revenues were consumed three years in advance, and all credit was destroyed. At first the Regent had recourse to inquiries into the proceedings of the farmers-general of taxes, and a chamber of justice was appointed to search out and prosecute this species of delinquents. Thousands were denounced as having been guilty of peculation, and their property was declared confiscated to the crown by the chamber, a portion being allotted to the informer in every case as a reward. To such a length was this system carried that to be rich was sufficient to render a man liable to suspicion and accusation; but ultimately universal disgust was felt that the liberty of robbing should have been merely transferred from one set of hands to another, and the chamber of justice fell into well-deserved contempt. Recourse was also had to other means equally arbitrary and violent. The contracts concluded with the former government were annulled; the rents, as well as all pensions amounting to more than six hundred livres, were reduced to one-half; and a multitude of offices and privileges created and sold by the late government were pitilessly suppressed, without any return of the price which had been paid for them. The reminting of the coin appeared to offer to the government immense advantages, and it was ordered; but this proceeding failed in producing the profit anticipated by those who suggested it, and had the effect of destroying confidence, checking the circulation of specie, and depreciating the gold coin of the kingdom abroad. A third financial operation had for its object a general review of the public funded property, of which the amount was unknown, and which it was resolved to turn into a single species of state bonds. Six hundred millions were examined, which were reduced by law to two hundred and fifty millions, bearing interest at four per cent., of which only one hundred and ninety-five were delivered to the owners of the examined public funds. After these violent measures, the Duc de Noailles had recourse to others likely to corrupt the public mind, and resorted to lotteries. The crisis, however, was by no means less imminent, when, in the midst of this general confusion of affairs the Scotchman Law began to rise into notice. This adventurer, who eventually became so famous, and who united to high financial conceptions errors which were the result of practical inexperience, enticed the Regent by the novelty of his theories, detailed, as they were, with great clearness. At first, however in

Disorder of
Finances, 1716.

Expedients
for raising
Money, 1718.

Law's pro-
jects.

1716, his genius was limited to operations with a bank of which the funds, divided into twelve hundred shares, amounted only to six millions. Law obtained the monopoly of it for twenty years. It managed the financial business of private persons, discounted bills of exchange, received deposits, and issued notes payable at sight and in coin of a fixed amount. It had a prodigious success, and caused the current of commerce once more to flow. The Regent, anxious to make the government share in the profits of this bank, ordered that its notes should be received in payment of taxes, and wished to be himself one of its directors.

4. Law, however, encountered a lively opposition, and especially from the Parliament. His most formidable adversaries, the Chancellor d'Aguesseau and the Duc de Noailles, had been dismissed, and the former Lieutenant of Police. D'Argenson, and Dubois, were at the head of affairs, when the Regent resolved to strike a decisive blow at once against the enemies of Law and the legitimated Princes. Accordingly, he issued letters patent which deprived the Parliament of the right of remonstrating with respect to matters of finance and policy; and a decree, by which the superintendence of the education of the King was taken from the Duke of Maine and given to his nephew and enemy the Duke of Bourbon, a prince of depraved manners, singularly avaricious, and of the most limited intellect. The Councils established by the Duke of Orleans at the commencement of the Regency were suppressed, and replaced by Departments, at the head of which he placed Secretaries of State, who were more directly dependent on himself. A conspiracy, which was supported by the Duke and Duchess of Maine, was set on foot by the Spanish Ambassador, the Prince of Cellamare, by order of Cardinal Alberoni, with the view of detaching Louis XV. from the Quadruple Alliance, and depriving the Duke of Orleans of the Regency. The plot, however, was discovered by Dubois, through the agency of a clerk in the Spanish office, and the Spanish Ambassador was sent to Blois to await the orders of his Court, while the Duke and Duchess of Maine were arrested and imprisoned. But on a free acknowledgement of their fault, the Regent as frankly forgave them: a magnanimous forgetfulness of injuries was his noblest quality; nevertheless, there was but one feeling throughout France and Europe respecting the bad faith of the Spanish Ambassador, and war with Philip V. was resolved on.

5. Disturbances now broke out in Brittany, which was still, to a very great extent, uncultivated, and where there languished a poor and ignorant population in subjection to five or six thousand gentlemen. The latter, indignant at the domineering spirit of the governor of the province, Marshal de Montesquiou, resisted some demands of the government, and were supported in their resistance by the Parliament. Alberoni saw in these sparks of revolt the hope of a powerful diversion in favour of Philip V., and supported the leaders in their factious projects.

The latter signed an agreement of armed confederacy, and called the Spanish troops to their aid; but the lower classes refused to have anything to do with the quarrel. The Government had no difficulty in stifling the revolt; and when the Spanish fleet, commanded by the Duke of Ormond, appeared within sight of the coasts of Brittany, it found them lined with troops, and defended by a population faithful to the Government. In the meantime, Marshal Berwick had entered Spain, and not only took a great number of places, but destroyed the Spanish navy in its ports. About the same time, sixteen thousand Imperial troops led into Sicily by General Mercy, drove the Spaniards from that island into which an army of invasion had been sent by Alberoni in the previous year. Crushed by these numerous reverses, Alberoni saw that he was lost. In vain he threatened the French Government with an alliance between Spain, England and Austria. His disgrace was resolved on, and demanded, by the Regent; and in December, 1719, Philip V. signed a decree which ordered him to quit Madrid within eight days. The King of Spain also sent in his adhesion to the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, and it was signed by his Minister in February, 1720, at the Hague. By this Treaty, the Emperor Charles VI. renounced the Spanish monarchy, and Philip V. abandoned all the States which, by the Peace of Rastadt, had been severed from it. The Emperor undertook to bestow the sovereignty of Tuscany on Don Carlos, the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, after the death, which was considered imminent, of the last of the Medici. By the same treaty, Sicily was given to the House of Austria, the Duke of Savoy receiving in exchange for it Sardinia, which was raised to the rank of a kingdom. The Duke of Orleans now found himself, for a time, the arbiter of Europe. This powerful influence was partly due to the ephemeral but prodigious success of the system established by Law, which, adopted by the Regent, enjoyed the highest degree of public favour, and placed immense pecuniary resources in the hands of the Government.

6. Law's Bank had been declared the Royal Bank at the close of the year 1718. It had acquired the privileges belonging to the old India Company, which, in addition to vast possessions in Louisiana, possessed the sole right of trading with Africa and Asia; and the Government also bestowed on it the monopoly in tobacco, the excise duties of Alsatia and Franche-Comté, the profit derivable from the coinage of money, and lastly, collection of the revenue. The current coin was depreciated by subjecting it to fifty consecutive variations, whilst the bank-notes alone appeared to be invariable in value, and thus superior to the money value which they represented. Believing that this was really the case, a credulous multitude eagerly purchased shares in Law's Company, and exchanged its gold for his bank-notes. This gold served to reimburse the

creditors of the State, and they, embarrassed by their capital and full of a blind confidence, readily exchanged it in their turn for shares, the value of which increased in proportion to the number of

Ruinous Speculation. purchasers. The public credulity soon reached its height, and eighteen thousand livres were given for a share the original value of which was no more than five hundred.

This excitement of speculation, however, scandalous as it was, had some favourable effects. The rehabilitation of much decried paper-money gave an unusual impulse to commerce and industry; the amount of manufactures increased by three-fifths, agriculture and the treasury were enriched by the increased consumption of every species of produce. Everything was easy to the Government when it had the gold of the kingdom at its command. French diplomacy became dominant, and the navy of France was restored to a state in which it would be able to protect French commerce. The Regency annexed colonies to the mother-country, and joined to it the Isle of France, which was coveted by the English. The foundation of New Orleans, on the banks of the Mississippi, dates from this period.

7. At the commencement of 1720, Law found himself at the height of his fortune, and after having abjured the Protestant faith, was made Comptroller-General; but from this time dates his fall.

Fall of Law's System. His principal error had been, that he looked upon paper-money as a perfect equivalent for coin, and the fatal consequences of this error had been aggravated by the

ignorance and cupidity of the Government. Law was not allowed to regulate the movements of his system; a frightful mass of notes, out of all proportion with the coin of France, was manufactured and launched into circulation in spite of his remonstrances. It amounted to the nominal value of many thousand millions, and it was soon perceived with terror that it would be impossible to redeem it by actual coin. On May 21st there appeared an edict which reduced the shares in the Company to half their value. From this moment all illusion with respect to the Company was at an end. Law was arrested, and summoned to give in his accounts, which he did with an admirable clearness which confounded his enemies. The direction of the Bank and of the Company was handed over to Law's old opponent, the Chancellor d'Aguesseau.

Recall of d'Aguesseau, 1720. (1720). But this illustrious man possessed neither genius nor power sufficient to quell the storm, and mis-

fortunes followed each other in rapid succession. The pestilence which broke out in France closed almost all ports to French vessels, and threw upon the Company enormous losses, the discredit into which it had fallen being at the same time even more injurious to it. At length the Parliament rejected without deliberation the last edicts which afforded any prospects of the Bank's

Exile of the Parliament. solvency; whereupon Government avenged itself by exiling the Parliament in a body to Pontoise, where it remained until its recall to Paris in 1722.

Such was the depreciation of the money value of the Bank notes

and the Company's shares, that in September, 1720, nine shares, which a year previously had been worth sixty thousand livres, were purchased for a gold mark. Law then quitted France and retired to Venice, abandoning to the Regent all his fortune, with the exception of five hundred thousand crowns, which he had brought with him. The Government endeavoured, by means of a number of violent edicts, to restore to the notes of the Bank a value which nothing but credit could have made them sustain; but these methods were of no avail, and in 1721 the Government had again recourse to the operation of examination, to ascertain the real amount of the State debt and the titles of its creditors. Of two thousand two hundred millions worth of paper securities, one-third was declared null, whilst those that remained were reduced to a value much below that which they nominally bore. The professional stockjobbers, who had made enormous profits, were violently deprived of the larger portion of their gains. The debts which had to be liquidated amounted to seventeen hundred millions, and the State found itself much more in debt than it had been at the death of Louis XIV.

8. The pestilence at this time (1720—1721) was causing frightful ravages in Provence. The number of its victims is unknown; but the four cities of Marseilles, Arles, Aix and Toulon alone lost seventy-nine thousand five hundred of their inhabitants.

Louis XV. was declared of age by the Parliament in January, 1723. On the attainment of the King's majority, the infamous Dubois, who had been made a Cardinal by Pope Innocent XIII. for procuring the recognition of the Bull Unigenitus of Clement XI. in France—a document which most French Churchmen considered prejudicial to the liberties of the Gallican Church—was made prime minister, but dying shortly after his elevation, he was succeeded in office by the late Regent, who himself died of apoplexy in December, 1723. The Duke of Bourbon then became first minister of the Crown. Before his death, the Duke of Orleans had projected a marriage between the King and the Infanta of Spain, a child of four years of age, and sent his own daughter to Spain as the future wife of the Prince of the Asturias.

9. Three persons only constituted the King's Council; and these were the Duke of Bourbon, Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, and Marshal Villars. The first laws made under the authority of this Ministry were both foolish and wicked. The legal value of the coin was reduced to one-half, and the rate of interest to the *denier trente*. After a time, the disastrous effects of this measure were perceived, and after having plunged the kingdom into confusion it was repealed. Heavy taxes of various kinds were levied throughout the kingdom, and barbarous laws were enacted against the Protestants. Through a jealous hatred of the House of Orleans, and the fear that it might succeed to the Crown, if the King should die without a direct heir, the

Inspection of
State Bonds,
1721.

Pestilence
in Provence,
1720-1721.

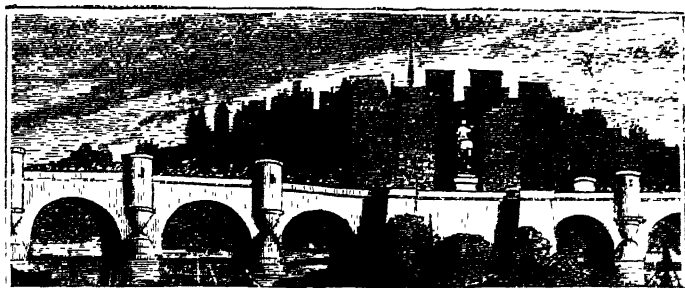
Majority of
Louis XV.,
1723.

Ministry of
the Duke of
Bourbon,
1724.

Duke of Bourbon broke off the marriage which had been projected between King and the the Infanta of Spain, whom he sent back to her own country, substituting for her Maria Leczinski, the daughter of Stanislaus, formerly crowned King of Poland by Charles XII., and who, stripped of his royal state, lived in obscurity at Weissemberg. This affront was keenly felt in Spain, when Philip V. learnt the rupture of the projected marriage between his daughter and Louis XV. At this news, his anger was extreme; and he immediately sent away the two daughters of the Regent, one of whom was the widow of his son, Louis, who had died the year before of the small-pox, whilst the other, Mademoiselle de Beaujolais, had been intended to be the wife of the Infant Don Carlos. This was too little to satisfy his vengeance, and he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Charles VI., who was irritated at the opposition shown by the Powers to his Pragmatic Sanction, a law by which, in default of leaving male children, he appointed his daughter, Maria-Theresa, to succeed him. Alarmed at this treaty, France, England and Prussia signed, in 1725, that of Hanover, the basis of which was a neutral guarantee and alliance.

10. In the following year, the misery of the people was so great, and the outcries against the Government so fierce and frequent, that it was found necessary to dismiss the Duke of Bourbon from office. The King declared that henceforth he would have no First Minister, and would hold the reins of government in his own hand.





CHAPTER VIII.

REIGN OF LOUIS XV. CONTINUED: FROM THE MINISTRY OF FLEURY TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1726—1757.

1. CONGRESS AT SOISSONS: ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN: RUPTURE OF PEACE: WAR FOR POLAND. 2. BATTLES OF PARMA AND GUASTALLA: TREATY OF VIENNA: LORRAINE ACQUIRED BY FRANCE; TROUBLES IN CORSICA. 3. EUROPEAN WAR FOR AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION: FREDERICK II. OF PRUSSIA INVADES SILESIA: FIRST HOSTILITIES WITH FRANCE. 4. SUCCESS OF THE ARMS OF MARIA THERESA: BATTLE OF DETTINGEN: FRENCH EVACUATION OF BAVARIA: TREATY OF WORMS. 5. CAMPAIGN OF 1744: MILITARY OPERATIONS: DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII. 6. CAMPAIGN OF 1745: VICTORY OF MARSHAL SAXE AT FONTENAY: MILITARY OPERATIONS IN INDIA: TAKING OF MADRAS. 7. BATTLE OF LAWFIELD: PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. 8. ROYAL EDICTS: RELIGIOUS QUARRELS IN FRANCE: BIRTH OF THE DUKE OF BERRI: SUPPRESSION OF THE COURTS OF INQUESTS AND REQUESTS. 9. ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE KING: INFLUENCE OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR. 10. WAR IN INDIA BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH COMPANIES: DUPLEX AND CLIVE: CONVENTION OF MADRAS. 11. THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA: FIRST HOSTILITIES: DEFEAT OF GENERAL BRADDOCK: ARBITRARY MEASURES OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

1. **A**LTHOUGH Louis XV. had declared, on the dismissal of the Duke of Bourbon, that he would no longer have a First Minister, the functions of this office were virtually discharged by his old tutor Fleury, who had acquired a great ascendancy over the King. Averse to war, Fleury, who had been made a Cardinal in 1726, used his utmost endeavours to maintain peace. A general congress was opened at Soissons in 1728, but was dissolved in the following year without having achieved any practical result. Whilst the deputies of the several Powers were discoursing, Fleury was negotiating. He

Congress at
Soissons,
1728.

formed an alliance between Spain and France, and, in 1731, fresh treaties, entered into at Vienna between France, the Emperor, Spain and Holland, guaranteed to Charles VI. the execution of his Pragmatic Sanction in favour of his daughter; to Don Carlos, the possession of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and the succession to Tuscany. But, in spite of all his efforts, peace was broken, in consequence of the death of Augustus I., Elector of Saxony

**Rupture of
Peace, 1733.**

and King of Poland, in 1733. This Prince had been raised to the throne of Poland when Charles XII. had ceased to maintain on it Stanislaus Leczinski. The latter, father-in-law to Louis XV., now conceived the hope of recovering the sceptre which he had lost. He proceeded in disguise to Warsaw, and was immediately proclaimed king there. But the Czarina, Anna of Russia, caused the election of Frederick Augustus, the son of Augustus I. This Prince guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., who assisted him with troops; whilst France could only assist Stanislaus, besieged by the Russians at Dantzic, with fifteen hundred French soldiers. Dantzic capitulated,

**War for
Poland.**

and Stanislaus escaped through the midst of a thousand perils. Louis XV. avenged himself on the Emperor by seizing Lorraine. He also formed an alliance with Spain and Savoy, the throne of which had been abdicated by Victor Amadeus, and was now possessed by his son Charles Emmanuel III. Berwick and Villars led armies into Germany and Italy. Berwick took the fortress of Kehl, and Milan fell before the arms of Villars. In the course of the following year, the careers of these two illustrious generals came to a close.

2. The Duke of Noailles and the Marquis of Asfeld replaced Berwick, whilst Marshal Coigny and the Count de Broglie succeeded Villars in the command of the army of Italy. Don Carlos, the son of Philip V., seized Naples and Sicily; and the

**Battles of
Parma and
Guastalla.
Treaty of
Vienna, 1738.**

French troops, commanded by the Marquis of Asfeld, took Philipsbourg in the very face of Prince Eugene. These successes were followed by the battle of Parma, in which Coigny was the victor, and that of Guastalla, which was won by Marshal Broglie. The peace proposed in 1735, when Prince Eugene died, was concluded on the following conditions. Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, receiving in exchange the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which were to revert to France. The Duke of Lorraine, Francis Etienne, received in exchange for those duchies, that of Tuscany. Don Carlos, renouncing his claim to Naples and Sicily, obtained them from the Emperor, when he was crowned King. Charles VI. resumed possession of Milan and Mantua, and France formally accepted his Pragmatic Sanction, solemnly engaging to defend it against all. This treaty was not signed until 1738, and was not agreed to by Spain until 1739. During these negotiations, great disturbances broke out in the island of Corsica, then possessed by the Genoese, which led to its annexation to France. The cruel tyranny of the Genoese raised a revolt in this island, the Corsicans appealed for assistance to the

French, who invaded the island, and soon afterwards evacuated it without having derived any advantage from their expedition.

3. The Emperor Charles VI. died in 1740, in the confident hope that his daughter, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, would inherit his States. But he had scarcely closed his eyes when a crowd of princes put forward pretensions to his vast possessions. Amongst these the

foremost were Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Saxony, Augustus III., who claimed the whole inheritance, the one as the descendant of a daughter of Ferdinand I., and the other as the husband of the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph. The King of Spain, Philip V., revived absolute claims to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. The King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel, claimed the duchy of Milan: and, finally, Frederick II., King of Prussia, sought to obtain Silesia, which belonged, he said, by the right of reversion, to the Electors of Brandenburg. This prince first of all launched his battalions upon this province, and then bade Maria Theresa surrender it to him, promising her, in case she complied, to afford her his support. Maria Theresa refused, and Frederick

thereupon took Breslau, gained in 1741 the battle of Molwitz, and reduced the greater part of Silesia to subjection. France was solemnly engaged to support the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., but the King's Council, pretending fear lest the House of Austria should become too powerful, devised a shameful subterfuge by which it might reconcile hostile projects with its engagements. It did not declare war directly against the daughter of Charles VI., but it concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, the principal claimant to the succession of Charles and the Imperial crown. Spain, which coveted the Austrian possessions in Italy, entered into this alliance, which was also joined successively by the Kings of Prussia, Sardinia and Poland. The partition to be made was thus arranged. Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, was to have the imperial crown, the kingdom of Bohemia, Upper Austria and the Tyrol; the Elector of Saxony, Moravia and Upper Silesia—the rest of this latter province was to be given to the King of Prussia; and, finally, the Austrian possessions in Italy were to be given to the King of Spain, as an establishment for the Infant Don Philip. To Maria Theresa, who had married Francis de Lorraine, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, were left Hungary, the Low Countries and Lower Austria. This Princess had no other ally than George II., Elector of Hanover and King of England. Two French armies, each forty thousand strong, entered Germany. The war commenced by great successes in favour of the allied powers. The Elector of Bavaria and the French threatened Vienna. Maurice of Saxony, then a lieutenant-general in the service of France, and the celebrated Chevert took possession of Prague, where the Elector of Bavaria was proclaimed King of Bohemia. A month afterwards, he was elected Emperor at Frankfort, by the name of Charles VII.

4. In the meantime, Maria Theresa convoked the States of Hungary; and, in response to her appeal, the Hungarian nobles, drawing their swords exclaimed, "We will die for our Sovereign, Maria Theresa." Prompt results followed these words. An army was raised for her, which retook Austria, invaded Bavaria, forced the Marquis de Ségur to capitulate at Lintz, and deprived the Elector of all his States. The King of Sardinia had already renounced the League, and declared in favour of Maria Theresa. The King of Prussia in his turn treated with her, on obtaining the cession of Silesia; and the French found themselves reduced in Bohemia to thirty thousand men, shut in between two armies. Prague was blockaded by the Austrians, and it was ultimately evacuated by the French, who retreated to Egra. Marshal Noailles received orders to watch on the Main the English and Hanoverian armies commanded by Lord Stair, and with which were also the English Sovereign, George II., and his son, the Duke of Cumberland. The English troops were sorely pressed by famine and harassed by the movements of the Marshal, who attacked them at Dettingen, 1743. A sanguinary engagement ensued; the Marshal was compelled to retreat, and the English remained masters of the field of battle. In the meantime, Marshal Broglie had been unable to maintain his position on the Danube against Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the Grand Duke Francis. Bavaria was evacuated, and it was impossible for Marshal Noailles, after Broglie's retreat, to maintain his position in Franconia, where he had, during two months, held the army of the allies in check. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign of 1743, which carried the war to the frontiers of France.

The Emperor Charles VII. no longer possessed any states, and he signed a treaty by which he renounced all his pretensions to Austria, engaging himself, as well as the Empire, to remain neutral during the continuance of the war, and leaving his hereditary possession, Bavaria, until a general peace, in the hands of Maria Theresa, whom he had endeavoured to despoil, and who, by the Treaty of Worms, strengthened her alliance with England and the King of Sardinia.

5. The year 1744 saw the whole of Europe taking part in the war. Spain united her navy with that of France, and the two fleets, under Admiral Court and Joseph de Navaro, attacked Admiral Matthews, who was blockading the port of Toulon. The result was a drawn battle. Genoa, despoiled by the Treaty of Worms, declared itself against Austria; and Frederick II., anxious with respect to the safety of Silesia, promised to retake the field. According to the plan of campaign adopted by France, the chief effort was to be directed against the Low Countries, and a great part of Flanders had already been taken, when information was received that Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of eighty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine at Spire, that he had taken the Lines of Wissembourg, and

Success of
the arms of
Maria
Theresa.

Battle of
Dettingen,
1743.

Treaty of
Worms, 1743.

Campaign
of 1744.

had repulsed Marshal de Coigny, who had been ordered to remain on the defensive in A'sace. It was now necessary to change the plan of the campaign, and accordingly Marshal Noailles moved



THE EMPRESS MARIA THERESA.

upon the Rhine. Frederick now made a fresh expedition into Bohemia and Moravia, and within twelve days had forced the garrison of Prague, consisting of eighteen thousand men, to capitulate. Prince Charles left the Rhine in all haste, but was not able to prevent the evacuation of Bavaria by the Austrians and the in-

vasion of Piedmont by the Prince and Don Philip. The Emperor, Charles VII., for a third time entered Munich, his capital, worn out by chagrin and sickness, and died there in the following year. His son, Maximilian Joseph, entered into negotiation with Maria Theresa, and promised his support to the Grand Duke Francis, her husband, whom she hoped to raise to the Imperial throne. Louis XV., irritated at this pretention, continued the war.

6. He resolved to conduct the campaign with the greatest activity in Italy and Flanders, and to keep his army in Germany on the defensive. Marshal Saxe invested Tournay, which was defended by a Dutch garrison; and an English army, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, made great efforts to raise the siege. In a battle that ensued near the village of Fontenoy, the English, feebly supported by their Dutch and Austrian auxiliaries, were completely defeated. Nine thousand English, wounded or slain, remained on the field of battle. A few days later, Tournay was taken, whilst almost the whole of Flanders was occupied, and its principal towns and cities became the prize of this important victory.

The French arms were no less fortunate in Italy under Marshal Noailles and the Infant Don Philip. All the Austrian possessions in Italy fell into the hands of the French, with the exception of a few fortresses, and the King of Sardinia found himself reduced to his capital. In Germany, however, the Austrians made head against the French, and recovered Frankfort, where, on September 15, the Grand Duke Francis was proclaimed Emperor. The King of Prussia had, three months previously, obtained a great victory at Friedburg; and the cession of the province of Glatz, which was annexed to Silesia, rendered this Monarch neutral. Germany, Flanders and Italy continued to be the scenes of a desperate war. The Austrians drove the French from Piedmont, seized Genoa, and invaded Provence. Genoa, subjected by them to a yoke of iron, heroically threw it off; and, when it was again besieged, Boufflers and Richelieu, flying successively to its assistance, secured its safety. Marshal Belle Isle forced the Austrians to evacuate Provence, and Maurice of Saxony, victorious over Prince Charles at Rocoux, made the conquest of Brabant (1747). The terrors of this sanguinary war also extended to the East. La

Military operations in India. Bourdonnais, Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, besieged and took Madras, but Dupleix, Governor-General of the establishments of the French East India Company, jealous of his brilliant colleague, and relying on secret orders previously received from France, refused to recognise the capitulation which La Bourdonnais had signed, and depriving him of his conquest, took possession of it himself. Denounced by Dupleix, La Bourdonnais on his return to France was loaded with chains in return for his glorious services, and was thrown into the Bastile. Dupleix

then attempted to lay the foundations in India of a French Empire; but he was supported neither by the Company nor his



FREDERICK THE GREAT BEFORE TORGAU.

Government, and had to succumb after he had maintained during several years a most heroic struggle in a most unequal conflict.

7. A brilliant victory was gained at Lawfeld in 1745, by Maurice of Saxony over the Duke of Cumberland, which opened to that great general the road to Holland. The conquest of many cities

Battle of
Lawfeld,
1747.

was the result of this glorious battle; Bergen-op-Zoom, being amongst others, taken by General Lowendahl. The English, on the other hand, inflicted terrible blows on the French fleet, which was destroyed in two sanguinary engagements, one off Cape Finisterre and the other near Belle-Isle. France now sighed for peace, and Maurice of Saxony, as the best means of bringing it about, hastened to invest the city of Maestricht; whereupon the preliminaries of the much-

Peace of
Aix-la-Cha-
pelle, 1748.

desired peace were almost immediately signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. By the terms of this peace the King of Prussia retained possession of his conquests; Don Philip, the brother of Don Carlos, obtained the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla; and finally, the English recovered Madras in India, and in the New World gave up Louisburg and Cape Breton, but acquired the whole of Acadia. France restored Savoy to the King of Sardinia, the Low Countries to the Empress Maria Theresa; and to the Dutch all the places she had taken from them. By this war, which added twelve hundred millions to the French debt, Prussia alone gained a considerable increase of territory and influence, and suddenly became one of the great powers of the Continent.

8. Some salutary edicts were issued during the years which immediately followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; amongst them was the famous edict of Machault, the

Royal edicts,
1745-1748.

Comptroller-General, authorizing the free commerce within the kingdom in grain, which had hitherto been subjected to a thousand shackles injurious to agriculture. Louis XV., in spite of his shameful debaucheries, was extremely scrupulous in respect to the outward observances of religion, and took an active part in the religious quarrels by which France was agitated. They were renewed with scandal by the intolerance of M. de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, who went so far as to order that extreme unction should be refused to dying persons suspected of adhering to the opinions condemned by the bull *Unigenitus*. The Parliament, supported by public opinion, protested against this extreme measure, but the King's Council enjoined respect to the bull as the law of the Church and the State. Violent discussions followed between the Parliament and the Archbishop, and, on the refusal of the sacrament to a nun, the temporalities of the prelate were seized. The King ordered the Parliament to stay its proceedings and exiled it. In its place a Royal Court was established; but the Chatelet refused to acknowledge its authority; the advocates, attorneys, and registrars refused to obey it, and the course of justice was thus interrupted during four months. The King perceived at length that he must effect a compromise, and, on the 23rd of August, 1754, amidst the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of the Duke of Berri, who was the unfortunate Louis XVI., the

Parliament recalled to Paris, re-entered it amidst the acclamations of the populace. But fresh collisions soon occurred between the King and clergy on the one hand and the Parliament on the other, and the latter refused to register the edicts for fresh taxes on the breaking out of a war with England. It then leagued itself with the other Parliaments of the kingdom against the great Council, endeavouring to form of all the superior courts of the French magistracy one single body, which should be divided into different classes, and which should be sufficiently strong to resist the arbitrary measures of the Court. On this the King, on December 13, 1756, had three edicts registered, the principal purport of which was to renew the injunction of respect to the bull *Unigenitus* to deprive every magistrate of less than ten years' standing of a deliberative voice, to enforce the registration of edicts after the permitted remonstrances of the parliament, and to suppress the major portion of the Courts of Inquests and Requests, the usual sources of the most violent measures.

Quarrels
between the
Clergy of
Paris and the
Parliament
1748-1756.

9. These acts of Royal power, and especially the last, struck the Parliament with dismay. The people encouraged the magistrates in their opposition to the Court, and became exasperated to the highest pitch when it found that all but thirty-one members of the great chamber, had given in their resignation. Such was the state of popular feeling in the capital when, on 5th January, 1757, an unhappy wretch, named Damiens, slightly wounded the King at the gates of the palace of Versailles. This crime was attributed to the popular excitement caused by the violent opposition of the Parliament; and the magistrates trembled at the extent of their peril. Most of those who had sent in their resignations hastened to offer their services at Versailles and to protest their devotion. After the trial and execution of Damiens, Louis XV. endeavoured to conciliate the popular feeling; the greater number of the magistrates were recalled, and the Parliament resumed its habitual functions. The King's mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, who was dismissed from the palace whilst the King considered himself in danger from his wound, returned in triumph; and Machault and Argenson, who had openly exulted in her disgrace, were dismissed from the Council, which remained under the direct influence of the Marquise.

Attempt to
assassinate the
King, 1757.

10. At this period a general war had already broken out in the two worlds. The governments of France and England had long since ceased to exchange pacific assurances, whilst their agents were disputing in Asia and America for the possession of immense territories. Dupleix by his talents and courage, had rendered France the ruler over thirty millions of men occupying the Deccan from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin. The English only possessed at that time city of Madras with its environs, and a few fortresses, of which the principal was Fort Saint David. Dupleix had caused Chunda Sahib to be recognised as Nabob of the Carnatic; but a

War in India
between the
English and
French
Companies.

single city, Trichinopoly, had declared for his rival, Mahomet Ali, who was supported by the English. The troops of **Dupleix and Clive.** Chunda Sahib, while besieging Trichinopoly were defeated by Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, who laid the foundation of the English Empire in India, and the Nabob himself was killed. Dupleix renewed the struggle for supremacy with success, but the French East India Company finding its dividends decreasing, refused to support him in his efforts to win an Eastern Empire for France, while the French government being anxious to avoid war with England, disavowed his proceedings, and ultimately recalled him to France. Dupleix had scarcely quitted the soil of India when an ignominious treaty, which was afterwards ratified in Europe, was concluded at Madras by the commissioners of the two **Convention of Madras, 1754.**

Governments in October, 1754, which stipulated that neither of the Companies should interfere in the internal politics or India; that all places and territories occupied by them should be restored to the Grand Mogul, with the exception of those which they had severally possessed before the late war, and that all their possessions should be placed on a footing of perfect equality. Thus were lost in a few days the fruits of the profound policy and astonishing efforts of a great man. England inherited in the Indies all the influence of which France deprived herself, and she could now freely and fearlessly lay in the East the foundation of her future empire there.

11. The state of the things was not more propitious to the maintenance of peace in North America, where, during the preceding hundred and fifty years, England and France had founded considerable colonies. On the one hand, the **English and French in North America, 1753-1754.** boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, ceded to England by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were ill defined, and on the other, the French, who were the possessors of Canada, had ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the lakes Erie and Ontario, and now wished, by means of a chain of strong forts on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, to connect their establishments in Canada with those which they had in Louisiana, whilst the British colonists of Virginia or New England demanded as a dependency of their territory the vast district to the South of the St. Lawrence, from the Alleghany or Blue Mountains to the banks of the Ohio. From these rival pretensions arose perpetual quarrels between the colonists of the two nations; and already, in 1753, a Virginian Major, George Washington, who afterwards became so famous in history, ordered to dislodge the French from Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, had been surrounded by a superior force in a place named Great Meadows, and had been forced to capitulate. Soon after, a body of twelve hundred troops sent by the English Government, under the command of General Braddock, to the assistance of Virginia, was assailed whilst on his way to attack Fort Duquesne, by a troop of French and Indians, and

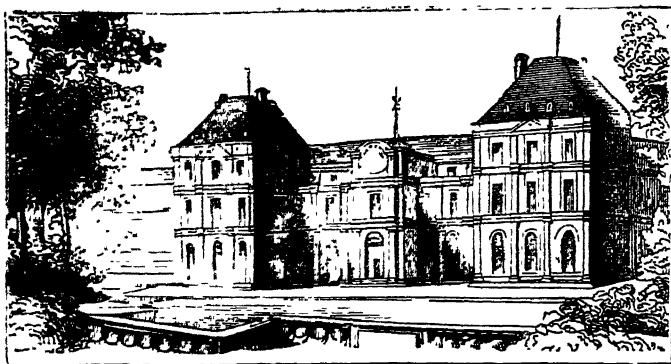
First Hostilities, 1753-1754. Defeat of General Braddock, 1755.

Braddock himself, and seven hundred of his soldiers, perished. The sea was less propitious to the French arms. The squadron of Admiral Boscawen attacked a French division of Newfoundland, and took two vessels ; and shortly afterwards, by an order of the English Admiralty, the English ships of war fell upon the French mercantile marine, and took three hundred merchant vessels without any previous declaration of war.

Thus the pacific hopes of the French Court were frustrated in every direction ; and at length the King saw how he had sacrificed in the Indies the prospect of an empire, by recalling Dupleix, and abandoning that great man's undertaking. His government demanded an explanation of the English Government of the acts of violence of which its navy had been guilty by the seizure of the French merchant ships ; its complaints were treated with contempt : and war was soon afterwards declared.



LORD CLIVE.



CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XV.

1. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: SEA FIGHT BEFORE MINORCA: TAKING OF PORT MAHON BY RICHELIEU. 2. SKILFUL OPERATIONS OF FREDERICK II.: CAPITULATION OF CLOSTERSEVEN: BATTLE OF ROSBACH: BATTLE OF LISSA: BATTLE OF CREVELT. 3. LOSSES OF FRANCE IN AMERICA AND ASIA: NAVAL DISASTERS. 4. CAMPAIGN OF 1760: TAKING OF PONDICHERRY: THE "FAMILY TREATY": DISGRACE OF THE DUKE OF BROGLIÉ: PEACE OF PARIS. 5. ABOLITION OF THE ORDER OF JESUITS IN FRANCE: TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER. 6. DEATH OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR: UNION OF LORRAINE AND CORSICA WITH FRANCE: EFFECTS OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: QUARRELS BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE PARLIAMENTS: PROCEEDINGS OF THE DUC D'AIGUILLON IN BRITTANY. 7. PROJECTS OF THE CHANCELLOR MAUPEOU; DISGRACE OF M. DE CHOISEUL: DESTRUCTION OF THE PARLIAMENTS. 8. MALADMINISTRATION OF THE ABBÉ TERRAY: FOREIGN AFFAIRS: FIRST DIVISION OF POLAND: DEATH OF LOUIS XV.

1. **T**HE war which broke out in 1756 between England and France speedily embraced the whole of Europe, and its ravages extended over the entire world. Maria Theresa, hoping to recover Silesia, formed an alliance with the Empress of Russia, the Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland, and the King of Sweden. Louis XV. was gained over to support her cause by the influence of Madame de Pompadour, and soon all the forces of the kingdom were placed at the disposal of Austria. This terrible and deplorable war, known under the name of the Seven Years' War, commenced with circumstances favourable to France. An expedition under the Duke

The Seven
Years' War,
1756-1773.

of Richelieu was despatched to conquer Minorca, which the English had captured during the war of succession in Spain. Admiral Byng was sent with an English fleet to the assistance of the threatened island, but when he arrived off Minorca the French were besieging the formidable citadel of St. Philip, which commands Mahon, the capital of the island, and its magnificent port. The garrison, under General Blakeney, made an obstinate defence hoping to be succoured by Byng; but the English admiral, being worsted in an encounter with the French fleet, under Admiral Galissonière, and, losing all hope of being able to relieve Minorca, abandoned it to its fate, and sailed with his squadron for Gibraltar. The French now redoubled their efforts; the garrison was soon compelled to capitulate, and Minorca was won for France. Admiral Byng's defeat was imputed to treason, and having been tried and found guilty he was shot.

Sea Fight
before
Minorca.

Taking of
Port Mahon
by Richelieu.

2. Frederick II. of Prussia, in reply to the new league formed against him, hastened to invade Saxony, and took Dresden, from which the King of Poland was forced to fly. After defeating the Austrians at Lowositz, and compelling them to repass the Eger, he hastened to Pirna, where the Saxon army was blockaded, and compelled it to capitulate. A body of French troops, under Marshal d'Estrées entered Germany and threatened the Electorate of Hanover, a possession of the King of England. D'Estrées vanquished Cumberland at Hastenbeck, and Marshal Richelieu, who had been sent to replace d'Estrées, forced Cumberland to sign the capitulation of Closterseven (1757); which sent one portion of his army home, condemned another to inaction, and placed the Electorate of Hanover at the mercy of France. Frederick, victorious over Prince Charles of Lorraine at Prague, was afterwards vanquished by Marshal Daun at Chotzemitz, while his generals were everywhere defeated. Overwhelmed by these reverses, and still more by the capitulation of the English at Closterseven, surrounded by several armies in Saxony, and held in check by Marshal Daun, Frederick appeared to be without any resource, but he escaped the Marshal with admirable skill, and boldly went to reconnoitre the French army commanded by Soubise, and that of the Imperialists, which, united, were advancing to surround him. By a series of able manœuvres he induced Soubise to believe that he was anxious to avoid them, and drew him on to make an attack on him, when encamped in an advantageous position at Rosbach. The French and Imperialists were totally routed, and a great part of the attacking forces fled without fighting. Frederick took no repose after this unhopèd-for victory, but, flying into Silesia, which was almost lost, won, against Prince Charles and Daun, the bloody battle of Leuthen, near Breslau. The English then broke the capitulation of Closterseven, and the Hanoverian army reappeared under Ferdinand of Brunswick, its new commander, who asserted that he had

Skilful
operation of
Frederick II.

Capitulation
of Closter-
seven, 1757.

Battle of Ros-
bach, 1757.

Battle of
Leuthen, 1757

nothing to do with this military convention. The Count of Clermont lost in the following year the battle of Crevelt, against Ferdinand of Brunswick, and was superseded by the Marquis de Contades: Soubise, and, under him, the Duc de Broglie, partly repaired, however, at Sondershausen and at Lutzberg, the disasters of this bloody battle, and the French re-entered Hanover: but in 1759, Brunswick, vanquished by the Duc de Broglie at Berghen, vanquished in his turn the Marshal de Contades at Minden in Westphalia. Frederick then fought with varied success against the Austrians and Russians; and the most murderous battle of this campaign was that of Zorndorf, where thirty-three thousand men, of whom twenty-two thousand were Russians and eleven thousand Prussians, remained on the field of battle.

3. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, was at this time at the head of the English Cabinet. He directed his attention to the colonies, and gave fresh vigour to maritime operations. Quebec was taken by the English in 1759, and in the following year the whole of Canada was snatched from the grasp of France. In Africa the French lost Senegal, and in 1757, Chandernagore on the Ganges was taken from them. Count de Lally, sent by Louis XV. to avenge the French defeats in India, seized Fort St. David, on the Coast of Coromandel, and razed its defences; but differences which arose between him and the commander of the naval squadron, Count d'Aché, were fatal to the interests of France. England was at this time threatened by the descent upon her coasts of two French armies, under Chevert and the Duc d'Aiguillon, which were to be protected by two French squadrons. The first of these, however, which was commanded by M. de la Clue, was destroyed by Admiral Boscawen off Cape St. Vincent, whilst two months later the second, under Marshal de Conflans, underwent the same fate within sight of the coast of Brittany.

4. The campaign of 1760 was glorious in Germany for Marshal Broglie, who vanquished the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick at Corbach, near Cassel, for the capture of which he was preparing. One of the corps of his army, commanded by the Marquis de Castries, took up its position near to Rhumberg, on the river bank, and being attacked by the Prince, gained a brilliant victory which delivered Wesel. Frederick now escaped in Saxony from the numerous armies which surrounded him, and vanquishing successively Laudon at Lignitz, and Daun at Torgau, retook Silesia. Pondicherry, whose inhabitants the governor, Lally, had alienated by his pride and despotism, fell in the course of this year into the hands of the English. Count d'Aché, who was called upon to relieve this place, did not appear, and seven hundred soldiers were all that remained for its defence. The town was taken, and its fortifications razed; and Lally, returning to France, was accused of treason, and paid for his defeat with his life.

Ba. tile of
Crevelt, 1753.

Losses of
France in
America and
Asia, 1757-1759.

Naval
Disasters.

Campaign of
1760.

Taking of
Pondicherry.

The Duke of Choiseul, who was now minister of war, offered to make peace with George III., who had succeeded George II. on the English throne, but his overtures were rejected by the advice of Pitt. He then endeavoured to secure the support of Spain, where Charles III. now reigned; and on the 16th of August, 1761, his exertions were crowned by the signature of the celebrated Family Treaty, which stipulated that the various branches of the House of Bourbon should reciprocally assist each other, and declared that the enemies of any one branch should be regarded as the enemies of the others. The "Family Treaty," 1761.

On July 16, some days before the signature of the Family Treaty, Marshals de Broglié and Soubise

Disgrace of
the Duc de
Broglie.

had been
beaten by
the Prince
of Brun-

swick, at Filingshausen, near the Lippe, through a want of concert between them. The fault was attributed to the Duc de Broglié, who was banished and superseded by old Marshal d'Estrees.

In the meantime, closely pressed by the Imperial army and the Russians, Frederick was driven to bay, when the death of the Empress Elizabeth, on January 2, 1762, released him from his perilous position. Elizabeth left her throne to Peter III., who was a passionate admirer of the King of Prussia, and who undoubtedly would have aided him, but he was dethroned, after a reign of six months, by his own wife, who assumed the crown by the name of Catherine II., and some days afterwards the unfortunate Peter III. was assassinated. The Empress declared herself neutral; and the results of the campaign of 1762, the last of this bloody war, left each party in the same state as before. England, France, Spain and Portugal then signed, on the 10th of February, 1763, the Treaty of Paris, which was disgraceful to France. This power ceded to England a portion of Louisiana,* Canada, and the island of Cape



ADMIRAL BYNG.

* The remainder of Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain, to recompense her for the cession of Florida to England.

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5. The last years of this war were signalised by the abolition of the Order of the Jesuits in France. Their Order was suppressed throughout the kingdom by an edict of 1764, which gave them permission to reside in France only as simple private persons. All the Bourbon Courts declared themselves at the same time against the Jesuits, who were successively driven from Portugal, Spain, Naples and Parma; and the total suppression of the Order was ultimately procured at Rome from Clement XIV., who thus destroyed the firmest supports of the rights of the Papal Court of Rome. Prussia and Russia were the only states who gave the Jesuits an asylum and protection.

6. Madame de Pompadour died in 1764, and was soon afterwards succeeded as mistress to Louis XV. by a woman of low origin, afterwards known as the Countess du Barri. In the course of the next four years the King lost the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, his father-in-law, Stanislaus Leczinski, and the Queen, Maria Leczinski, who only survived her father two years. By the death of Stanislaus

Union of Lorraine and Corsica with France, 1766. Leczinski, Lorraine had become incorporated with France, and Corsica was also added to the French Crown two years later, with the right, however, of regulating its own taxes.

The Seven Years' War added thirty-four millions of annual interest to the national debt. In each year the expenses exceeded the receipts by thirty-eight millions, and the taxes, which had enormously increased during the war, were not lessened at the peace. The Parliament of Paris endeavoured to procure some relief for the public burdens, that of Besançon refused to register the Royal edicts; and many of the opposing magistrates were exiled.

Quarrels between the Court and the Parliament, 1763-1771. Disturbances broke out in various provinces, and especially in Brittany, where the Duc d'Aiguillon, governor of the province, rendered himself odious by his stern and despotic administration. The Parliament of Rennes took cognisance of the complaints which were brought against him, but they could obtain no satisfaction from the Court, which lent a ready support to the duke. In defiance of justice and the efforts of the Parliament of Paris and the Duke of Choiseul, who espoused the cause of the magistracy, the opponents of d'Aiguillon were sent into exile. The Parliament

protested in vain against this arbitrary punishment, and the Duc d'Aiguillon acted with redoubled violence. He even had the boldness to present for acceptance by the States of Brittany a regulation



FREDERICK THE GREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF KOLLIN

which would have deprived them of the right of fixing and levying their own taxes. This produced a general outcry, and an address presented to the King caused the recall of the Duc d'Aiguillon, and the re-establishment of the Parliament of Brittany in its integrity.

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7. The first act of the restored Parliament was to commence a prosecution of the Duc d'Aiguillon, whom it accused of abuse of power and of enormous crimes. The King, in accordance with the suggestions of the Chancellor Maupeou, the chief president of the Parliament of Paris, who had withdrawn his support from his own order to side with the Court, first ordered that the Duc d'Aiguillon should be tried by the Court of Peers; and then justifying the Duke, determined that the whole process against him should be annulled. The Parliament then issued a decree which attacked the Duke's honour. The King annulled it, and ordered the resignation of the Parliament, which ceased to exercise its functions. Shortly after, the Duke of Choiseul, the most powerful of the supporters of the Parliament was disgraced and banished to his estate at Chanteloup, at the instigation of Madame du Barri. His dismissal was followed by the appointment of the Duc d'Aiguillon to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterwards of the Abbé Terray as Comptroller-General of the Finances. These two men formed, together with the Chancellor Maupeou, a triumvirate celebrated for the revolution which it effected in the judicial order. On the 19th January, 1771, the members of the Parliament were ordered to resume their functions, and in consequence of the unanimous refusal of the magistrates to do so, their offices were confiscated and they were sent into exile. Maupeou nominated in their place Councillors of State and Masters of Requests, and then formed an assembly which had less resemblance to a judicial body, composed of the members of the great council, and men taken from the various bodies in different classes, who henceforth composed the Parliament. Two edicts were immediately issued which abolished the old Parliament and established the new. The public wrath burst forth against a minister who tore from France, in the persons of her independent magistrates, the last guarantees against despotic power. All the princes of the blood, with a single exception, and thirteen peers of the kingdom, lodged a protest against acts in which they saw the overthrow of the laws of the State. The provincial Parliaments made courageous remonstrances, especially those of Normandy and Brittany, raised complaints to which Maupeou replied by *lettres de cachet*, which sent the murmurers either into exile or to the Bastille. Then there arose a loud demand for the convocation of the Estates General. Maupeou, however, overcame all resistance by promising the gratuitous administration of justice, the abolition of the sale of offices, and the revision of the criminal laws. At the close of 1771, in the space of less than a year, the new judicial arrangements were in force over the whole of the kingdom.

8. Whilst Maupeou thus violently altered the French magisterial system, the Abbé Terray ordered an arbitrary reduction of the dividends payable by the State, which was in fact a shameful act of bankruptcy. The taxes were

**Projects of
the Chancellor
Maupeou.**

**Disgrace of
M. de
Choiseul,
1771.**

**Destruction
of the ancient
Parliaments,
1771.**

**Maladminis-
tration of the
Abbé Terray.**

at the same time raised to an exorbitant amount, and Terray destroyed the most glorious achievement of Marchault—the law which authorised the free circulation of corn throughout the kingdom.

The Duc d'Aiguillon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the third member of this triumvirate, at the same time allowed three Powers to make a serious attack on the rights of peoples and the balance of power in Europe. Strong in her amity with Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, and the supine indolence of Louis XV., Catharine II. signed in 1772, with the Courts of Prussia and Vienna, a treaty for the dis-
 memberment of Poland. This preliminary division of Poland, deprived the country of a third of its territory, and led to other treaties which effaced Poland from the number of independent nations.

Foreign
Affairs.

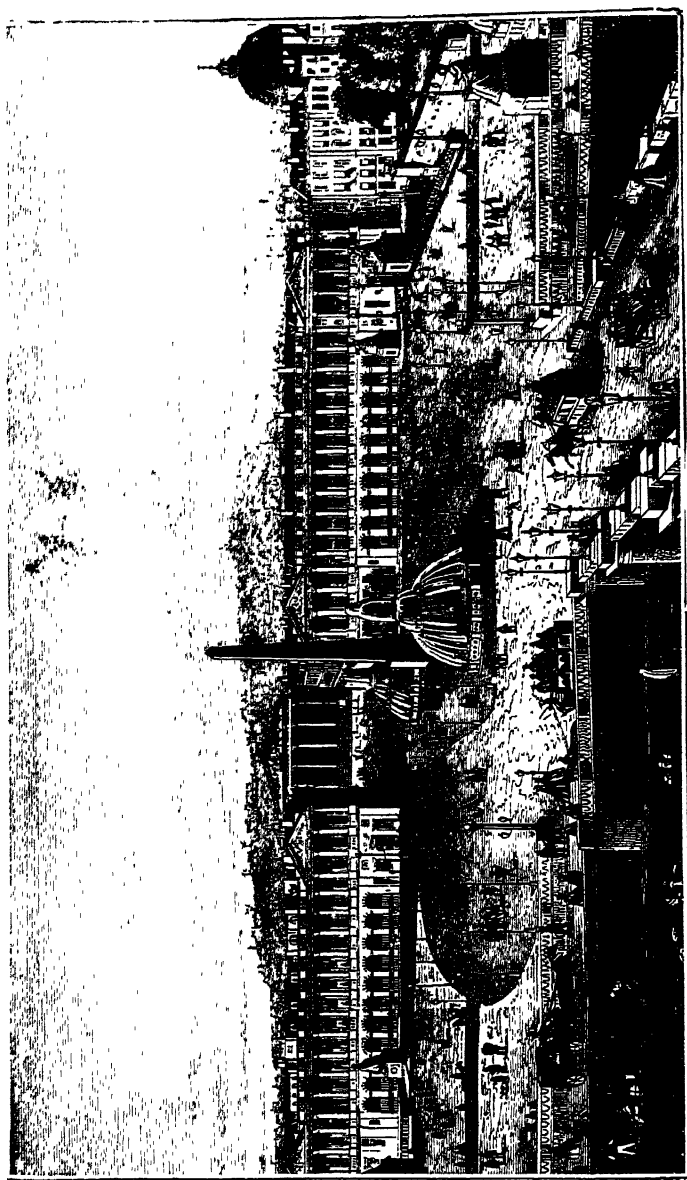
First division
of Poland,
1772.

Louis XV., utterly apathetic in the midst of these serious events, continued to present to the world an example of shameful debauchery, and complete indifference to scandal. He had Madame du Barri publicly presented at Court, and gave her a distinguished place at the table at which were present, for the first time after their marriage, his grandson, the Dauphin, and his young spouse, Marie Antoinette of Austria. At length, worn out by *ennui*, weary of pleasure, and disgusted with all things, he died of the small-pox in the sixty-fourth year of his life, and after a reign of fifty-nine years, which is one of the most deplorable recorded in history.

Death of
Louis XV.,
1774.



MARSHAL SAXE



PLACE DE LA CONCORDE 10.3.M.L.L PLACE DE LA REVOLUTION, PARIS.



CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE CONVOCA- TION OF THE ESTATES GENERAL.

I. ACCESSION OF LOUIS XVI.: MINISTRY OF MAUREPAS: OPERATIONS OF TURGOT. 2. FALL OF THE MINISTRY: OPERATIONS OF NECKER: REBELLION OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA. 3. WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: ALLIANCE WITH SPAIN: FRENCH CONQUESTS IN AFRICA. 4. DECLARATION OF ARMED NEUTRALITY: MINISTERIAL ACTS: RETIREMENT OF NECKER: LANDING OF FRENCH UNDER ROCHAMBEAU: CAPITULATION OF CORNWALLIS. 5. TAKING OF MAHON: SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR: SEA FIGHT OF ST. LUCIA. 6. CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA: PEACE OF VERSAILLES. 7. MINISTRY OF CALONNE: MINISTRY OF BRIENNE: ENFORCED REGISTRATION OF EDICTS FOR LOANS. 8. SUPPRESSION OF THE PARLIAMENTS: DISTURBANCES IN THE PROVINCES: ASSEMBLY OF THE CLERGY: FALL OF BRIENNE; RECALL AND SECOND MINISTRY OF NECKER. 9. EDICT OF CONVOCA-
TION OF THE ESTATES GENERAL: SECOND ASSEMBLY OF NOTABLES: DECISION RESPECTING THE VOTING OF THE ORDERS.

I. **L**OUIS XVI. ascended the throne on the 11th May, 1774, at the age of twenty. His morals were pure, his intentions upright and generous; but, to complete inexperience, he added a great want of decision of character. He chose as his first minister Maurepas, who recalled the old Parliaments, but knew not how to make them submit to useful and efficient reforms. They were reinstalled on the 12th of November, and the Minister, for the sake of procuring for the royal authority a fleeting popularity, raised up against it serious dangers in the future.

Accession of
Louis XVI.,
1774.

Maurepas, anxious for the support of public opinion, replaced the Abbé Terray by Turgot, a man already famous for his political views, as Comptroller General of the Finances. In the following year Lamoignon de Malesherbes, a magistrate of the highest merit, and

a friend of Turgot, was placed over the King's household, and entrusted with the *lettres de cachet*, no abuse of which was to be feared whilst they remained in his hands. The other influential members of the council were Hûe de Miromesnil, Keeper of the Seals; the Count of Saint Germain, Minister of War, and Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Turgot planned extensive reforms, and, devoting all his care to the promotion of the happiness of the people, undertook the suppression of a vast number of servitudes and burdensome privileges. He wished to make the noblesse contribute to the taxes in the same proportion as the Third Estate; and procured the issue of edicts which replaced the burdens that weighed heavily on the lower orders by a rate equally levied upon all classes, re-established free-trade in grain throughout the whole interior of the kingdom, and abolished wardenships and corporations. The privileged classes burst forth into complaints and murmurs, the parliaments refused to register these wise edicts, and it was necessary to make use of the arbitrary power of the crown to enforce them.

2. Soon, jealous of the popularity enjoyed by Turgot, and of his influence over the King, Maurepas himself aroused enemies against the two ministers, and alarmed the King with respect to the dangers that might arise from the spirit of the new system. Malesherbes sent in his resignation, but Turgot waited to be disgraced. The reforms were abandoned. Clugny, formerly Governor of St. Domingo, and then Taboureau, replaced successively, and without success, this great minister; and after them the general management of the national finances fell into the hands of Necker, a Genevese banker, who succeeded Taboureau in 1777. Necker made good faith and probity the basis of his system, which consisted in the reduction of the expenditure to a level with the receipts, to make the national taxes serve to defray the national expense in ordinary times, to have recourse to loans only when circumstances imperiously required them, and to have the taxes assessed by the provincial assemblies. These plans placed France in a financial position which enabled her to support a war occasioned by the revolt of the English colonies of North America against their mother country. England, overburdened by debt after the peace of 1763, had endeavoured to make her American colonies contribute to the taxes; and this the colonists, who were unrepresented in the British parliament by which the taxes were regulated, refused to do. An open rupture soon took place, and both sides resorted to arms.

At length the Congress of the revolted colonies published, in 1776, the Act of Independence, by which it constituted itself a free power, and independent of the English rule. Diplomatic agents were immediately despatched to the various courts of Europe, to obtain the recognition of the independence of the American colonies, and Benjamin Franklin was selected by his country to

Operations of
Turgot, 1774-
1776.

Fall of the
Ministry.

Operations of
Necker, 1777.

Rebellion of
the American
Colonies, 1773.

solicit the support of France against England. Louis XVI. hesitated for some time to enter upon hostilities ; but at length, in 1778, after the memorable battle of Saratoga, in which the British general Burgoyne, at the head of six thousand men, was compelled to lay down his arms, France concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Americans ; whereupon England recalled her ambassador, and war was resolved on.

3. A fleet of twelve ships of the line, commanded by the Count d'Estaing, made a vain attempt, in concert with Washington's army, to take Newport, in Rhode Island, one of the English arsenals. On July 27, in the same year, the French Admiral d'Orvilliers encountered Admiral Keppel at the entrance of the Channel. The two fleets, after having fought for a whole day, parted to refit, without having lost a single vessel on either side. This battle was at first celebrated in France as a brilliant victory. France concluded with Spain, in the following year, an alliance which doubled its naval strength. Admirals d'Orvilliers and Don Louis Cordova, threatened a descent upon England, whilst Count d'Estaing seized, in the Antilles, the islands of St. Vincent and Granada. In concert with General Lincoln, he made a rash attack upon Savannah, but, being repulsed with loss, he raised the siege and returned to France.

War of Independence, 1778-1783.

Alliance with Spain, 1770.

The war raged in every quarter of the globe. In Africa, the French troops seized upon Senegal, Gambia and Sierra Leone ; but, on the other hand, the French establishments in Bengal fell into the hands of the English, and Pondicherry had to yield, forty days after the trenches had been opened against it.

French Conquests in Africa.

4. In the following year, 1780, England found the number of its enemies still further increased. Russia, Sweden and Denmark signed a declaration of armed neutrality, by which it was agreed that neutral powers should be at liberty to sail from port to port and on the coasts of the belligerent nations ; and the merchandise belonging to neutrals should be free from capture ; if not, Northern powers announced that they would enforce respect for their declaration by warfare, if necessary. England, after having made a futile attempt to obtain the alliance of Holland, had to struggle against the combined fleets of France, the United States and Spain. The majority of the French ministry was at this time composed of men of merit and talent. Vergennes made the kingdom respected abroad : Ségur and Castries, soldiers worthy of high esteem, carried on the war with energy ; and Necker afforded the King the means of continuing it. His celebrated

Declaration of armed neutrality, 1780.

Ministerial Acts, 1781.

"compte rendu" of January, 1781, showed, for the first time, an excess of ten millions of receipts over the expenditure ; but Maurepas, offended by the unanimous praises lavished on Necker, maligned him to the King ; and the eminent financier, perceiving that he no longer possessed his sovereign's confidence, sent in his resignation,

which was accepted on the 23rd May. In July, 1780, a French army, numbering six thousand men, had disembarked at Rhode Island under Count de Rochambeau. The English, however, succeeded in blockading the port at which the French

*Landing of
French under
Rochambeau.*

had disembarked, and thus, till the close of the year, rendered their assistance almost useless. General Gates was beaten at Camden, in Southern Carolina, by Lord Cornwallis, and the whole of that province was consequently lost. France now advanced to the United States, on the simple word of Congress, the large sum of sixteen million francs; and the French, under Admiral de Grasse, set sail for the Antilles, in March, 1781. Rochambeau had now joined Washington, and the powerful assistance rendered by France enabled the latter to bring the campaign and the war to a close by the investment of York-Town, in which, after having become enfeebled with incessant conflicts with the American troops under Greene, the English forces under Cornwallis had entrenched themselves.

*Capitulation
of Cornwallis,
1781.*

The investment was completed by land, by Washington and Rochambeau, on September 28, whilst the sea was shut against the English by the fleet under Admiral de Grasse; and on October 19th Cornwallis found it necessary to capitulate, and surrendered, with eight thousand men.

5. The Duc de Crillon having captured Minorca in 1781, undertook in the following year the siege of Gibraltar, which

*Taking of
Mahon, 1781.*

was closed against Admiral Howe by the fleets of France and Spain. Floating batteries were constructed for the purpose of bombarding the fortress, which was defended by the brave General Eliott; but they were set on fire by a storm of shells and red-hot shot. A few days after,

*Siege of Gibraltar,
1782.*

Admiral Howe, taking advantage of the dispersion of the French fleet by a gale, succeeded in entering the port and re-victualled the fortress, the siege of which was abandoned. In the same year a naval engagement, which ended disastrously for France, took place in West Indian Waters, near the island of St. Lucia between the French and English fleets under De Grasse and Rodney. The battle took place on the 12th April, 1782, and lasted ten hours. Rodney, favoured by the wind, boldly broke through the French line, and by this able manœuvre secured the victory. The French fought with the utmost heroism, but the Admiral's flag-ship the *Ville de Paris*, attacked by seven vessels, was compelled to strike, and De Grasse himself was taken prisoner. Out of the fleet of thirty-three vessels six were lost in the course of the action, two others foundered on the following day, and five which were captured by the enemy had suffered so greatly that they sank before reaching the British ports; amongst these was the *Ville de Paris*.

6. India had been during four years the scene of a sanguinary war. The English, in 1778, had taken Pondicherry from the French. Their allies, Hyder Ali Khan, Sultan of Mysore, and his son Tippoo Sahib, who had marched

*Campaigns in
India, 1778-1783.*

too late to the relief of the French settlement, attacked the English possessions in the Carnatic, from which they were compelled to withdraw by Sir Eyre Coote after having done much injury.

The French fleet, the arrival of which had been long announced, appeared at length at the commencement of 1782 on the coast of Coromandel. It was commanded by Suffren, one of the greatest seamen of whom France can boast. His presence reanimated the hopes of Hyder Ali, who still meditated, by means of a league between all the native princes, the expulsion of the English from Hindustan. His death put a sudden end to these projects; the formidable Sultan of Mysore expired at the close of 1782, leaving his throne to his son Tippoo Sahib. Suffren, in the meantime, pursued his glorious career on the coast of Coromandel; Tippoo Sahib seconding his operations by land. After vanquishing the English general, Matthews, he hastened to the relief of Gondelour, besieged by the English, and encountered, within sight of the city, the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes. Although Suffren had but fifteen vessels against eighteen, he gained the advantage, and Gondelour was saved. Peace was at length signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783, between England on the one ^{Peace of Versailles, 1783.} part, and France, Spain and the United States, whose independence was recognised by it, on the other. England restored to France in America, the isles of St. Lucia and Tobago; and in India, Pondicherry; and guaranteed to her, in Africa, the possession of the river Senegal and its dependencies; and on the coast of Malabar, Mahé and an establishment at Surat. England did not conclude peace with Tippoo Sahib until the following year.

7. Maurepas died shortly after the disgrace of Necker; the deficit of the Treasury had increased during the war; and it was in vain that, for the purpose of decreasing it, Louis XVI. gave an example by relinquishing a portion of his household and his guard; for no one followed it. Joly de Fleury and D'Ormesson succeeded Necker in turn without being able to discover a remedy for this; and Calonne succeeded them in the management ^{Ministry of Calonne, 1783.} of the finances. This man adopted a system directly opposed to that of Necker; endeavouring to strengthen the Government credit by prodigality. A lavish expenditure of money at first supported his system, and punctuality in payments for a certain time deceived capitalists; but after the peace he made numerous loans, and exhausted credit; and then, when forced to allow the enormous difference which existed between the expenditure and receipts, he insinuated that the fault was due to the proceedings of his predecessor, Necker, who was exiled. When it was no longer possible to obtain loans, it was necessary to have recourse to new taxes, and these the Parliament refused to register. Upon this the minister Calonne, to enforce its submission, convoked an ^{First Assembly of Notables, 1787.} Assembly of Notables (1787), hoping that it would be more docile than the Parliaments and the Estates General. He could not, however, conceal from the Notables the fact that the loans had amounted within a few years

to an enormous sum, and that there was a deficit of a hundred and fifteen millions in the revenue. This startling revelation excited a general burst of indignation, and Calonne resigned. He was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, who adopted

**Ministry of
Brienne, 1787.**

most of the measures proposed by Calonne to the Notables. This Assembly separated after having approved the creation of provincial assemblies, to superintend taxation in their several provinces, and devote attention to the public works and the improvement of agriculture. These assemblies, elected by the three Orders, but containing a double number of representatives of the Third Estate, carried on their functions successfully from 1787 to 1790, when the new division of France into departments took place. Two edicts rejected by the Notables, with respect to the stamp duty and the land-tax, were presented to the Parliament, which refused to register them, and declared the Estates General alone competent to decide in the matter of taxes. Their registration was enforced, however, by the Government, but at the same time Louis XVI. promised the annual publication of an account of the finances, and the convocation of the Estates General before five years. The magistrates protested against the violence to which they had been subjected, and the edicts were not executed. The Parliament was exiled to Troyes on the 15th August, and recalled on the 20th September, on the tacit understanding that it would consent to edicts creating a series of gradual and successive loans up to the amount of four hundred millions. A Royal sitting was appointed

**Enforced registration of edicts
for loans, 1787.**

for the 19th November. The votes were taken, and the oldest magistrates were in favour of the registration of the last edicts. It appeared certain that there would be a majority in favour of the edicts, when the new Keeper of the Seals, Lamoignon, faithful to the principle that when the King was in his Parliament his will should be law, approached the throne and persuaded Louis XVI. to order that the edicts should be registered by his express command. The King did so in spite of all remonstrance and then left the Chamber. When the King had departed, the agitation of the Assembly became extreme, and the sitting was terminated by a decision that the Parliament would take no part in the illegal registration of the edicts relative to the loans. The King ordered that this decision should be erased from the registers; but its protest was reiterated by the Parliament, which was supported by public opinion and the whole of the French magistracy in its struggle with the Government.

8. Brienne perceived that it was only possible to overcome the resistance of the Parliament by suppressing it; and in conjunction with M. de Lamoignon, the new Keeper of the Seals, he persuaded the King to agree to a plan which destroyed the political authority of the magistracy. By this scheme an assembly of the principal persons of the kingdom was to be constituted, endowed with all the authority of the plenary courts of the time of

Charlemagne. This court was to regulate the general police laws, and the edicts, which were no longer to be submitted to the Parliaments, the judicial functions of which were henceforth to be limited. The magistrates heard of this threatening project with the greatest indignation; invoked the fundamental although unwritten laws of the kingdom, demanded the regular convocation of the Estates General, protested against arbitrary imprisonments, and decreed their own inviolability. Brienne immediately obtained from the King an order for the arrest of two of the magistrates who were most prominent in their opposition, Duval d'Epr mesnil and Montsabert. Their arrest excited an universal indignation; but on May 8, however, the edicts in question were registered, and a court possessed of plenary powers was established. The excitement of public opinion continued to increase; it was declared that the members of the new tribunal were connected with the Court, and that to bestow upon it the right of registration was equivalent to placing the public fortunes solely at the mercy of the Ministers. The provinces of Brittany, Bearn and Dauphiny distin-

Disturbances
in the
Provinces,
1788.
guished them-
selves amongst
all by the energy
of their resist-

ance. The Parliament of Rennes protested, and was threatened with forced dissolution. Civil war appeared imminent in Brittany, and the disturbances in Bearn were no less serious. The mountaineers descended armed into the town of Pau, forced the gates of the Palace of Justice, which had been closed by the King's orders; and, terrified by their threatening cries, the governor himself entreated the Parliament to assemble. In Dauphiny the disorders were even greater. All the provinces were in a state of agitation, and almost everywhere the privileged classes, for the sake of preserving their own privileges, gave to the masses of the people a dangerous example of resistance and insurrection. Brienne, not knowing what measures

Assembly of
the Clergy
1788.

to adopt, convoked an assembly of the clergy, and asked of it pecuniary assistance, which was refused, with a strongly-worded declaration against the plenary court. Then, perceiving that the deficit in the Treasury in-



VOLTAIRE.

creased day by day, and that there were no means of replenishing it, he endeavoured to seduce the nation by promises, and to acquire a right to its gratitude by issuing a decree (8th of August, 1788), directing the assembling of the Estates General for the 1st May, 1789, and suspending until then the action of the plenary court. These concessions were received without thanks, and only increased the determination with which what he refused was demanded. The minister, to strengthen his position, now condescended to the lowest expedients. He seized the funds of the *Invalides*, and issued paper money for the State payments, and vainly endeavoured to conceal a bankruptcy by this disastrous measure. Brienne was resolved, at any price, to remain in power; but a Court intrigue overthrew him. Jealous of his influence with the Queen, Madame de Polignac declared herself his enemy, and

Fall of
Brienne,
1788.

the Count d'Artois, the King's second brother, demanded his dismissal. Brienne resigned, at the same time advising Louis XVI. to recall Necker, as the only man capable of restoring the finances to a satisfactory state. The

Recall of
Necker, 1788.

King, in accordance with Brienne's advice, recalled Necker; the Parliaments resumed the exercise of their functions, and the edicts were annulled.

9. Necker, having resumed the direction of affairs, was enabled, through the confidence he enjoyed with capitalists, to procure sufficient funds for the opening of the Estates General. But, skilful as he was as a financier, this minister was not equal, as a politician, to the task of grappling with the perilous circumstances by which France was now surrounded. He long hesitated to grant to the Third Estate a double representation—that is to say, a number of deputies equal to those of the two privileged Orders together; and this vast question, being undecided, became in every portion of the kingdom the subject of the most vehement discussions. It excited universal agitation, inflamed the passions of the middle classes, and enabled those who had the greatest interest in obtaining the double representation of the Third Estate to acquire the greatest influence over public opinion. Such was the state of things in

Edict of
Convocation
of the Estates
General,
Sept. 27,
1788.

France when, on the 27th September, 1788, the Parliament registered the edict which convoked the Estates General, but it decided that the Estates General should be called according to the form used at the time of their first Assembly in 1614. The deputies at that period were equal in number for each class; and as they gave their votes, not individually, but by rank, the result of the divisions was necessarily in favour of the privileged classes. Necker's system was to make the latter contribute, in proportion to their fortunes, to the expenses of the State; and to procure the adoption of this system, it was necessary that the deputies of the Third Estate should be double in number to those of the representatives of the two other Orders, and that the votes should be taken individually. The public had declared almost universally in favour of this opinion: and the clause added by Parliament to the edict of

the 27th of September deprived it at once of almost all its popularity, The Noblesse itself became divided into two parties, of which one energetically supported the cause of the Third Estate. The latter, which numbered in its ranks the Duke of Orleans and most of the gentlemen who had fought in America, formed in all the principal towns associations for the purpose of securing the triumph of this cause. The moment of the crisis drew near when the King convoked the Second Assembly of the Notables, to which was submitted the question as to how the Estates General should be convoked. It commenced its sittings on the 9th of November, 1788, and as had been the case with the preceding one, divided itself into six committees, one of which alone—that presided over by Monsieur the King's brother—declared in favour of the double representation of the Third Estate. At last Louis XVI. decided that the deputies of the Third Estate should be equal in number to those of the other Orders together, but left the question of the general method of deliberation in abeyance. This declaration was received with favour, although it left the question of the greatest importance undecided. The Third Estate now perceived its strength; it reckoned with good reason on the support of a portion of the Noblesse and the Clergy, and foresaw that it would be able to control the method of deliberation. From this moment the Revolution was inevitable.

Second
Assembly of
Notables,
1788.





CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE ESTATES GENERAL TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

May 5, 1789 to October 20, 1791.

1. OPENING OF THE ESTATES GENERAL: FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: OATH OF THE TENNIS COURT. 2. ROYAL SITTING: RESISTANCE OF THE NOBILITY: REUNION OF THE THREE ESTATES. 3. EXILE OF NECKER: DESMOULINS AT THE PALAIS ROYAL: TAKING OF THE BASTILE. 4. THE KING PROCEEDS TO PARIS: FIRST EMIGRATION: ABOLITION OF PRIVILEGES. 5. ACTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY: DECLARATION OF RIGHTS: COMMUNE OF PARIS: DISCUSSION ON THE ROYAL FETE BANQUET OF OCTOBER 1: THE PEOPLE AT VERSAILLES: DIVISION OF FRANCE INTO DEPARTMENTS: THE CLERGY DEPRIVED OF THEIR PROPERTY: FIRST ASSIGNATS: CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY: ORGANISATION OF THE JUDICIAL BODY. 6. FETE OF THE FEDERATION: FOUNDATION OF CLUBS: TEMPORARY MONARCHICAL REACTION: DEATH OF MIRABEAU. 7. DECLARATION OF MANTUA: FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY: ARREST OF THE KING AT VARENNES: PETITION OF THE CHAMP DE MARS. 8. FIRST COALITION TREATY OF PILNITZ: CLOSING OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

- i. **T**HE Estates-General commenced their sittings on the 5th of May, 1789, at Versailles. The deputies were summoned to the Royal sitting, and introduced according to the form established in 1614. The Third Estate hastened to assert its

equality, and when, following the King's example, the two other orders had assumed their hats, the deputies of the Third, contrary to custom, did the same. The first and most important question to be decided was, whether the votes should be received by orders or individually. By the adoption of the first method, the deputies of the Third Estate would have lost the advantage of their numbers. The Court, most of the nobility, and many of the clergy considered it of the highest importance that each order should vote separately on all political questions; but the opinions of some of the nobles, and all the curés among the deputies of the clergy, were very similar to those of the Third Estate; and the unanimity of opinion and numerical strength of the latter gave it an immense advantage. The latter proceeded to verify their powers, after having invited the noblesse and clergy to verify theirs in common with them; and then, at the instigation of Sièyes, they constituted themselves, on the 17th of June, a National Assembly. This Assembly, consisting of the deputies of the Third Estate and the dissenting portion of the nobility and clergy, sanctioned the temporary levying of existing taxes, consolidated the public debt, nominated a committee of "subsistences," and proclaimed the inviolability of its members. The general excitement was extreme when a royal sitting was announced, and when, under pretence of necessary preparations, an order was given to close the hall in which the Estates held their sittings. The violent measures proposed by the Court were now evident, and the deputies resolved to prevent their being carried into execution. They followed their president, Bailly, to a neighbouring tennis court, and there, with one exception, unanimously swore, with raised hands, that they would not separate until they had bestowed a constitution upon France. Two days afterwards the majority of the clergy joined the deputies of the Commons in the church of St. Louis, where they had provisionally assembled. Terrified at the immense power over public opinion acquired by the Third Estate by its first proceedings, the party opposed to Necker inspired Louis XVI. with its own terrors, and persuaded him to annul the decrees of the Assembly, to command the separation of the orders, and to decide alone upon all the reforms which were to be effected by the Estates General.

Opening of
the Estates
General.
May 5, 1789.

Formation of
the National
Assembly,
June 17.

Oath of the
Tennis Court,
June 20, 1789.

2. Such were the preludes to the Royal sitting which took place on the 23rd of June. The King was received by a portion of the deputies with an icy silence. He only recognised the Assembly as the Order of the Third Estate, and commanded its dissolution. The members of the nobility and clergy who were present immediately obeyed after the departure of the King; but those of the Commons retained their seats. The Assembly persisted in maintaining all its resolutions, and, on the motion of Mirabeau, decreed the inviolability of all its members. From thenceforth the Royal authority was at an end. The greater

Royal Sitting,
June 23.

number of the deputies of the clergy resumed their seats in the Assembly. The nobility persisted in their refusal to do so, in spite of the remonstrances of Count Clermont de Tonnerre and the more vigorous exhortations of Lally-Tollendal, the son of the unfortunate General Lally. These men wisely advocated a concession to popular feeling and the necessity of granting to the Third Estate and the millions that its members represented the proportion of rights which justly belonged to them. The nobility, however, refused to listen, but on the following day forty-seven members of the noblesse, with the Duke of Orleans at their head, joined the Third Estate, and the majority of the clergy, and were received with enthusiasm. The fusion of the several orders, however, in a single assembly was not yet complete; and as this circumstance produced an extreme state of agitation, Necker again advised the union of the three orders; and as the Queen and many influential persons supported his views, Louis XVI. yielded, and after the 27th of June the clergy, the noblesse and the Third Estate formed only one assembly, which was indiscriminately named the National and Constituent Assembly. The deliberations were henceforth general, and the distinction between the orders became extinct.

3. All moral authority having passed from the Monarch to the Assembly, the advisers of Louis XVI. imprudently persuaded him to have recourse, too late, to force. Troops were assembled in large bodies around Versailles; Necker was exiled; Marshal de Broglie, Galissonniere, the Duke of La Vauguyon, Baron de Breteuil, and the Intendant Foulon were appointed ministers; and all of them were imbued more or less with the views of the Court. The approach of the troops and the exile of Necker produced a great feeling of excitement in Paris.

Camille Desmoulins, a young and ardent demagogue, harangued the populace in the garden of the Palais Royal, and exhorted them to rush to arms. The crowd replied with acclamations; and he then proposed that a patriotic colour should be adopted—green, the symbol of hope. The orator tore a leaf from a tree and attached it to his hat: every one followed his example, and the trees of the garden were almost entirely denuded of their foliage. From thence the mob ran to a sculptor's studio to obtain the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, which were veiled with crape and borne through the streets of Paris. A tumult took place, the troops refused to act, the barriers were set on fire, and many houses were pillaged. The National Assembly, after having in vain attempted to bring about an understanding between itself and the Court, unanimously decreed the responsibility of the ministers and all the King's councillors, of whatever rank they might be; voted expressions of sympathy with Necker and the other disgraced ministers; placed the public debt under the protection of French honour, and constituted itself a permanent Assembly. The Archbishop of

Vienne was its president, and Lafayette was elected its vice-



THE TENNIS COURT OATH.

president. The populace of Paris, excited by the hostile attitude of the Court, was eager to follow up its first successes, and de-

manded arms. A Committee of Electors sitting at the Hôtel de Ville organised the National Guard, which it raised to the number of forty-eight thousand men, and to which, on the proposal of Lafayette, it gave the tricolored cockade.* "To the Bastille!—to the Bastille!" became the cry of the excited populace; and the siege of the Bastille was immediately commenced. The French Guards revolted, aided the mob with cannon, and secured the capture of the citadel, the feeble garrison of which surrendered.

The people, bearing on their pikes the bleeding trophies of their triumph, returned with immense uproar to the Hôtel de Ville, and speedily signalised their victory by many assassinations. The excitement was now at its height. The regularly constituted authorities were everywhere insulted, the law was despised, blood flowed in all directions, and a civil war was imminent.

4. The Court only regarded the insurrection of Paris as a riot. The King first proposed to dissolve the Assembly, and gave to Marshal Broglie, the commander of the army, unlimited power.

Subsequently, his resolution gave way before the serious aspect of affairs, and he proceeded in person to the Assembly. The deputies at first remained perfectly mute in the Monarch's presence; but when he said that he was but one with the nation, and that the troops should be withdrawn, loud applauses burst forth, and the Assembly, rising, reconducted the King to his palace. Louis XVI., perceiving the necessity of appeasing the capital himself, announced that Necker should be recalled, and that he would proceed on the following day to Paris, where Bailly had been appointed mayor, and Lafayette commander of the Civic Guard. It was by them that the Monarch was received. Louis entered the Hôtel de Ville unaccompanied by guards, received the tricoloured cockade amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and did not return to Versailles until he had sanctioned the acts of the people. But to sanction such acts, and to recognise, as he did, authorities elected without Royal warrant, whose avowed office it was to limit his own power, was in itself to abdicate. And

now commenced the first emigration. The Count d'Artois, the King's second brother, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Polignac family gave the example and quitted France. The return of Necker to Paris was a triumph for him, but it was also the last day of his prosperity. He endeavoured to save Bézénval, the second in command of the troops, and a prisoner in the hands of the people; and, by proposing an amnesty at once lost all his popularity. From thenceforth he endeavoured, but in vain, to struggle against the Revolution. The insurrectionary movements in Paris extended to the provinces. Everywhere the people formed themselves into municipalities and national guards. Armed men pillaged

* This cockade united white, the ancient colour of the flag of France, with red and blue, the colours of the city of Paris.

and burnt the castles of the nobility in all parts of France. The Assembly hoped to calm this fury, and in part to remove its cause by abolishing the most detested privileges, and proceeded to effect this reform on the celebrated night of the 4th of August. Vicomte de Noailles gave the signal for sacrifices by proposing the redemption of the feudal rights, and the suppression of villein services. Abuses and privileges were suppressed; votes were passed for the redemption of the tithes and their conversion into a pecuniary tax, for the suppression of exclusive hunting rights, the abolition of seigneurial justices, the sale of magisterial offices, and the inequality of taxation. On this memorable night all Frenchmen were rendered equal in the eye of the law, and all were declared equally admissible to all offices and employments, without any other distinction than that which might be bestowed by virtue or talent.

Abolition of
Privileges,
August 4,
1789.

5. Royal power, practically suspended, was at this time exercised by the National Assembly, which appointed various committees to provide for all the branches of the public service. It in the next place adopted, on the motion of Lafayette, a declaration of the rights of man, drawn up in the spirit of the celebrated declaration of the American Congress, which served as the basis of the constitution. Louis XVI. hesitated to accept it, and only did so with regret.

Acts of the
Constituent
Assembly.
Declaration of
Rights.

The Assembly decreed the permanence of the legislative body, and it was resolved that it should be indivisible and composed of a single chamber. It then remained to be determined what part in the legislature should be possessed by the King—whether he should have the power of rejecting the resolutions of the Assembly, or merely of expressing a suspensive veto. This question was the subject of the most violent debates. Paris was still in a state of great agitation. The Assembly of Electors, which had formed a provisional municipality, had been superseded. A hundred and eighty members, nominated by the districts, had constituted themselves legislators and representatives of the Commune, whilst the committees of the sixty districts of Paris, from whom they received their authority, also assumed a legislative power, and one superior to that of their proxies. The mania for public discussions had become general; clubs of every description were formed throughout the city; the discussion on the Royal veto created the most violent excitement. The Ministry, terrified at the menacing demonstration of the multitude, advised the King to abandon the unlimited veto for the suspensive veto. The Assembly then decided that the refusal of the Monarch's sanction should have no effect beyond two sessions, and then despoiled the throne of the little that remained of its former prestige. The King was advised to seek a refuge in the midst of his army, but he refused to do so. Troops, however, were brought up to Versailles, and the adversaries of the new régime felt some return of confidence. The officers of the newly-arrived regiments were fêted by their comrades in the Salle de Spectacle of the

Communes of
Paris.

château, in the presence of the King and Queen. White cockades were distributed, and the tricoloured emblems were trampled under

foot. Such was the famous Banquet of the 1st of October, the consequences of which were to be fatal to the Royal family. When this was known in Paris it occasioned a most formidable rising of the masses. A furious multitude marched on Versailles, and a conflict had already

Banquet of October 1. taken place between it and the Royal Body Guard, when Lafayette arrived at the head of the National Guard of Paris, and by his presence restored order.

The people at Versailles, October 5. Whilst everyone was asleep, however, some of the populace forced their way into the palace and it was only at the peril of his life that Lafayette succeeded in ejecting them. The multitude demanded with loud cries that the King should appear, and Louis XVI. showed himself on the grand balcony of the château. The crowd applauded, but vehemently demanded that the King should set out for Paris. Louis XVI. yielded to this demand also, and on the very same day proceeded thither with his family, escorted by his Guards, and accompanied by a hideous and bloodstained mob. The principal result of this event was to place the Court at the mercy of the multitude; and it filled with horror and affright all those who dreaded, with good reason, a mob government, and made many members of the National Assembly abandon it, and endeavour to raise the provinces, to which they severally belonged, against the National Assembly. This led the Assembly, which considered that the provinces were too vast and independent to be trusted with self-government, and required to be brought under a uniform mode of administration, to adopt, in December, 1789, a plan devised by the Abbé

Division of France into Departments. Sièyes for the division of France into eighty-three departments, of almost equal extent. Each department was divided into districts, and each district into cantons. They were to be governed in a uniform manner. Each department and district had an administrative council, and an executive directory, those of the district being subservient to those of the department. The canton, composed of five or six communes, was a simple electoral division. The administration of the commune was confided to a municipality consisting of a number of members proportioned to the population. It was this division of France into small portions which rendered Paris the burning focus of all ambitions and all intrigues, as it was that of all power. There was no longer any centre of action left to counterpoise the despotism of the capital; the life of the nation was drawn more and more from its extremities, and Paris absorbed France.

6. Some large provinces attempted to repel an organisation so opposed to their interests and destructive of their privileges; but the provincial States and Parliaments protested in vain, and were suppressed. To the resistance of these was also added that of the clergy, whom the Assembly deprived of their property by a measure no less violent and spoliative. The deficit was immense, and as

the taxes produced scarcely anything, and it was almost impossible to obtain loans, covetous eyes were thrown upon the immense possessions of the clergy as the only resource which could supply the existing necessities. Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to give up their possessions, valued at many hundreds of millions, for the benefit of the nation, which would employ them in the payment of its debt and the support of religion. The clergy refused, and thereupon the Assembly declared that the nation on taking on itself the maintenance of public worship, might repossess itself of what was really its own property. The public expenses required in this first year four hundred millions. State votes were rated to the amount of this sum, the currency of which was enforced by law, and which were mortgages on the gross property of the clergy. Such was the origin of the assignats. This violent spoliation of the clergy, and subsequent suppression of the religious orders, was speedily followed by the fatal vote determining the civil constitution of the clergy. This vote established a bishopric in each department, gave to the people the right of electing bishops and curates, and allotted to ecclesiastics salaries in the room of the property which they had formerly possessed, and which the nation had seized. A schism now took place in this order: many of its deputies immediately abandoning the Assembly, and joining the dissenting noblemen. The Assembly next drew over the army to the cause of the Revolution by declaring that military rank and promotion should be independent of titles of nobility. It abolished all these titles at the instigation of the popular members of the nobility, and organised the judicial body on a new basis. It established a Criminal Tribunal for each department, a Civil Tribunal for each district, and a "Tribunal de Paix" for each canton; and, following the English example, it introduced juries in the criminal trials. It rendered all magisterial offices temporary and conferrable by election, in the same manner as the political and administrative ones; and based its whole legislation, in short, on the principle of the sovereignty of the people. The King was allowed to retain the initiative in respect to questions of peace or war; but the final decision upon them was reserved for the Legislative Council.

The clergy
deprived
of their
property.

First
assignats.

Civil Consti-
tution of the
clergy,
July 12, 1793.

Organisation
of the Judicial
Body.

7. As the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille approached, it was resolved to celebrate it with extraordinary brilliancy in the Champ de Mars, where, Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, celebrated a solemn mass on a vast altar. Lafayette, as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of the kingdom, advanced first of all to take the civil oath, and was followed by all the deputies sent from the eighty-three departments, amidst the roar of artillery, and prolonged cries of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!" Louis XVI. then arose, and said, "I, King of the French, swear to use all the power which is delegated

Fête of the
Federation,
July 14.

to me by the Act of the Constitution of the State, to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me." The populace burst forth into enthusiastic acclamations; but this was the last day of hope for Louis XVI. and his family; if indeed the King could still hope when all his power was reduced to a shadow. Party intrigues were renewed on the following day. Necker sent in his resignation on the 4th of September. A great number of the nobility emigrated, and the spirit of insurrection made progress amongst the people and in the army. The

Foundation of Clubs. creation of clubs multiplied the seeds of agitation, and precipitated France towards anarchy. The clubs at July 12, 1790. first were private assemblies, without any political authority, in which the members discussed the affairs of the nation. The first formed with this object was that of the Breton deputies, which was held at the ancient convent of the Jacobins, from whence it received its name; but this club soon extended its views, and desired to exercise an influence over the Assembly, the municipality and the populace. Its members formed alliances with similar associations in the provinces, and raised side by side with the legal power, one which was still more powerful, and which successively overruled and destroyed the other. The emigration continued. The King's aunts left France; and Louis XVI., who was suspected of wishing to join them, was arrested by the people, and detained in Paris at the moment when he was preparing to quit the capital for Saint Cloud. The Assembly, whilst proclaiming the inviolability of the Monarch, declared that his flight from the kingdom would lead to the forfeiture of his throne. And now the deputies, having destroyed all privileges and completed the Constitution according to their own idea, became terrified at the immense void which they had created around the throne, and manifested a more monarchical tendency, being led to do so chiefly by Mirabeau, who, regretting the part he had taken in weakening the throne, and setting on foot the Revolution, which began to threaten to overwhelm all order in France, endeavoured to stem its tide, and tried

Death of Mirabeau. to exert his influence in favour of the Court. He succeeded in procuring the rejection of a violent decree against the emigrants, on the ground that it was an infringement of personal liberty, and died soon after, April 2, 1791. in 1791, regretted by all parties in the nation.

The sullen murmurs of the storm already began to be heard on the frontier. The emigrants petitioned all Europe to assist them against France, and formed two bodies, the one under Condé at Worms, and the other under the Count d'Artois at Coblenz. This Prince went with Calonne, his minister, to the Emperor Leopold,

Declaration of Mantua, 1791. and the secret declaration of Mantua, signed on the 20th of May, 1791, was the result of their deliberations. It promised to Louis XVI. the assistance of a coalition of which Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and the Kings of Sardinia, Spain, and Prussia were to be members. But Louis was anxious to restore the monarchy by his own exertions, and for this purpose

he endeavoured to reach Montmedy, to join the army under the command of Boullé. On June 20, at night time, the Royal family issued forth disguised from the Tuileries, passed the barriers of Paris without interruption, and immediately proceeded by the road leading to Châlons and Montmedy. On receiving information of this event, the Assembly immediately assumed the executive sway, assured the various powers of its pacific intentions, and sent commissioners to the troops to receive their oaths of fidelity in its own name. After a short interval news arrived of the King's arrest at Varennes, and soon after he was brought into Paris, where he was received with a sinister silence. The question then was, whether Louis XVI. should continue to reign or should be declared dethroned. The Assembly, at the instigation of Barnave, declared that it was not competent to try Louis XVI. or to pronounce his dethronement; but at the same time, for the sake of calming the popular excitement, it decreed that the King would have abdicated *de facto*, and have ceased to be inviolable if he should wage war against the nation, or suffer it to be done in his name. This decree irritated the populace. The agitators prepared a petition in which they appealed to the sovereignty of the people, and spoke of Louis XVI. as having ceased to reign since his flight. This was carried on July 17 to the Champ de Mars, to the "altar of the country," where the demagogues Danton and Camille Desmoulins harangued an immense crowd, and excited them to insurrection. The peril now became imminent, and the Assembly directed the municipality to watch over the public safety. Lafayette and Bailly proceeded to the Champ de Mars at the head of a numerous body of National Guards, and were compelled to order the soldiers to fire on the mob in order to disperse them.

Flight of the
Royal family,
June 20,
1791.

Arrest of the
King at
Varennes.

Petition of the
Champ de
Mars,
July 17, 1791.

8. These deplorable dissensions led the adversaries of the Revolution to the committal of imprudent acts. Monsieur assumed at Brussels the title of Regent. The Emperor, the King of Prussia, and Count d'Artois met together at Pilnitz, where they signed, at the risk of compromising the King whom they wished to defend, the treaty of July 27. In this they demanded that Louis XVI. should be replaced upon the throne, and that the Assembly should be dissolved; threatening that if this were not done, they would inflict the most terrible calamities upon France. The Assembly, greatly irritated, replied to these threats by levying a hundred thousand National Guards, and putting the frontiers in a state of defence. In the meantime the end of its term of office drew near, and the convocation of the electoral colleges was fixed by it for the 5th of August. A fatal decree, which had been passed before the departure of the King for Varennes, had interdicted any of the members from forming a portion of the next Assembly, and in accordance with this principle of change Bailly resigned the mayoralty, and Lafayette the command of the National Guards.

First coalition,
1791.

Treaty of
Pilitz,
July 27, 1791.

It was in this way that the guidance of the Revolution was given over to new men who commenced another for the purpose of obtaining for themselves notoriety and fortune.

Before dissolving, the Assembly condensed its constitutional decrees into a single code, declaring that France had a right to review its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to put it in force before thirty years. The King accepted the Constitutional

Act without reserve; and on the 29th of September he closed the Assembly with some touching words, which were received by it with acclamations, and every testimony of respect and love. Then Thouret, addressing the people, pronounced these words: "The Constituent Assembly declares that its mission is accomplished, and that at this moment it terminates its sittings."

Closing of the
Constituent
Assembly,
September 29,
1791.



MIRABEAU.



CHAPTER XII.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, FROM OCTOBER 1, 1791, TO SEPTEMBER 20, 1792.

1. OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY: ITS COMPOSITION: INFLUENCE OF THE CLUBS: DECREE ON THE OBLIGATION OF THE CIVIL OATH. 2. PREPARATIONS FOR WAR: GIRONDIST MINISTRY: WAR DECLARED AGAINST AUSTRIA: FIRST REVERSES: DISMISSAL OF THE GIRONDIST MINISTRY. 3. "FEUILLANT" MINISTRY: THE MOB AT THE TUILERIES: HOSTILITY OF THE ASSEMBLY TO THE KING. 4. ADVANCE OF THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK: POPULAR AGITATION: ATTACK ON THE TUILERIES; FALL OF THE MONARCHY: THE ROYAL FAMILY IN THE TEMPLE. 5. CAPTIVITY OF LAFAYETTE AT OLMUTZ: PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMUNE: FOREIGN INVASION: MASSACRE IN THE PRISONS. 6. DUMOURIEZ CHECKS THE PRUSSIAN AT ARGONNE: BATTLE OF VALMY: RETREAT OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY.

1. **T**HE Court, the noblesse, and the clergy had no influence over the new elections, which were conducted simply in accordance with the popular will; and the Assembly opened its sittings on the 1st of October, 1791. The minority of the last Assembly was the majority of this, and the parties into which it was divided did not fail to be speedily apparent. The Right, composed of

Opening of the
Legislative
Assembly,
October 1, 1791.

men firmly attached to the Constitution, formed the Feuillant party, which was supported by the club of that name, which had been originated by the younger Barnave, the National Guard, and the army; but it speedily yielded the important affairs of the municipality to its adversaries of the Left, which composed the Girondist party, at the head of which shone the celebrated orators of the Gironde, from which it took its name, Vergniaud, Gaudet, Gensonné, Brissot, Condorcet, and the furious Isnard. This party was disposed to have recourse to the most violent measures, and to appeal to the multitude to aid it in carrying forward the Revolution. Without the doors of the Assembly the democratic faction supported the Girondists, and led the clubs and the multitude. Robespierre ruled at the Jacobins; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine were the leaders at the Cordeliers, which was still more violent than the other, and the brewer Santerre was the popular chief in the faubourgs. The emigration increased day by day. The King's two brothers had protested against the acceptance of the Constitutional Act by Louis XVI. Hostile gatherings took place in the Austrian Low Countries, and in the neighbouring electorates. Preparations for the counter revolution were made at Brussels, Worms and Coblenz, under the protection of foreign courts. The Assembly, greatly irritated, adopted on the 30th of October a decree which declared Louis Stanislaus Xavier, the King's brother, deprived of all right to the Regency unless he should return to France within two months; it next declared that the Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers were suspected of conspiring against their country, and that if on the 1st of January, 1792, they were still assembled in that hostile manner they would be treated as conspirators, and punished with death. The King sanctioned the first decree, but placed his veto on the other.

Decree on the obligation of the civil oath
October 30,
1791.

2. The national irritation was at this time greatly excited by the conduct of the Princes of the neighbouring States, who received the emigrants with favour and countenanced their military preparations. It was desired that Louis XVI. should make a solemn declaration against them; the proposed measure was decreed unanimously and enthusiastically; and Louis XVI. approved it. "If my representations are not listened to," he said, "it will only remain for me to declare war." The Assembly voted twenty millions for this object. A hundred and fifty thousand men were raised; three armies were formed, which were posted on the northern and eastern frontiers, under the command of Rochambeau, Luckner and Lafayette. Austria replied to this decree by ordering Marshal Bender to support the Elector of Trèves if he were attacked, and demanded the restoration of the German Princes who were formerly possessors in Alsatia. It demanded the re-establishment of the feudality of this province or war. The Legislative Assembly now accused the ministry of weakness and bad faith, and a total dissolution of the council followed. The King, yielding to pressure of

Preparations
for war.

circumstances, now formed a Girondist ministry, the most remarkable members of which were General Durnouriez and Roland, a man of narrow mind, completely under the control of his wife, who herself yielded to the control of a dangerous enthusiasm, and was the life and soul of the Girondist party. Louis XVI. replied to the demands of Austria by proposing war, and the Assembly so determined. The invasion of Brussels, which was in the occupation of the Prussians, was resolved on, and Rochambeau was ordered to undertake it. The two first invading columns, however, were seized with terror at the sight of the Prussian army, and took flight. Rochambeau resigned the command, and the war assumed a defensive character. Two armies covered the French frontiers on the north and the east, under Lafayette and Luckner.

Girondist
Ministry,
March, 1792.

War declared
against
Austria,
April 1792.

First reverses.

The first reverse suffered by the French troops excited great anxiety and violent discontent. The Court was accused of being in complicity with the enemy, and the Assembly declared its sitting permanent. It passed two decrees contrary to the King's wishes. The one exiled the priests who refused the oath of allegiance to the constitution; the other established a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris. The ministers took the King to task on the subject of his constitutional duties, and exhorted him to make himself frankly the King of the Revolution. This wounded the King, and determined him to dismiss the Girondists ministers and reject the two decrees. The Assembly immediately declared that the late ministers had the sympathy of the nation.

Dismissal of
the Girondist
Ministry.

3. The new Ministry was chosen from amongst the "Feuillants," a party distasteful to the multitude for their moderation, and to the Court for their attachment to the Constitution. The various parties became more and more divided; every hope of reconciliation vanished; and each sought to be victorious by the most discreditable means. The Court reckoned upon Europe for the restoration of its power, and the Girondists relied upon the populace to enable them to secure theirs. Chabot, Santerre and others of the Jacobin clubs kept the faubourgs in a state of commotion; on the 20th of June thirty thousand men, armed with pikes, marched to the Tuileries, the gates of which they shook. The King had them opened, and presented himself alone before the insurgents. Summoned by the mob to sanction the two decrees, he refused with admirable courage, but he dared not decline the red cap which was presented to him at the end of a pike, and he placed it on his head amidst the applause of the populace. Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, arrived at length, and harangued the multitude, which readily dispersed, satisfied for the time with having outraged majesty with impunity. The Constitutionalists, indignant at this occurrence, entreated the King to grant them his confidence, and accept their support; and Lafayette

"Feuillant"
Ministry,
June, 1792.

The mob at
the Tuileries,
June 20, 1792.

besought him to place himself at the head of his army. But a fatality blinded the unfortunate Monarch, and he refused. The King was now the object, in the debates of the Assembly, of the most violent invectives, and the question of his de-thronement was already discussed, when, on the 5th of July, the Assembly declared the country in danger. All the citizens capable of bearing arms were summoned to enrol themselves: pikes were distributed; a camp was formed at Soissons; the revolutionary excitement was at its height; the Club of the Feuillants was closed; the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the National Guard were dissolved; the troops of the line and the Swiss were removed from the capital, and everything betokened some catastrophe.

4. The Duke of Brunswick was now advancing at the head of seventy thousand Prussians and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians and emigrants, and this caused a general rising of the whole French people. In Paris the popular party wished to annul the King's authority at once. On August 3, Pétion appeared before the Assembly and demanded the dethronement of the King, in the name of the Commune and the Sections. This petition was referred to a committee of twelve members. The scenes of disorder grew more frequent day by day, and the insurgents fixed the morning of August the 10th for the attack on the Tuileries. Informed of the threatening demonstrations that were everywhere taking place, the Court had put the Tuileries in a state of defence; the interior was guarded by from eight to nine hundred Swiss, and a body of gentlemen armed with swords and pistols. Several battalions of National Guards, distinguished for their Royalist sentiments, occupied the courtyard and the exterior posts, but an unfortunate blow shook their resolution. Mandat, the commander-in-chief, was summoned before the New Council of the Commune to render an account of his conduct, and the mob murdered him on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. Santerre, the brewer, immediately succeeded him in his command, and the Court thus found itself deprived of one of its most reliable defences. The insurgents, aroused in every direction by the terrible Danton, advanced in several columns, and pointed their guns against the Tuileries. The King, by the advice of some of his friends, then proceeded with his family to the hall of the Assembly amidst the vociferations of the populace. After the departure of the King a furious conflict took place between the Swiss and the assailants, and the Swiss, whom a first volley had made master of the Carrousel, were driven back by the multitude, dispersed, and exterminated. This was the last day of the Monarchy. A new municipality that had been established by the actions of the Jacobins, proceeded to the Assembly and demanded the dethronement of the King and the establishment of a National Convention. Vergniaud replied by proposing the summoning of an extraordinary Assembly, the dis-

Hostility of
the Assembly
to the King.

Advance of
the Duke of
Brunswick.

Popular agita-
tion. Attack
on the
Tuileries. Fall
of the
Monarchy,
August 10,
1792.

missal of the Ministers, and the suspension of the King's authority. These measures were approved of, and the Girondist Ministers were re-established in power. The unfortunate Louis XVI. was taken to the Temple with his family, and September the 20th was appointed as the day for the opening of the Assembly which was to decide the destinies of the nation.

5. The enemy's army continued to approach, and there was reason to fear a civil war. Lafayette, preferring to resign his command to engaging in such a war, left his army and crossed the frontier, but being recognised by the Austrian outposts, he was arrested, and the Emperor had him first confined at Magdeburg, and then at Olmütz, in defiance of the law of nations. On the 10th of August the victorious party proceeded to establish its power in Paris by the most violent methods. It had all the statues of Kings pulled down, demanded of the Assembly the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal for the trial of those whom it termed the conspirators or August the 10th. This tribunal was established; but its proceedings appeared too dilatory to the terrible Commune, which was under the influence of Marat, Panis, Sergent, Jourdeuil, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes and Tallien, and especially under the control of the fiery and formidable Danton, who had been recently appointed Minister of Justice, and was surnamed the Mirabeau of the populace.

The Prussians, supported by thirty-six thousand Austrians and ten thousand Hessians, threatened the frontier of the north, and six thousand French emigrants, under the command of the Prince of Condé, marched against France in concert with them. Longwy capitulated; Verdun was bombarded; and thenceforth the road to Paris was open. Terror reigned throughout Paris; numerous arrests were immediately made by order of the Commune. The prisoners were selected from the ranks of the dissenting noblesse and the clergy. Troops marched towards the frontier. Ill-omened rumours chilled every soul; the Commune exerted itself, and measures were taken for a general levy of the citizens.

The news of the capture of Verdun reached Paris on the night or the 1st of September, and filled it with a species of stupefaction. The Commune seized that moment to execute its execrable projects. The tocsin was sounded, the barriers were closed, and the massacre of prisoners commenced. During three days the nobles and the priests who had been imprisoned at the Abbaye, the Conciergerie, Carmes, and La Force were murdered by a band of three hundred ruffians in the midst of a hideous parody of judicial forms. The brutal mob made horrible saturnalia around the Temple, and displayed under the windows of that royal prison, in the sight of the Queen, the head of her friend, the unfortunate Princess Lamballe. The Assembly wished to check the massacres, but found itself unable to do so. The Commune reigned alone in Paris.

The Royal family in the Temple.

Captivity of Lafayette at Olmütz.

Foreign invasion, August, 1792.

Massacre in the prisons, September 2, 1792.

6. The Prussians continued to advance. Dumouriez, who had been appointed to the command of the army of the Moselle, threw his troops, by an inspiration of genius, into the forest of Argonne, the only position in which he could check the progress of the enemy. The Prussians were compelled to halt; but an error committed by Dumouriez forced him to fall back upon the camp of Sainte-Menehould, where he concentrated his forces, and received reinforcements under the command of Beurnonville and Kellermann. On September the 20th the Prussians attacked Kellermann at Valmy, but the honour of the day remained with the French. The Duke of Brunswick offered to withdraw from France if the French would replace the constitutional King upon the throne. The Executive Council replied that it could not listen to any proposals before the Prussian troops had withdrawn from French soil, and the Duke of Brunswick then ordered a retreat. The French resumed possession of Verdun and Longwy, and the enemy repassed the Rhine at Coblenz. Other successes attended the French arms in the course of this campaign. Custine, on the Rhine, took possession of Trèves, Spires and Mayence; Montesquieu invaded Savoy, and Anselme the county of Nice. The French troops everywhere assumed the offensive, and were victorious.

Dumouriez
checks the
Prussians at
Argonne.

Battle of Valmy
September
20, 1792.

Retreat of the
Prussian army,
September 30,
1792



COBLENZ.



THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION TO THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS.

September 20, 1792, to June 2, 1793.

1. OPENING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC: THE GIRONDISTS AND THE MOUNTAIN. 2. VICTORY OF JEMAPPES: CONQUEST OF BELGIUM. 3. TRIAL OF LOUIS XVI.: DEBATES AFTER THE TRIAL: SENTENCE OF DEATH PRONOUNCED. 4. LAST INTERVIEW OF THE KING WITH HIS FAMILY: DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. 5. GENERAL RISING OF EUROPE AGAINST FRANCE: CREATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL: WAR IN LA VENDEE. 6. BATTLE OF NERWINDE: DEFECTION OF DUMOURIEZ: INSURRECTION AGAINST THE GIRONDISTS: FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS.

1. **T**HE Legislative Assembly had dissolved itself, and that which succeeded it commenced its sitting on the 20th of September, 1792, and took the name of the National Convention. Its first act was to abolish Royalty, and to proclaim a Republic; and it then declared that it would date its proceedings from the first year of the French Republic. These measures were decreed unanimously, but the two sections into which the Legislative

Opening of the
National Con-
vention.

Assembly was divided at its close, speedily commenced a desperate war against each other, the issue of which was fatal to both of them. These parties were that of the Girondists, which sat on the right in the Assembly, and that of the Mountain, which occupied the upper benches on the left, from whence they derived their name. The first party desired a legal and constitutional form of government in the Republic, which was the object of their wishes, and which they had themselves assisted to establish. The Mountain, less enlightened and less eloquent than the Girondists, were more audacious and less scrupulous as to the means by which they attained their ends. The most extreme democracy seemed to them to be the best form of government, and they had for their principal leaders, Danton, Robespierre and Marat, of whom the two last-named were, with good reason, held in especial horror by the Girondists.

Robespierre, a man of moderate talents but full of envy and ambition, aspired to the first rank, and triumphed over all superiority by branding it with the then odious name of aristocracy. He distinguished himself in the eyes of the multitude by a show of austere patriotism, and captivated it by lavishing upon it the property and blood of the vanquished. Marat, a furious fanatic, had rendered himself the apostle of murder by his discourses; and in his infamous journal, *The Friend of the People*, he advocated recourse to a dictatorship for the purpose of subduing the enemies of the people, and exterminating them in a body. The Girondists were stronger in the Assembly than their rivals, but the Commune of Paris was devoted to the Mountain, which ruled by its aid and that of the Jacobins the sections and the faubourgs. A third party, with no decided opinions and no systematic action, hesitated between the two others. They voted for the Girondists, and gave them the majority, as long as they were without fears for themselves; but fear at length threw them into the opposite ranks. The Girondists accused Robespierre of seeking to establish a tyranny. This accusation, ill supported, fell also upon Marat, who every day advocated fresh massacres. But by these attacks, which were renewed from day to day, the Girondists increased the importance of their adversaries; failing to perceive that they must vanquish and crush them, or perish themselves. Powerless against the Commune, they yielded also to their enemies the Club of the Jacobins, and irritated the populace of Paris by demanding that the protection of the Assembly should be confided to troops drawn from the departments. From thence they obtained the name of Federalists, and were accused of wishing to excite the provinces against the capital, whilst the Mountain had proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the Republic.

2. The French arms triumphed in Belgium. Dumouriez defeated the Austrians under General Clairfait and the Archduke Albert at Jemappes. The enemy was driven beyond the Roër, and the victorious general entered Brussels on the 14th, whilst his lieutenants.

Proclamation
of the Repub-
lic, September
20, 1792.
The Girondists
and the
Mountain.
Victory of
Jemappes,
November 6,
1792.

took Namur and Antwerp. The whole of Belgium was subdued. From this time began the dissensions between the victorious Dumouriez and the Jacobins. The latter threw themselves upon the conquered provinces as their prey. The Flemings, weary of the Austrian yoke, had received the French with enthusiasm, and as liberators. But the

Conquest of
Belgium.



FRENCH INFANTRY OF 1792.

Jacobins speedily alienated them by demanding heavy contributions, and gave them up to a frightful anarchy. Dumouriez, indignant, returned to Paris with the double object of repressing their violence and saving Louis XVI.; but his efforts were vain.

3. The unfortunate Monarch languished during four months in the Tower of the Temple, with the Queen, his two children, and his virtuous sister Elizabeth; passing his time in reading and the education of the young Dauphin. The Commune exercised a cruel surveillance over its captives, and made them drink deep of bitter-

ness. The debate on the King's trial commenced on the 23rd of November, and it was soon decided to bring him before the Convention on various charges, the chief of which was conspiracy with the European powers to overthrow the sovereignty and liberties of the French people. The Mountain, urging with the utmost energy the condemnation of the King, wished to crush the Girondists, who had openly expressed their desire to save him. The great majority of the Assembly persisted in conducting this great trial according to judicial forms; and Louis XVI., already separated from his

Trial of Louis XVI. family, appeared as a prisoner before the Convention, whose jurisdiction he did not deny. His bearing was firm and noble, his replies were precise, touching, and almost always victorious. On being reconducted to the Temple, he requested to be allowed counsel, and, by permission of the Convention, Tronchet and Malesherbes immediately commenced the preparation of the King's defence, and took counsel with Desèze, an advocate of Bordeaux, established in Paris. When the King was taken a second time before the Convention, he appeared at the bar accompanied by his counsel. Desèze read the defence, and concluded this pathetic address with these solemn and true words:

"Louis, ascending the throne at the age of twenty years, set there an example of morals, justice and economy. He carried to it no weakness, no corrupt passion, and was the constant friend of the people. The people wished that a disastrous tax should be abolished, and Louis abolished it; the people desired the abolition of servitude, and Louis abolished it; the people solicited reforms, and he made them; the people wished to change its laws, and he consented to the change; the people wished that millions of Frenchmen should recover their rights, and he restored them; the people wished for liberty, and he bestowed it on them. It is impossible to deny to Louis the glory of having anticipated the wishes of the people by his sacrifices; and this man it is proposed to you to — But, citizens, I will not complete what I was about to say. I pause in the presence of history. Remember that it will judge your judgment, and that its verdict will be that of all ages to come." Louis XVI. left the hall with his counsel, and a violent storm immediately arose in the Assembly. Lanjuinais, in a state of great indignation, rushed to the tribune, and demanded that the whole proceedings should be annulled. His appeal was followed by a

Debates after the Trial.

terrible tumult, and from all sides arose the cry, "Order! To the Abbaye with him!" Lanjuinais, calm and intrepid, added, "I would rather die a thousand deaths than condemn, contrary to the law, the most abominable tyrant." A crowd of speakers succeeded Lanjuinais. Saint Just influenced the hatred of the unfortunate Prince's enemies by representing him, with an air of hypocritical gentleness, under the most abominable colours. Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, a Protestant minister, who had already honourably distinguished himself as a member of the Constituent Assembly, expressed himself, on the other hand, as indignant at the accumulation of powers exercised by the Convention. Sullen

Robespierre then arose and said, with an accent of the deepest wrath and malice, "The chief proof of devotion which we owe to our country is, to stifle in our hearts every sentiment of compassion." He then broke forth into invectives and perfidious insinuations against the deputies of the Gironde, who at this critical moment preserved a prudent silence, whilst Robespierre expressed himself without reserve, demanded that Louis XVI. should be condemned, and did not conceal his desire that his blood should be shed. These stormy debates were prolonged during three days, and at length Vergnaud, the greatest orator of the Girondist party, arose to speak, and was listened to in profound silence. He declared in favour of an appeal to the people, repelled the perfidious insinuations of Robespierre, and predicted all the dangers which must result to France from a precipitate condemnation. The impression produced by this discourse was profound, and the Assembly, divided into two parties, hesitated. Brissot, Gensonné, Pétion advised an appeal to the people; Barrère opposed this course, and his cat-like cunning, his cold and cruel logic triumphed over the eloquence of Vergnaud. The conclusion of the discussion was declared, and a decree fixed the nominal vote for the 14th of January. On this day, seven hundred of the Convention appeared to record their votes, and sentence of death on the King was pronounced by a majority of twenty-six, the King's cousin, the Duke of Orleans, being among those who declared that he ought to die on the scaffold. The counsel of Louis XVI., Desèze and Tronchet, protested against the decree; Malesherbes endeavoured to speak, but sobs choked his voice. A motion for reprieve and delay was negatived two days later by a majority of three hundred and ninety against three hundred and ten, and the execution was fixed for January 21.

Sentence
of Death
pronounced.

4. Louis had requested the services of a priest, and had named the Abbé Edgeworth de Firmont. The request was granted. A last interview with his family had been permitted to the unfortunate monarch on the day preceding that which had been fixed for his execution. Early in the morning the Queen entered his chamber, leading the Dauphin by the hand; his daughter and Madame Elizabeth followed; and all four threw themselves simultaneously into the King's arms, with the most bitter sobs. After a long and painful interview, the King rose and put an end to this cruel scene by promising to see his family on the morrow—a promise which could not be fulfilled. His only thought now was how best to prepare himself for death. About midnight he went to bed and slept until five in the morning. When the King was dressed, the Abbé Edgeworth said mass. Louis XVI. received the communion on his knees from the priest's hands, and rose with the courage of the Christian and the just man.

Last interview
of the King
with his family.

The drums were already beating in the streets of Paris, and the Sections were assuming their arms. At eight o'clock Santerre, accompanied by a deputation from the Commune, the department,

and the criminal tribunal, proceeded to the Temple. The King prepared to depart. He spared himself and his family a fresh separation, which would have been more painful than that of the previous day, and charged his faithful servant Cléry to give his last farewell to his wife, his sister, and his children; then gave the signal for departure. Two rows of armed men lined the road as far as the Place de la Révolution, and a profound silence accompanied the passage of the fatal carriage. At half-past ten Louis XVI. arrived at the Place de la Révolution; a vast space had been kept vacant

round the scaffold, cannon were planted in every direction, and armed troops kept back the populace who, at the sight of their victim, uttered the most ferocious cries. The King undressed himself, and when he refused to allow the executioner to bind his hands, the Abbé Edgeworth said to him: "Suffer this outrage, which is but a final point of resemblance between your fate and that of the God who will be your recompense." Louis submitted, and allowed himself to be bound and led upon the scaffold. When there, he suddenly stepped aside from the executioners, and, addressing the multitude, said, "I die innocent; I pardon my enemies, and you, unhappy people. . . ." The rolling of drums then drowned his voice, and the executioner seized him. "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to heaven!" said Abbé Edgeworth; and Louis XVI. had already ceased to live.

5. After what occurred on the 21st of January, indignant Europe flew to arms with one accord. Thenceforth the Revolution had for its declared enemies England, Holland, Spain, the whole German Confederation, Naples, the Holy See and Russia; whilst almost at the same time La Vendée arose in formidable revolt. The French Government had now to contend with, besides enemies at home, three hundred and fifty thousand of the best troops in Europe, who were moving upon the frontiers in every direction. To meet such a combination of perils, a levy of 300,000 men was ordered, and an extraordinary and revolutionary tribunal of nine members, whose decrees were to be without appeal, was established for the purpose of punishing the members of the Counter-Revolution. The Girondists resisted the establishment of a tribunal so arbitrary and formidable, but their resistance was useless. Branded by the name of intriguers and enemies of the people, their destruction was already resolved on. The insurrection in La Vendée redoubled the fury of the Jacobins.

There the manners of old times were maintained together with the feudal customs; there the country populations remained submissive to the priests and nobles, the latter of whom had not emigrated. The call for three hundred thousand men excited a general insurrection in La Vendée, the chief leaders being a waggoner named Cathelineau, a naval officer named Charette, and Stofflet, a gamekeeper, while the nobles Bonchamps, Lescure, La Rochejaquelin, d'Elbée and Talmont joined and supported the movement with the utmost energy. They vanquished

Death of Louis XVI., January 21, 1793.

General rising of Europe against France, 1793.

Creation of a revolutionary tribunal, March 20, 1793.

War in La Vendée, 1792-1794.

the troops of the line, and the battalions of the National Guard which were sent against them. The Republican Generals Marcé, Gauvilliers, Quétineau and Ligonnier were beaten by them one after another. This formidable insurrection provoked the Convention to still more cruel measures against the priests and nobles; every one who took part in any riot was put beyond the pale of the law; the property of the emigrants was confiscated, and the Revolutionary tribunal commenced its frightful functions.

6. Another enemy now appeared. Dumouriez, after an unsuccessful invasion of Holland, had been vanquished at the battle of Nerwinde by the Prince of Coburg, the Austrian commander-in-chief, and had been compelled to evacuate Belgium. Long since at open war with the Jacobins, he had meditated their overthrow, and the re-establishment of the constitutional monarchy. With this object in view, he resolved to desert from the existing government, and to march upon Paris in concert with the Austrians. The Convention having gained a knowledge of his projects, sent to arrest him in the midst of his soldiers, and Dumouriez, finding that he could not rely on their support, was compelled to pass over in haste to the enemy's camp.

Battle of Nerwinde, March 18th, 1794.

Defection of Dumouriez, April, 1793.

The Girondists made as severe animadversions on his conduct as did the Mountain, but they were nevertheless accused of being in complicity with him. Vergniaud, Brissot, Gaudet, Gensonné and Pétion were more especially denounced by Robespierre and Marat. Gaudet, with the object of freeing the Assembly from the tyranny of the Jacobins and the Commune, proposed bold measures, such as the dissolution of the municipality, and the assembling of the Convention at Bourges, and this and other measures soon provoked a war to the death between the Girondists and the municipality. Determined to put an end to their influence in the Convention and to render the Convention itself completely subject to their own will, the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs and the Sections declared their sittings permanent, and organized a formidable insurrection with the view of crushing the Girondists at once and for ever.

Henriot was appointed to the command of the armed force. Forty sous per day were promised to the Sans-culottes, as the ragged partisans of the Commune and the Jacobins were styled, so long as they should be under arms. The alarm gun was fired, the tocsin was sounded, and on the 2nd of June sixty thousand armed men surrounded the Convention. The intrepid Lanjuinais ran to the tribune, and there, in the midst of the most furious denunciations, he denounced the projects of the factions, and concluded by moving that all the Revolutionary authorities in the capital should be deposed. The insurgent petitioners entered at that moment, and demanded his arrest and that of the other Girondists. A violent debate took place, in the midst of which Lacroix rushed into the hall, complaining of outrages to which he had been subjected by the mob, and declaring

Insurrection against the Girondists, May 31, 1793.

Fall of the Girondists, June 2.

that the Convention was not free. The Mountain itself was indignant; Danton exclaimed that the national majesty must be avenged. The whole of the Convention arose, and set forth with the president at its head. On the Place du Carrousel it met Henriot on horseback, sword in hand. "What does the people require?" asked the President Herault de Sechelles. "It demands that twenty-four criminals should be delivered up to it," replied Henriot. "We will all be delivered up, rather!" cried the deputies. Henriot had his cannon pointed against them, and the Convention fell back. Surrounded on every side, it re-entered the Hall of Assembly in a state of profound discouragement, where it no longer opposed the arrest of the proscribed deputies, and Marat constituted himself dictator as to the fate of its members. Twenty-four Girondists were arrested in the midst of the Assembly, and the satisfied multitude dispersed. From that moment the Girondist party was crushed, and the Convention was no longer free.



ROBESPIERRE.



CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS TO THAT OF ROBESPIERRE, *June, 2, 1793, to July, 27, 1794.*

1. DEATH OF MARAT : INSURRECTION OF LYONS AND OTHER TOWNS : THE REVOLT IN LA VENDEE : RETREAT OF THE FRENCH ON THE SCARPE.
2. THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY : THE LAWS OF MAXIMUM AND SUSPECTED PERSONS : REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION OF THE COUNTRY THE WAR IN LA VENDEE : CAMPAIGN OF 1793 : OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH : VICTORY OF HONDSCHOOOTE : RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF DUNKIRK : SIEGE OF MAUBEUGE : VICTORY OF WATTIGNIES : POSITION OF FRANCE : RETREAT OF THE ALLIES.
3. THE REIGN OF TERROR : ATROCIOUS VENGEANCE OF THE CONVENTIONS : EXECUTION OF MARIE ANTOINETTE : PUNISHMENT OF THE GIRONDISTS : THE REPUBLICAN CALENDAR : THE WORSHIP OF REASON.
4. FALL OF THE COMMUNE : ARREST OF THE DANTONISTS : THEIR EXECUTION : SANGUINARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.
5. CAMPAIGN OF 1794 : VICTORIES OF MOUSCRON AND TURCOING : BATTLE OF FLEURUS : INVASION OF BELGIUM BY PICHEGRU : VICTORIES ON THE OURTHE AND ROER : CAPTURE BY NIMEGUEN : SUCCESSES IN THE EAST AND SOUTH.
6. CONSPIRACY AGAINST ROBESPIERRE : FALL OF ROBESPIERRE : END OF THE REIGN OF TERROR.

1. **T**HE Girondists Pétion, Barbaroux, Gaudet, Louvet, Buzot and Lanjuinais succeeded in escaping, and took advantage of the indignation excited throughout France by the events of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June to arouse the departments to arms. Brittany took part in the movement, and the insurgents, under the name of the Assembly of the Departments, assembled at Caen, formed an army commanded by General Wimpfen, and made preparations for marching upon Paris. It was from thence that set out the heroic Charlotte Corday, a young

girl endowed with an ardent soul, as courageous as it was enthusiastic, who stabbed the atrocious Marat with a dagger in his bath, and died on the scaffold with exemplary courage. In the meantime the dangers by which the Convention was surrounded became greater every day; the principal cities of the kingdom and more than sixty departments were in a state of revolt. Lyons on the 2nd of June declared against the Convention, and twenty thousand men took up arms within its walls. Marseilles rose at the same time; Toulon, Nîmes and Montauban followed this example, and in all those cities the Royalists headed the movement. They summoned the English to Toulon to their aid, and Admiral Hood entered that place to proclaim the young Dauphin, son of Louis XVI., King, by the name of Louis XVII. Bordeaux, equally in a state of revolt, declared in favour of the deputies proscribed on the 2nd of June. The insurrection extended to the West; the Vendéans became masters of Bressuire, Argenton and Thouars; forty thousand men under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet and La Rochejacquelin, took Saumur and Angers, and threw themselves upon Nantes. The position of the Republic was no more happy abroad. It was in vain that Custine was appointed to the command of the army of the North; Mayence capitulated after a splendid resistance, which obtained for its defenders the title of Mayençais; the enemy took Valenciennes and Condé; the frontier was entered, and the French army, greatly discouraged, retired behind the Scarpe, the last defensive position between the enemy and Paris.

2. The Convention resolved boldly to face all these perils which it had itself excited. To meet the necessities of the moment it appointed a Committee of Public Safety, whose principal members were Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, Cambon and Barrère. The latter was the official mouthpiece of the committee; Cambon watched over the finances, and Carnot was Minister for War. The excitement of the people was now extreme, The deputies of the municipalities demanded at the bar of the Convention the arrest of all suspected persons, and a levy en-masse of the whole nation. Barrère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, proposed urgent measures which were to be carried into execution by the most odious methods. All the young men of from eighteen to twenty years of age were summoned to join the army, and France speedily had at her command fourteen armies and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. But terror was employed to obtain means for their support. Violent and incessant requisitions were made upon the middle classes: and two abominable laws were passed, the law of the maximum, which compelled, on pain of death, all proprietors and merchants to furnish at a certain price all the provisions which the Government might require, and the law of

Death of
Marat, July
13, 1793.

Insurrection
of Lyons
and other
towns, June,
1793.

The revolt
in La Vendée.

Retreat of
the French
on the
Scarpe.

The Commit-
tee of
Public Safety.

The laws of
maximum
and suspected
persons.

suspected persons, which authorised the preliminary and unlimited imprisonment of every person suspected of conspiracy against the Revolution. France, transformed into a camp for one portion of its population became a prison for another. The men of commercial pursuits and the bourgeoisie furnished the prisoners, and were placed, as well as the authorities, under the surveillance of the mob, as represented by the Club, which the Convention desired at any price to attach to itself. Every poor person received forty sous a day to be present at the Assemblies of his section; certificates of citizenship were given out, and each section had its Revolutionary committee.

By these violent methods the Convention obtained temporary resources sufficient to enable it to triumph over its enemies. The reactionists under Calvados were put to flight at Vernon. Caen and Bordeaux submitted; and Toulon and Lyons,¹ after a desperate struggle, fell in succession before the Republican arms. La Vendée alone, long continued an heroic and terrible contest, but the brave Vendéans after defeating the best of the Republican generals were ultimately vanquished in their turn, after losing all their leaders, including Cathelineau and Henri de Rochejacquelin, while their country was devastated by fire and sword by twelve flying columns, known by the name of the "Infernal Columns," under the orders of General Thureau. The Republic was at the same time victorious on the frontiers. That of the North was the most seriously threatened. The Duke of York besieged Dunkirk with thirty-three thousand men; Freytag covered the siege with another army posted on the Yser; the Prince of Orange commanded fifteen thousand Dutch at Menin; and a hundred thousand soldiers of the allied armies, extending from Quesnoy to the Moselle, besieged the strong places which defended the passes. To prevent the invasion of France, it was necessary to cut this formidable line and to raise the siege of Dunkirk. Houchard, in command of the army of the North, suddenly marched from this place with very inferior forces, and fell upon Freytag who, after two sanguinary actions on the Yser and at Hondschoote in which he was defeated, fell back in disorder upon Furnes. The raising of the siege of Dunkirk was one of the fruits of this victory, the news of which was received with enthusiasm. In the meantime the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg had invested Maubeuge, covering the siege by occupying the positions of Dourlens and Wattignies: but a successful attack on the latter by Jourdan, who had superseded Houchard in command of the army of the North, compelled the allies to raise the siege of Maubeuge and concentrate their troops between the Scheldt and the Sambre. This enabled Jourdan to resume the offensive. Kellermann at the same time drove the Piedmontese beyond the Alps. France lost on the Pyrenees the lines of the Tech, and its army was forced to fall back in front of Perpignan. The lines

War in
La Vendée,
1723.

Campaign
of 1793.

Operations
of the army of
the North.

The siege of
Dunkirk
raised, Sep-
tember, 1793.

Siege of
Maubeuge.

of Weisseburg were also forced by the Prussians and Austrians under Brunswick and Wurmser. But Hoche, at the head of the army of the Moselle, drove back Wurmser and effected

**Retreat of
the allies
1793.**

his junction with the army of the Rhine under Jourdan. Brunswick followed Wurmser's retrograde movement; and from thenceforth the two French armies combined advanced and encamped in the Palatinate.

France, in its struggle with Europe, recovered all that it had lost, with the exception of Condé, Valenciennes, and a few strong places in Roussillon.

3. Meanwhile, the Committee of Public Safety followed its pitiless career of murder. The executive authority was concentrated in the hands of this committee, which held the lives and fortunes of everyone in its power; and which was supported by the populace, whom it bribed by means of the maximum, and

**The Reign of
Terror.
1793-1794.**

who governed its actions by means of the Revolutionary committees. After each victory obtained over its enemies within by the Republic, it ordered frightful

executions or horrible massacres. Barrère ordered the extermination of the inhabitants of Lyons, and Collot d'Herbois,

**Atrocious ven-
geance of the
Convention.**

Fouché and Couthon were the barbarous executors of the decrees of the committee against this unfortunate city. The scaffold was too slow an instrument for their

vengeance, and the vanquished insurgents were mowed down by musquetry in the public places. Toulon, Caen, Mar-

**Execution of
Marie
Antoinette,
October 10,
1793.**

seilles and Bordeaux became the theatre of horrible scenes. At Paris the most illustrious men and the leaders of all parties were dragged to the scaffold; the Queen, the noble Marie Antoinette, and Bailly perished

within a few days of each other. The Girondists who were pro-

**Punishment
of the
Girondists.**

scribed on June 2 soon followed them, and walked to their death with the most stoical courage. The Duke

of Orleans, the infamous Philip Egalite as he was nicknamed by the Sansculottes, who had voted for the death of the King, was not spared; Barnave and Duport-Dutertre were immolated, and with them the Generals Houchard, Custine, Biron, Beauharnais and many others. All the fugitive Girondists were put beyond the pale of the law. Two hundred thousand suspected persons were imprisoned; blood flowed in all the cities; country mansions, convents and churches were destroyed; monuments or art were broken in pieces; there were no hands left to cultivate the earth, and famine was added to the scourges which desolated France. The public credit was annihilated; and the expenses of the Government were supplied by the sale of the property of the proscribed persons, and by despotic measures which were enforced by threats. It was desired to consecrate, by the establishment of a new era, a revolution unexampled in history, and the divisions of the year, the names of the months and days, were changed, and the Christian calendar was replaced by a Republican calendar. The new era was dated from the 22nd of September, 1792, the

period at which the Republic was founded. But this was not enough for the Commune of Paris, which demanded the abolition of Christianity, decreed the worship of Reason, and established fêtes which became scandalous scenes of debauchery and atheism. It was only when its career of crime and folly had reached its height that the revolutionary movement of the Commune received a check. When



MARIE ANTOINETTE LED TO EXECUTION.

its madness had reached a certain point the Committee of Public Safety declared itself against it, and Robespierre was prohibited by the Convention from taking any measures against freedom of worship. The worship of Reason. Impious festivals

4. Danton and his friends, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine and Westermann wished to establish a legal system of order, and desired to suspend the functions of the revolutionary tribunal. This rendered Robespierre's colleagues in the Committee of Public Safety furious against Desmoulins and the Dantonists; and Robespierre, who was always ready to sacrifice friends as well as foes, as long as he could render himself supreme,

to this end sought the extermination of the leading men of all parties, and agreed to deliver the latter into their power, in return for the heads of the principal anarchists of the Commune. He then proceeded to denounce to the Convention as enemies of the Republic, in the first place the ultra-Revolutionists, and in the second the Dantonists, whom he called the Moderates, demanding that the Government should be endowed with the most extensive powers for the purpose of punishing them. The leaders of the Commune, Hebert, Cloutz and their accomplices, were the first of all seized and condemned; and most of them died as cowards, on March 24, 1794.

**Fall of the
Commune,
March 24, 1794.**

The turn of Danton and his friends had now come. They were arrested on March 30, and Robespierre prevented their being heard in the Assembly. Saint-Just read the accusation against the accused, and the Assembly, a prey to a stupor of fear, decreed their trial. On being brought before the Revolutionary tribunal, they distinguished themselves by their openly expressed contempt for their judges, and after their condemnation they walked boldly to their punishment through the midst of a silent crowd. From that time no voice was raised for some time against the Decemvirs, and the Convention decreed that "Terror and all

**Their Execu-
tion, April 5,
1795.**

the virtues were the order of the day." During four months the power of the two formidable Committees, that of the Public Safety, and that of the General Security, continued to be unlimited, and death became the only instrument of Government. The agents

of the Committee of Public Safety in the departments distinguished themselves by their atrocities. At Orleans, the principal inhabitants were slain; at Verdun, seventeen young girls, accused of having danced at a ball given by the Prussians, perished on the scaffold on the same day; at Paris, amongst the most illustrious victims of this period may be mentioned the octogenarian Marshals, Noailles and Mailé, the ministers Machault and Laverdi, the learned Lavoisier, the venerable Lamoignon de Malesherbes, three members of the Constituent Assembly, D'Eprémesnil, Thouret and Chapelier; and finally, the angelic Princess Elizabeth, whose blood was demanded by Billaud-Varennes. The infernal Robespierre and the fanatic Saint-Just associated with themselves the paralytic and pitiless Couthon, and formed together, even within the committee itself, a formidable triumvirate, which, by isolating, destroyed itself. Robespierre had now attained the height of his power, a culmination that was to be speedily followed by his fall. Before this, however, he had time to set in action one of the most infamous projects that ever emanated from the mind of man. On June 9, he caused Couthon to propose an execrable law, according to which accused persons were to be refused the advice of counsel, and to be tried in batches, while the juries were to be bound by no other rule than that of their own consciences. It was adopted; and the judges of the Revolutionary tribunal were scarcely sufficient to carry out the

**Sanguinary
proceedings of
the Committee
of Public
Safety, 1794.**

bloody work in which they revelled. In Paris alone fifty victims a day were dragged off to punishment. The scaffold was transferred to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and an aqueduct was constructed to receive and carry off the blood that was shed on it.

5. The campaign of 1794 was commenced under this execrable Government; and the northern frontier was still, in this year, the chief theatre of the war. The French occupied Lille, Guise and Maubeuge, under the command of Pichegru. The Prince of Coburg, the Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies, commenced operations by the blockade of Landrecies, the English, under the Duke of York, covering the blockade on the side of Cambrai, Coburg posting himself on the side of Guise, and the Austrian general, Clairfait, extending his forces in front of Menin and Courtray. General Souham and Moreau assuming the offensive, marched rapidly from Lille, and obtained at Mouscron a victory over Clairfait, which was followed by another over the Duke of York at Turcoing, whither he had marched to prevent the junction of Souham's troops with a large body under Jourdan, detached from the Army of the Moselle. The enemy, however, rallied before Tournay, and held the French in check, whereupon Landrecies fell. Jourdan now came up with the army of the Moselle and effected a junction with the army of the North. Pichegru besieged Ypres, and vanquished Clairfait, who advanced to its succour, at Hooglede, whilst Jourdan invested Charleroi and occupied the banks of the Sambre. The Princes of Orange and Coburg marched to the relief of this important place, but before they arrived Charleroi had fallen into the hands of the French, and Jourdan defeated the allies, who were advancing in ignorance of its loss on the plains of Fleurus. Coburg ordered a retreat on Brussels, but Pichegru advanced more quickly than he, and promptly occupied that city. The enemy, dispersed, fell back towards the Meuse and the Rhine; and France not only recovered all the places she had lost, but made new conquests. Pichegru continued his march towards the mouth of the Scheldt and the Meuse, driving back the English towards the sea, whilst Jourdan, after defeating Clairfait on the Ourthe and Roer, tributaries of the Meuse, pursued the Austrians as far as the Rhine, and took Cologne, Maestricht, Bois-le-Duc and Venloo. The Duke of York fell back towards Nimeguen on the Waal, where Pichegru speedily arrived to engage him. On the 8th November, this place fell into the hands of the French; and with this last and brilliant success terminated this glorious campaign in the north. The effect of these successes was felt by the armies of the Moselle and the Upper Rhine, commanded by General Michaud. The Prussians recrossed the Rhine, and the French blockaded Luxemburg and Mayence, which still remained in the pos-

The Campaign
of 1794.

Victories of
Mouscron and
Turcoing.

Battle of
Fleurus, June
16, 1794.

Invasion of
Belgium by
Pichegru.

Victories on
the Ourthe and
the Roer.

Capture of
Nimeguen.

Successes in
the East and
South.

session of the allies. Dugommier and Moncey promptly repaired the first reverses on the frontiers of Spain, and having driven the Spaniards out of France, invaded the Peninsula, where Moncey took Saint Sebastian and Fontarabia.

6. Such was the prosperous state of France abroad, when Tallien and others who were tired of the tyranny of Robespierre and his two colleagues, resolved to put an end to the atrocities which disgraced the country at home, and to avenge Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their other murdered friends. Robespierre, irritated at the sullen resistance of Tallien and his supporters to his views, was resolved to crush and destroy them, and they perceived that they must either anticipate his designs or be his victims. They first accused him of tyranny in the committees, which Robespierre, relying on the support of the Jacobins and the mob, denounced as enemies to the Republic in the Convention. His accusation was referred for examination to the very Committee which he had denounced, and Robespierre, enraged by the coldness which the Convention shewed towards him, took measures in concert with the Jacobin club to excite an insurrection in Paris. The sitting of July 27, 1794, opened under the most threatening auspices. Saint-Just ascended the tribune, and opposite him was seated Robespierre;

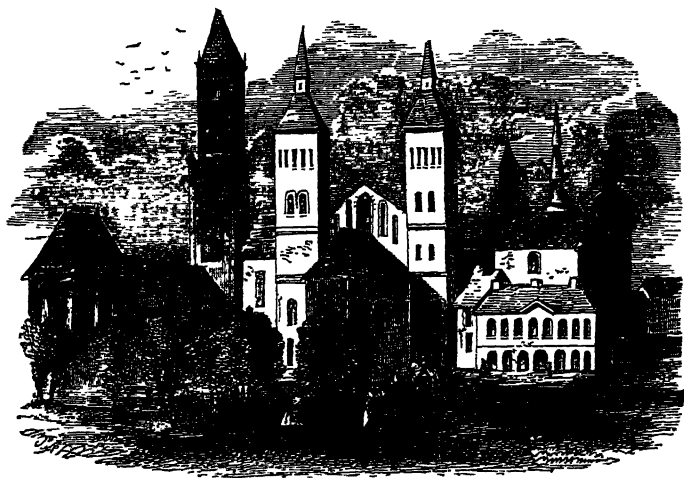
Conspiracy against Robespierre.
Fall of Robespierre, July 27th, 1794.

Tallien and Billaud interrupted Saint-Just and commenced the attack. Robespierre jumped forward to reply to them, when a cry arose from every side of "Down with the tyrant!" His arrest was immediately proposed. His brother and Lebas requested to be allowed to share his fate, and the Assembly unanimously ordered that they should be arrested along with Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just and Henriot. The victory, however, was still uncertain. The Jacobins and the mob at nightfall marched in a body to the prisons, and set free Robespierre, Henriot and their accomplices. Henriot immediately had the Convention surrounded, and cannon pointed against it. Terror reigned in the Assembly, but the imminence of the danger gave it courage; Henriot was put beyond the pale of the law; his gunners refused to fire, and retreated with him to the Hôtel de Ville. This refusal decided the fate of the contest. The Convention, in its turn, assumed the offensive, attacked the Commune and put its members beyond the pale of the law. The battalions of the sections swore to defend the Assembly, and marched at midnight upon the Commune, to which Robespierre had been carried in triumph, and where he now sat motionless, and as though paralysed by terror. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded by cries of "Long live the Convention!" Despair and rage took possession of those who

End of the Reign of Terror.

had been proscribed. Lebas killed himself; young Robespierre threw himself from a third-floor window and survived his fall; Couthon struck himself with a trembling hand; Coffinhal overwhelmed Henriot with execrations, and threw him from a window into a sewer; and Robespierre remained motionless, and as though petrified by irreso-

lution and terror. The assailants forced the doors and rapidly ascended the stairs. A gendarme fired a pistol at Robespierre and broke his jaw-bone. He was seized, together with his colleagues and the principal members of the Commune ; and on the following day they were tried by the same Revolutionary tribunal which they had so long fed with victims, and which now sent them in their turn to the scaffold. The spectators cursed Robespierre as he was drawn, trembling with fear, to the scaffold ; and at the moment when his head fell beneath the knife, prolonged shouts of applause filled the air. France once more breathed freely, and the Reign of Terror was at an end.



MAESTRICHT.



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

From July 27, 1794, to October 26, 1795.

1. REACTION AGAINST THE TERRORISTS: RECALL OF THE PROSCRIBED GIRONDISTS: ATTACK ON THE CONVENTION: ABOLITION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1793. 2. CAMPAIGNS OF 1794 AND 1795: CONQUEST OF HOLLAND: PEACE OF BASLE: PASSAGE OF THE RHINE: DEFEAT OF PICHEGRU: RETREAT OF THE FRENCH: OPERATIONS ON THE APENNINES: VICTORY OF LOANO. 3. THE QUIBERON EXPEDITION: DEATH OF LOUIS XVII. 4. REACTION AGAINST THE CONVENTION: CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR III: REVOLT OF THE PARIS SECTIONS: DEFENCE OF THE CONVENTION BY BONAPARTE: ELECTION OF THE DIRECTORY: CLOSING OF THE CONVENTION.

1. **T**WO new parties were now formed: that of the Committees and that of the Mountain, which had contributed with Tallien to the victory of July 27. The first party relied on the Jacobin Club and the faubourgs, and the second on the majority of the Convention and the National Guard, or armed sections. A great number of prisoners were set free during the days which followed the fall of Robespierre, and seventy-two members of the Commune perished on the scaffold with Fouquier-Tinville and other prominent men among the Terrorists. The members of the Revolutionary tribunal were replaced, and the powers of the committees were diminished. The odious law relative to the criminal procedure, was abolished. The Convention recalled to its Assembly seventy-three deputies who had been proscribed for having protested against the condemnation of the Girondists; revoked the decrees of expulsion issued against the priests and

Recall of the
proscribed
Girondists.

nobles; re-established public worship; suppressed the maximum; and had the bust of Marat in its own hall broken. A new crop of evils, however, was produced by the sudden reaction. Eight millions of assignats had been sent into circulation, and when there were no longer any violent laws to enforce their currency, they immediately fell fifteen times below their first value; cash disappeared from circulation, and the prodigious fall in the value of the assignats was followed by a wild system of speculation which ruined a multitude of families. Monopoly succeeded the terrible law of the maximum, and the farmers avenged themselves for their long and cruel oppression by holding back all species of provisions. Famine now made its appearance, and the lower orders of the faubourgs regretted the time when the system of government gave them bread and power, and once more had recourse to tumults. At last, on April 20, 1795, a savage, hungry mob of armed men and women, who cared little for order and justice, and desired the renewal of the support that the Revolutionary government had afforded them and the licence and idleness that its system permitted, marched rapidly upon the Convention, which, taken by surprise, called the sections to arms. The doors of the Hall of Assembly were broken through, and the mob invaded the tribunes, crying out, "Bread! and the Constitution of '93!" The hall of the Assembly speedily became a field of battle, and a few of the deputies, who were favourable to the insurrectionary movement, took the opportunity of seizing the bureaux, and decreeing by themselves alone the articles contained in the insurgents' manifesto. But the battalions of the sections now arrived, possessed themselves of the Carrousel, entered the Hall of Assembly with fixed bayonets, and drove the crowd before them. The members returned in a body, annulled the votes which had been passed during the tumult, and ordered the arrest of fourteen of their number who had been accomplices of the insurgents. Three days after, the faubourgs of Paris, which had supported the insurrection, were surrounded and disarmed. The Convention then suppressed the Revolutionary Committee, and abolished the Constitution of '93. Thus ended the rule of the People, and from this time the Girondist party became predominant in the Assembly.

Attack on the
Convention.

Abolition of
the Constitu-
tion of 1793.

Campaigns of
1794 and 1795.

2. During the last days of 1794 the cold became excessive, and the French troops, under Pichegru, crossed the Meuse and Waal on the ice, and entered Holland at several points, upon which the Duke of York and his army retreated in disorder upon Deventer; whilst the Prince of Orange, stupefied by dismay, remained immovable at Gorcum. In a short time the whole of Holland was conquered. The Stadtholder fled to England, and the Estates-General governed the Republic, which formed a close alliance with France. Prussia, being now threatened, concluded a peace at Basle, and Spain signed a treaty which

Conquest of
Holland, Janu-
ary, 1795.

Peace of Basle,
April 5, 1795.

provided that the French conquests in the Peninsula should be exchanged for the Spanish portion of St. Domingo. On the Rhine,

Passage of the Rhine, September, 1795. it was not until September 6th that the French could cross the river, the right bank of which was defended by the Austrians under Clairfait and Wurmser. The

passage of the river, however, which was effected simultaneously by Jourdan and Pichegru, was rendered of little effect by the latter,

Defeat of Pichegru. who, having come to an understanding with the Prince of Condé, the leader of the emigrant party, allowed himself to be beaten disgracefully by Clairfait, and then shut himself up in Mannheim. Clairfait now marched against Jourdan, who was forced to retreat and cross the

Retreat of the French. river, while the troops investing Mayence were compelled by the Austrians to raise the siege and retire to the foot of the Vosges, on the left bank of the Rhine. The impor-

Operations on the Apennines. tant treaty concluded with Spain enabled the armies of the Pyrenees and of the Maritime Alps to effect a junction; and Scherer, who had superseded Keller-

Victory of Loano, November, 1795. mann in the chief command, now attempted a bold stroke. Massena, by his orders, crossed the crest of the Apennines and divided the Piedmontese and the Austrians, whilst Serrurier deceived Colli, the Piedmontese

general, by a feigned attack, and drove the Austrians into the basin of the Loano. A complete victory was the result of this skilful manœuvre.

3. The Republican arms were no less successful in La Vendée, where the Marquis de Puisaye, the active agent of the Royalist party in Brittany, requested and obtained the aid of England, and Admiral Bridport set sail with two divisions of emigrants, commanded by Count d'Hervilly and M. de Sombreuil; a third following under the orders of Count d'Artois. An engagement took place off Belle-Isle between the fleet of Admiral Bridport and that of the Republican Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. Bridport having gained the victory, effected the disembarkation of the two divisions in the Bay of Quiberon, near Vannes. The emigrants immediately marched against the Republican army, but were repulsed, and mowed down by artillery. A storm had driven away the fleet, and retreat was impossible. D'Hervilly was slain, and Sombreuil and eight hundred of his troops who were compelled to capitulate, were tried by military law, and shot by order of Tallien who would not recognise the capitulation.

England made a fresh effort to support the civil war in the west, and an English fleet carried thither a French prince, the Count d'Artois, and several regiments. At the summons of Charette all the coast line of Brittany took up arms in the expectation of the Prince's disembarkation, but after having remained for some weeks at Isle-Dieu, Count d'Artois returned to England without having set foot on the Continent. The Royal cause seemed desperate, and

in this year it had also lost the Dauphin, the son of Louis XVI., who had been proclaimed King of France by the Royalists after the 21st of January, by the title of Louis XVII. The early death of this young prince was attributed to the cruel treatment he had suffered at the hands of a shoemaker named Simon, with whom he had been placed by order of the Convention, and took place in June, 1795. His right to the throne passed to his uncle, Louis Stanislas Xavier, Count de Provence, whom the emigrants and foreign powers thenceforth recognised as King of France, under the title of Louis XVIII.

Death of
Louis XVII.,
June, 1795.

4. A strong feeling against the Convention was now predominant among the middle classes and bourgeoisie of Paris and the southern departments for the crimes it had sanctioned and permitted. Serious disturbances took place in many parts of France and the reaction placed the Convention in peril within the kingdom, whilst it was so triumphant abroad. The Emigrant party, having lost all hope of being able to overthrow it by force, now had recourse to the sections of Paris, and endeavoured to bring about a counter-revolution by means of the Constitution of the Year III., (1795) which placed the Legislative power in two councils, that of the Five Hundred, and that of the Ancients; whilst the executive power was entrusted to a Directory of five members. The initiative in the proposal of laws was given to the Five Hundred; and the power of either passing or rejecting them resided in the Council of the Ancients. The five Directors were chosen by the two Councils, and in each year the Directory was renewed by a new member. The frightful memories of the Reign of Terror had roused a reactionary feeling in the middle classes against the Convention, and its members, perceiving the danger of their position if the new Councils should be chosen in accordance with the prevailing opinions, in order to secure for themselves a majority in the choice of the Directors, issued decrees in August, 1795, ordering that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be members of the new Councils.

Reaction
against the
Convention.

Constitution of
the Year III.
(1795.)

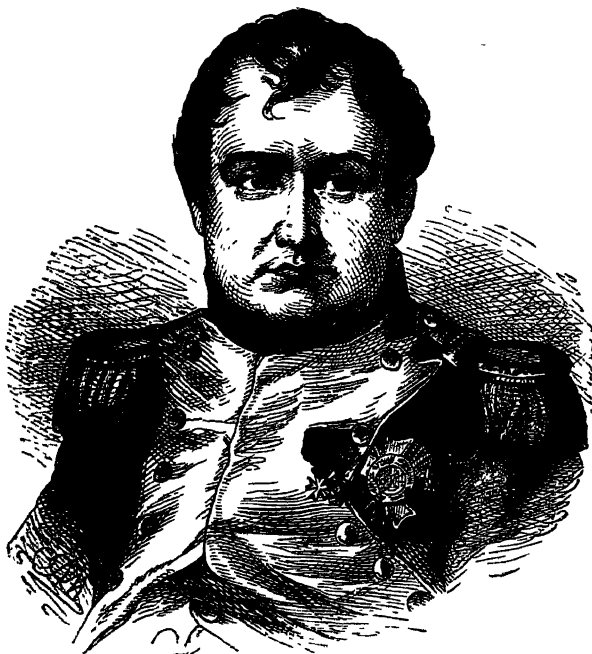
This was the signal for a serious commotion. The Royalist chiefs of the Sections and the journalists loudly exclaimed against the Convention's tyranny; the Paris Sections burgesses composing the National Guard nominated a College of Electors, and swore to defend it to the death. The Convention, justly alarmed, declared its sitting permanent, summoned troops to its aid, and dissolved the College of Electors. Provoked to active hostilities by an attempt to suppress one of the sections, forty thousand burgesses were soon under arms, ready to march against the Convention. The latter made Barras Commander-in-Chief, who obtained the assistance of a young general who had particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon—Napoleon Bonaparte. It was he who in October, 1795 made all the preparations for the

Revolt of the
Paris Sections

defence of the Convention. The insurgents advanced in several columns, and a most murderous conflict took place at the Pont Royal and in the Rue St. Honoré; the artillery at these two principal points broke the lines of the insurgents and put them to flight.

This victory enabled the Convention immediately to devote its attention to the formation of the Councils proposed by it, two-thirds

Defence of the
Convention by
Bonaparte.
Oct. 5, 1795.

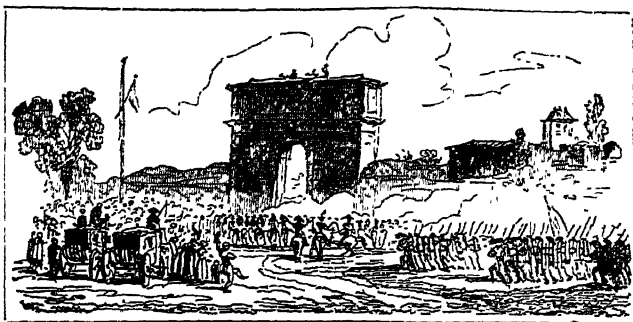


NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

of which were to consist of its own members. The members of the Directory were next chosen, and the deputies of the Convention, believing that for their own interests the regicides should be at the head of the Government, appointed La Réveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, Rewbel, Le Tourneur and Barras. Immediately after this, the Convention declared its session at an end, after it had had three years of existence, from the 21st September, 1792 to the 28th October, 1795.

Election of the
Directory.

Closing of the
Convention.
Oct. 26, 1795.



CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY TO THE PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO.

27th October, 1795, to 17th October, 1797.

1. INSTALLATION OF THE DIRECTORY: FIRST ACTS OF THE DIRECTORS FORCED LOANS. 2. SECOND WAR OF LA VENDEE: CAMPAIGNS OF 1796, 1797: BONAPARTE SENT TO ITALY: VICTORIES OF MONTENOTTE, DEGO, MILLESIMO AND MONDOVI: ARMISTICE OF TURIN: BONAPARTE VICTOR AT LODI: CONQUEST OF LOMBARDY. 3. OPERATIONS IN GERMANY: VICTORY OF RASTADT: RETREAT OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES. 4. OPERATIONS IN THE TYROL AND LOMBARDY: VICTORIES OF LONATO AND CASTIGLIONE: RETREAT OF THE AUSTRIANS: VICTORIES OF ROVEREDO AND BASSANO: WURMSER IN MANTUA: FOUNDATION OF THE CISPADANE AND TRANSPADANE REPUBLICS. 5. CHECK OF THE FRENCH ARMIES IN GERMANY: RETREAT OF MOREAU. 6. NEW PLAN OF AUSTRIAN CAMPAIGN: BONAPARTE'S VICTORY AT ARCOLE: VICTORIES OF RIVOLI AND ST. GEORGE: CAPITULATION OF MANTUA. 7. TREATY OF TOLENTINO: FORMATION OF THE CISALPINE REPUBLIC: ARMISTICE OF LEOBEN: VENICE CEDED TO AUSTRIA: PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO. 8. ELECTIONS OF THE YEAR V.: STRUGGLES OF THE COUNCILS AND THE DIRECTORY: INTERFERENCE OF THE ARMY IN HOME AFFAIRS. 9. COUP D'ETAT OF SEPTEMBER 6: PROSCRIPTIONS: FETE IN THE LUXEMBOURG IN HONOUR OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.

- i. **T**HE Directors were all, with the exception of Carnot, of moderate capacity, and this tended to render their position the more difficult.

Their first care was to establish their power, and they succeeded in doing this by frankly following at first the rules laid down by the Constitution. In a short time industry and commerce began to raise their heads, the supply of provisions became tolerably abundant, and the clubs were abandoned for the workshops and the the fields. The Direc-

Installation of
the Directory,
October 27,
1795.

tory exerted itself to revive agriculture, industry, and the arts, re-established the public exhibitions, and founded primary, central and normal schools. The wealthy classes however, were still the victims, under the government of the Directory, of violent and spoliative measures. The necessities of the Republic were so vast and imperious, that to meet them the Government had recourse to forced loans, and to Territorial edicts, the latter of which were to be employed for the purpose of withdrawing the assignats from circulation on the scale of thirty to one, and to bring cash into circulation. They possessed the advantage of being immediately exchangeable for the national domains which they represented, and furnished the Government with a temporary resource. But they subsequently fell into discredit, and conduced to a prodigious bankruptcy of thirty-three thousand millions.

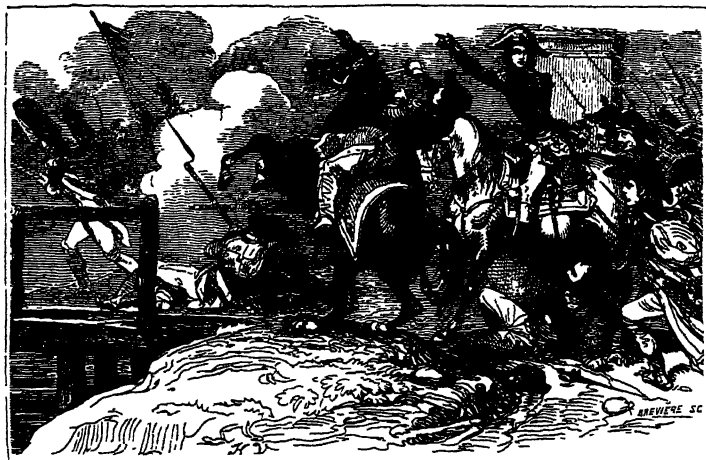
2. The war in the West was now only carried on by a few leaders, the chief of whom were Charette and Stofflet. **The Second War of La Vendée, 1795, 1793.** Hoche vanquished the former, and took him prisoner; and the latter was soon after given up to the Republicans by treachery. Soon after the execution of these brave men, most of the insurrectionary leaders laid down their arms and sought a refuge in England. In 1796, again, the glory of France was solely supported by its armies; Carnot had formed **The Campaigns of 1796 and 1797: Carnot's plan.** a plan of campaign in accordance with which the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of Italy, might march upon Vienna in concert, and afford each other mutual support. The first two were commanded by generals who were already celebrated—Moreau and Jourdan. The third was entrusted to the young hero of Toulon and defender of the Convention in October, 1795, Napoleon Bonaparte, who

arrived at his headquarters at Nice on March 27, and, sixteen days after, gave battle to the Austrians at Montenotte and defeated them. This victory rendered Bonaparte master of the pass of Montenotte and crest of the Apennines. He now had in front of him the Austrians, who rallied at Dego and guarded the road to Lombardy, and on his left the Piedmontese, who occupied the formidable gorges of Millesimo, the valley of the Bormida, and intercepted the road to Piedmont. On

April 13th the conflict was resumed. La Harpe and Massena attacked the Austrians at Dego, and forced them to continue their retreat on the road to Milan; whilst Augereau impetuously penetrated the gorges of Millesimo, and by carrying the defile compelled the Piedmontese to fall back on Mondovi. Bonaparte now hastened in pursuit of the Piedmontese, and was again victorious at Mondovi, after which King Victor Amadeus, in fear for his capital and his crown, made offers of peace, and

Armistice of Turin, 1796. Bonaparte signed an armistice by which he was put in possession of Coni, Tortona and Alexandria, with the immense magazines which they contained, whilst he preserved his communications with France.

Bonaparte followed up his success. He deceived Beaulieu, the Austrian general, by feigned manœuvres, crossed the Po, and laid the Duke of Parma under contribution. He then marched rapidly against that part of Beaulieu's army, which occupied Lodi, on the Adda. The Austrians fled in disorder, ^{Bonaparte victor at Lodi.} Bonaparte having forced the passage of the bridge of Lodi, under a perfect storm of round shot and musketry, and Beaulieu retreated leaving behind him Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Como and Cassano, which the French entered. ^{Conquest of Lombardy, 1795} Bonaparte immediately seized the important line of the Adige, and then retraced his steps to receive the submission of Genoa and Modena. General Vaubois took Leghorn, in which



BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE OF LODI.

were six hundred Corsican fugitives, whom Bonaparte sent to their own island to make it revolt against the English. They did so, and the English were driven away. The Court of Naples, ruled by Queen Caroline, the sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and inspired with the most bitter hatred against France, had commenced formidable preparations for war, but it trembled at the news of Bonaparte's victories, and resigned itself to neutrality. The Pope himself was compelled to submit, and Bonaparte levied upon him, as a contribution of peace, twenty-one millions, and a hundred of the most famous works of art in his museums.

3. In the meantime the Austrians had made a fresh effort, and the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother, marched towards the Rhine at the head of seventy thousand men. Moreau, who had crossed the Rhine at Dusseldorf at the head of the army of the Rhine, gave battle ^{Operations in Germany, 1796.}

to the Archduke Charles at Rastadt, between the Rhine and the Black Mountains, and defeated him. This induced the Archduke

**Victory of
Rastadt.**

to fall back hastily upon the Danube between Ulm and Ratisbon, allowing Moreau to march against him by the valley of the Neckar, and the head of Jourdan at the army of the Sambre and Meuse, by that of the Main, and then, towards the middle of the year 1796, the French armies, masters of Italy and of half of Germany as far as the Danube, threatened to invade

the rest.

4. The old Austrian General Wurmser, now re-entered the Tyrol, and prepared to force the lines of the Adige, to raise the blockade of Mantua, and to crush the French army of Italy, shut up in a narrow space between the Lake of Garda on the North, the Adige on the east, and the Po on the South. He sent twenty thousand men, under Quasdanovitch, to operate in the rear of the Lake of Garda, whilst he himself advanced with forty thousand men between the lake and the Adige.

Bonaparte, whose head-quarters were at Castel-Nuovo, at the southern end of the lake, having learned that the positions of Salo, Corona, and Tivoli, which defend its two shores, had been taken, and that he was on the point of being surrounded, gave up the siege of Mantua, and recalled in all haste the division of Serrurier, which was employed in its blockade. It was first of all important to check the progress of Quasdanovitch, who was on the point of entering the plain to the west of the lake, for the purpose of closing against the French the road to Milan. Bonaparte, therefore, crossed the Mincio, and

**Victories of
Lonato and
Castiglione.**

marched with the bulk of his forces to Lonato, where the Austrian columns were repulsed and Salo re-occupied by the French. Bonaparte immediately changed the front of his army, and hastened to meet Wurmser. Each of the opposing armies rested, one wing on the Lake of Garda, and another on the heights of Castiglione; and it was on the celebrated plains of the latter name that was now to be decided the fate of Italy. The action commenced at daybreak on August 4. Bonaparte had ordered the division of Serrurier to make a détour and attack the enemy in the rear; and as soon as he knew by the sound of Serrurier's cannon that he had accomplished his object, he launched the divisions of Augereau and Massena against the Austrian centre. The enemy, caught between two fires, recoiled, and Wurmser having ordered a retreat, re-entered the Tyrol, after having lost twenty thousand men and Italy.

Bonaparte then entered the mountains of the Tyrol in pursuit of the Austrians, but Wurmser had received reinforcements, and resumed the offensive. The two armies met at Roveredo, and Bonaparte was again victorious, taking the whole of the Austrian artillery and four thousand prisoners. Wurmser stole away with thirty thousand men, and descended the valley of the Brenta to force the

**Victories of
Roveredo and
Bassano.**

Adige, and throw himself between the French army in the Tyrol and Mantua, which had been again blockaded. Bonaparte followed him into the basin of the Brenta, attacked him unexpectedly, and obtained another victory at Bassano with the divisions of Augereau and Massena. Wurmser then crossed the Adige at Legnano, forced the lines of the blockading division in front of Mantua, and shut himself up in that city with fifteen thousand men. Wurmser in Mantua.

Bonaparte relying upon the popular hatred for despotic governments, imposed a Republican form of government on all his conquests. He united Modena with the territories of Reggio and the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and formed with them on the south of the Po a Cispadane Republic, whilst on the north of that river he made of Lombardy a Transpadane Republic. These two Republics formed in the following year but one Republic, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic. Foundation of Cispadane and Transpadane Republics. All Italy trembled before the vanquisher of Austria. Its princes scrupulously observed the treaties which they had made with the French Republic, and at the conclusion of the last campaign the Court of Naples tremblingly signed a treaty which was too soon to be broken (October, 1796).

5. Moreau reached the banks of the Danube at the beginning of August, and Jourdan followed the course of the Naab, one of its tributaries. The Archduke Charles, after having been vanquished by Moreau at Neresheim, concentrated all his forces on the Danube, and resolved to prevent the junction of Jourdan and Moreau, and to defeat them one after the other with superior forces. Check of the French armies in Germany, 1796. The army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, being the feeblest, the Archduke advanced against that. Jourdan halted to give battle at Wurzburg, but he was vanquished, and driven in disorder upon the Rhine. In the meantime Moreau was approaching Munich, when he heard of the reverses suffered by Jourdan. The Archduke returned against him by forced marches, and the army of the Rhine, put in its turn, had to fall back. Moreau ordered the retreat, and re-entered France, after having gained in the Black Mountains the battle of Biberach and without having allowed himself to be once outmanœuvred. Retreat of Moreau.

6. This retreat left the army of Italy exposed alone to the attacks of the Austrians, and consequently to great danger. Davidovitch had assembled about twenty thousand men in the Tyrol, and Alvinzi was advancing with forty thousand on the Piave and the Brenta. To resist their sixty thousand troops, Bonaparte had only thirty-six thousand, of which twelve thousand were in the Tyrol, under Vaubois, ten thousand on the Brenta and Adige, under Massena and Augereau, and the rest around Mantua. It was not long before the Austrians and the French again came into collision. Davidovitch defeated Vaubois and forced him to fall back as far as Corona and Rivoli, Austrian new plan of campaign, 1796.

and this reverse forced Bonaparte, although victorious over Alvinzi on the Brenta, to retreat to Verona. Alvinzi hastened to occupy a formidable position in front of Caldiero, which Bonaparte endeavoured in vain to carry by fighting the unfortunate battle of Caldiero, after which, he was again compelled to retreat to Verona. He did not remain long in this city, but issuing forth on November 14th by the southern gate, he crossed the Adige at Ronco, some leagues to the south, returned to the north by the causeways which lead from Ronco across the marshes beyond the Adige to the positions then occupied by the enemy, and was on the point of making his troops defile by the enemy's rear, when they were checked at the bridge of Arcole, on the Alpone, by some troops that were posted there. The enemy, aroused by the sound of sharp fighting, hastened up from Caldiero, and a formidable array of artillery defended the opposite bank. The bridge was hotly contested and it was not until the village on the opposite bank was taken by a French division that had crossed the river by a ford below Arcole, that its passage was forced. A terrible battle now commenced which lasted two days and resulted in the complete defeat of Alvinzi.

**Bonaparte's
victory at
Arcole.**

Bonaparte then re-entered Verona in triumph, and immediately marched against Quasdanovitch, who had taken the positions of Corona and Rivoli, and had driven Vaubois as far as Castel-Nuovo. He attacked him on all sides, and compelled him to retreat in disorder into the gorges of the Tyrol. The campaign, however, was not yet ended. Austria knew that Wurmser was without resources in Mantua, and that to lose this city was to give up Lombardy to France. Emboldened by the success achieved by Prince Charles against the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse, she resolved yet once more to dispute with Bonaparte the possession of Italy. With this object she entrusted another army to Alvinzi, and urged the Pope to send his own to the aid of Mantua, with Colli for its general. In the meantime, however, Bonaparte had received the reinforcements which he had so long expected, and had about forty-five thousand men at his command. He first took measures for holding the troops of the Roman States in check, and then prepared to meet the enemy on the Adige. Alvinzi, with forty-five thousand troops was descending from the Tyrol by the route which runs along the foot of Montebaldo, which separates the Lake of Garda from the Adige, and a small body of troops marched along the opposite shore. The famous military position of Rivoli was the only one at which the enemy could be held in check between the lake and the river ;

**Victories
of Rivoli and
Saint George,
January, 1797.**

and Bonaparte perceiving the importance of this position, determined to await the Austrians there. Alvinzi's troops in vain made assault after assault upon the plateau on which the French were posted, and after two day's hard and continuous fighting were defeated and forced to take refuge in the mountains. Bonaparte and Massena immediately hastened towards Provera, who with another army of twenty thousand Austrians had crossed the Adige and marched to the relief of

Mantua. A second battle took place opposite the Faubourg Saint-George, whilst Serrurier repulsed a furious attempt made by Wurmser to force his lines, and drove him back into Mantua. Provera, surrounded by Victor and Massena, surrendered with six thousand men. These battles decided the fate of Italy, and Wurmser, reduced to extremities in Mantua, gave up the city and his sword to the young victor. Capitulation
of Mantua,
1797.

7. In the meantime the Pope had sent a division of his army to Mantua. Bonaparte marched against it, and defeated it near Imla,



FRENCH TROOPS CROSSING THE STREAM AT ARCOLE.

at Castel-Bolognese. The remainder of the small pontifical army, commanded by the Austrian General, Colli, surrendered on the approach of a French division under General Victor. Ancona opened its gates, and the capital and its arsenal fell into the power of the French. Bonaparte and his army marched against Rome, and had already reached Tolentino, when the Pope offered to negotiate, and a treaty of peace was signed in that city between the Holy Father and the French Republic. By this treaty, the Pope surrendered to France Avignon, the Comitat Venaissin, and the territory known by the name of the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna. He also engaged to pay a fresh war-contribution of fifteen millions, and to

Treaty of
Tolentino,
1797.

abstain from entering into any alliance with the enemies of the Republic.

Bonaparte now proceeded to form the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics into one State, called the Cisalpine Republic; of this he made Milan the capital. He then projected the subjection of the Archduke Charles, and marched against the Austrian capital, having the Archduke in front of him. Carinthia, Styria and Friuli were rapidly subdued; terror reigned at Vienna; but while Bonaparte awaited the movements of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and the army of the Rhine, to march directly against it, Joubert, left in the rear to defend the Tyrol, was vanquished by Prince Charles and compelled to retreat. Bonaparte, upon being informed of this reverse, sent

**Armistice of
Leoben, April,
1797.**

Vienna to make offers of peace, and an armistice was concluded at Leoben. The French general restored to Austria Mantua and a portion of Venetian Lombardy which he had conquered, in exchange for the Cisalpine Republic which he had founded. The Directory refused to sanction these arrangements, and Bonaparte having pointed out Venice to

**Venice ceded
to Austria,
1797.**

Austria as a recompense for Mantua, proceeded to take possession of this famous city, and delivered it to Austria in exchange for the Belgian and Lombard States. Bonaparte signed, at length, with that power (October 17,

**Peace of
Campo-
Formio, 1797.**

1797), the peace of Campo-Formio. In accordance with this treaty, the Emperor surrendered to France Belgium and Mayence, and consented that she should take the Ionian Islands. It also recognised the Cisalpine Republic. France, in return, gave up to Austria, on the east of the Adige, Venice, with several of the Venetian possessions, Istria, Dalmatia and the mouths of the Cattaro. Immediately after the signature of the peace with Austria, a Congress was opened at Rastadt, to negotiate another with the German Empire.

8. The elections of 1797, or the Year V., as it was termed in Republican France, were made for the most part under the influence of the reactionary party, which saw with terror that the executive power was in the hands of men who had taken part in the excesses and crimes of the Convention. Pichegru was made President of the Council of Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois President of the Ancients. Le Tourneur was replaced in the Directory by Barthélemy, who, as well as Carnot, was opposed to violent measures; but they only

**Struggle of the
Councils and
the Directory.**

formed in the Directorate a minority which was powerless against Barras, Rewbel and La Réveillère, who soon entered upon a struggle with the two Councils. The latter, among whom were many Royalists and a still greater number of Moderates, as they were called, who desired peace and true liberty, had voted pardons for many classes of proscribed persons, and consented to the re-establishment of freedom of worship in France. These and other measures gave offence to Barras and his two supporters in the Directory, and they

pretended to regard these two parties of Moderates and Royalists as one, and falsely represented them as conspiring in common for the overthrow of the Republic and the re-establishment of monarchy. But there was a more important point in which the Councils incurred the displeasure of the Directory, and which led to the interference of the army in affairs at home. The Councils saw with anxiety their generals revolutionising Europe, and creating abroad a state of things incompatible with the spirit of the old monarchies, which threatened to lead to a perpetual state of war between the Republic and the other European Powers. The Council of Five Hundred, energetically demanded that the Legislative power should have a share in determining questions of peace or war. No general had exercised, in this respect, a more arbitrary power than had Bonaparte, who took offence at these pretensions on the part of the Council of Five Hundred, and entreated the Government to look to the army for support against the Councils and the reactionary press. He even sent to Paris, as a support to the policy of the Directors, General Augereau, to whom the Directory gave the command of the military division of Paris. The crisis was now approaching. A few influential members of the two Councils, endeavoured to obtain some changes in the Ministry, as a guarantee that the Directory would pursue a line of conduct more in conformity with the wishes of the majority; but the Directory, on the contrary, summoned to the Ministry men who were hostile to the Moderate party; and henceforth a *coup d'état* appeared inevitable.

9. The Directors now marched some regiments upon the capital, in defiance of a clause of the Constitution which prohibited the presence of troops within a distance of twelve leagues of Paris. The Councils burst forth into reproaches and threats against the Directors, to which the latter replied by fiery addresses to the armies, and to the Councils themselves. It was in vain that the Directors Carnot and Barthélemy endeavoured to quell the rising storm; their three colleagues refused to listen to them, and fixed September 6, for the execution of their criminal project. During the night preceding that day Augereau surrounded the Tuileries, in which the Councils held their sittings, with twelve thousand troops and forty pieces of cannon. He arrested with his own hands General Pichegru, the President of the Council of Five Hundred, and other members of the Council were driven away or taken prisoners just as they were on their way to the Tuileries. The Directors now published a letter written by Moreau, which revealed Pichegru's treason; and at the same time nominated a Committee for the purpose of watching over the public safety. In accordance with this law, which was declared to be one of public necessity, forty-two members of the Council of Five Hundred, eleven members of that of the Ancients, and two of the Directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, were condemned to be trans-

Interference of
the army in
Home Affairs.

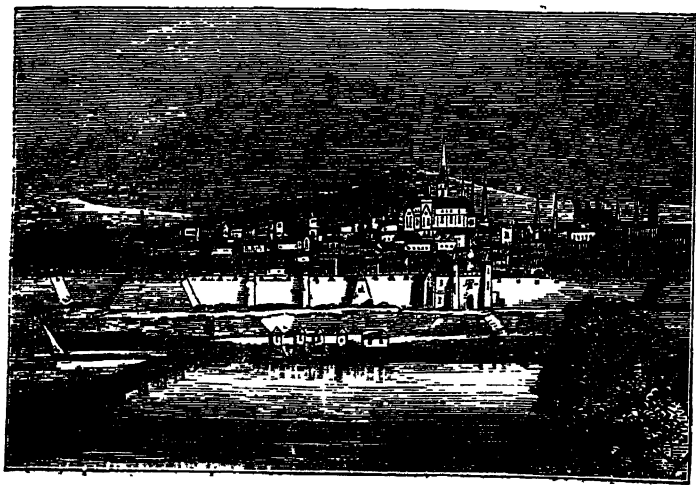
Coup d'Etat of
September 6,
1797.

Proscriptions.

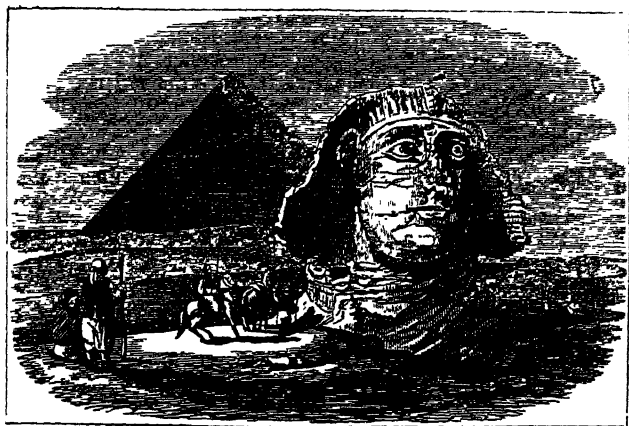
ported to the fatal district of Sinnamari. The Directors also had the laws passed in favour of the priests and emigrants reversed, and annulled the elections of forty-eight departments. Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau were chosen as successors to Carnot and Barthélemy, who had been banished and proscribed by their colleagues.

This revolution preceded by a few days only the treaty of Campo-Formio, which had been signed by Bonaparte against the wishes of the Directors. The latter could not see without alarm a young General raised to the highest rank by a single campaign, arbitrarily deciding questions of peace and war; but public opinion exulted in his triumphs, and the Directory, as they did not dare to disavow him, wished to appear to share his glory by bestowing upon him in Paris the honours which no General had hitherto received. A

triumphal fête was therefore prepared for the ratification of the treaty of Campo-Formio. This imposing ceremony took place in the court-yard of the Palace of the Luxembourg and here Napoleon Bonaparte, the young general who had raised the glory of the French arms to a height never reached before and who was destined to hold such a prominent position in the history of France, first stood face to face, in a position of the highest honour, with the people over whom he was soon to sway the imperial sceptre.



VIENNA.



CHAPTER V.

FROM THE PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULATE.

October 17, 1797, to November 10, 1799.

1. EXPEDITION TO EGYPT: CAPTURE OF MALTA. 2. POLICY OF THE DIRECTORY: INTERFERENCE IN SWITZERLAND: REVOLUTION IN THE ROMAN STATES; THE POPE IMPRISONED BY THE DIRECTORY. 3. THE SECOND COALITION AGAINST FRANCE: INVASION OF PIEDMONT AND THE TWO SICILIES: ABDICATION OF THE KING OF PIEDMONT: EXPULSION OF THE KING OF THE TWO SICILIES. 4. ELECTIONS OF 1797: DIFFICULTIES OF THE DIRECTORY: MILITARY OPERATIONS, 1799: BATTLE OF STOCKACH: BATTLE OF MAGNANO: RETREAT OF MOREAU: BATTLE OF THE TREBBIA: LOSS OF ITALY. 5. CHANGES IN THE DIRECTORY: CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: BATTLES OF CHEBREISS AND THE PYRAMIDS: BATTLE OF ABOUKIR: EXPEDITION TO SYRIA: SIEGE OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE: VICTORIES OF NAZARETH AND MOUNT TABOR: BATTLE OF NOVI: RETURN OF BONAPARTE TO FRANCE. 6. CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE DIRECTORY: OVERTHROW OF THE DIRECTORY BY BONAPARTE.

1. **T**HE treaty of Campo-Formio and the *coup d'état* of September raised for a short time the power of the dictators, amongst whom Treilhard succeeded François de Neufchâteau, to a great height; but its strength, which was more apparent than real, rested entirely on the army, and this false and dangerous position compelled the Directors to keep troops in the

field and continue the war. It was determined to invade Egypt, and the Directors entrusted Bonaparte with the command of the expedition because it removed from Paris a man whom they feared. He set forth from Toulon with a fleet of four hundred vessels and a portion of the army of Italy. The fleet set sail on the 19th of May, 1798, under the command of Admiral Brueys, and first of all took possession of the island of Malta, which then belonged to the order of the Knights of St. John.

The Expedition to Egypt, 1798. **Capture of Malta.** 2. Prior to this, however, the Directory had exercised an unwarrantable interference in the affairs of Switzerland and Rome. The government was in a condition of extreme difficulty, and as it could provide neither for the support of the army nor the expenses of the State by legitimate means, it had recourse to those which were violent and illegal, and to unjust and rapacious proceedings towards other nations. It coveted the treasure of the city of Berne, valued at more than thirty millions, and the riches existing in Rome, and all the resources, whether in money or material of war, possessed by Piedmont. These three states were allies of France, and the Directory formed a pretext for laying hands upon their possessions. It had long since aroused the revolutionary spirit in Switzerland, and in January, 1798, had openly offered its protection to the democratic party in Switzerland against the aristocracy, which only exercised authority in the Cantons by means of the magisterial offices in its possession. By its intrigues and incendiary proclamations it threw the country into a state of disorder, then marched troops into it, and under pretence of freeing Switzerland from every kind of oppression, seized the treasury at Berne, crushed the inhabitants beneath the burden of forced contributions, and gave up the whole country to pillage. Several portions of Switzerland and the free town of Geneva were violently annexed to the French Republic. Some Cantons which had not enjoyed equal rights with others to which they were in a measure subject, were declared to be on a footing of complete equality with them. An Assembly, convoked in Aarau, voted for the whole of Switzerland a constitution modelled after that of France, and placed the executive power in the hands of a Helvetian Directory. This constitution was rejected by the small Cantons, and threw all Switzerland into a state of disturbance. The French army was directed to re-establish order, and to enforce obedience to the new Constitution, and entered upon a course of the most frightful tyranny. This Directory at the same time brought about a revolution in the Roman States. It directed its Ambassador at Rome to display, contrary to usual custom, the flag of the Republic in front of his mansion. This provoked a popular demonstration against the Ambassador; and the French General, Duphot, perished on the very threshold of the embassy in the tumult which he was endeavouring to quell. For this the Directory resolved to exact vengeance at the point of

Policy of the Directory.

Interference in Switzerland, 1798.

Revolution in the Roman States, 1798.

the sword, and General Berthier was ordered to march upon Rome. A French corps entered the city unresisted; the temporal authority of the Pope was declared abolished, and replaced by a Republican Government, the public treasury was seized, the churches and convents were robbed, and the Pope, Pius VI., was made prisoner, and dragged into exile to Valence, where he died (August 20, 1799), imploring pardon for his enemies, and blessing France, from which he had suffered so many injuries.

The Pope imprisoned by the Directory, dies in 1799.

3. The invasion of Switzerland and the Roman States excited the indignation and just alarm of the European powers. They again formed an alliance against France, and the celebrated English minister, William Pitt, induced Austria and Russia to become members of the new coalition. The unjust attack on Egypt caused the Ottoman Porte to join this league, and the Court of Naples did so also, and declared war against France in November, 1798.

The second coalition against France, 1798.

The Directors immediately marched upon the Peninsula the army of Italy; but before invading the south, they resolved to take Piedmont from Charles Emmanuel IV., the son and successor of Victor Amadeus III., who had faithfully observed the treaties concluded by his father with France. The Directors had already excited in the city of Genoa a revolutionary movement, and the Genoese State had become, under the protection of France, the Ligurian Republic. A similar revolution was set on foot in Piedmont by French agents; and at last Charles Emmanuel was compelled to abdicate the throne of Piedmont, and retire with his family to the island of Sardinia, the last remnant of his possessions, where he protested against the shameful violence to which he had been subjected by the Directory.

Invasion of Piedmont and the Two Sicilies, 1797-1799.

A French army now marched upon Naples, and compelled the King to retire to Sicily. The kingdom of Naples became the Parthenopean Republic; and the whole of Italy was for some time in the power of the French armies.

4. The directorial Government, although victorious abroad, and possessed apparently of arbitrary power, had in reality but a doubtful tenure of office in France. The violent Democrats, by the elections of 1797, had, it is true, gained the ascendancy in the Council of the Five Hundred, but as the Directors had defied all law by the *coup d'état* of September 6, they could now only suppress violence by violence, and at length roused public opinion against them. Their situation became more and more perilous, and if the resources of the Government appeared immense, the obstacles against which they had to struggle were still greater. They had to govern not only France, but Holland, which had expelled the Stadtholder, and become the Batavian Republic, Switzerland, and the many Republics into which Italy was now divided; whilst for want of a proper organisation, they could obtain neither men nor money. It was,

Elections of 1799.

Difficulties of the Directory.

nevertheless, necessary to defend these various kingdoms, for war was imminent. The re-establishment of peace indeed was impossible, for Austria and England were more terrified at the revolutionary doctrines of France than at its arms, and there could be no doubt that the Russian and Austrian armies would speedily march against Holland, Switzerland and Italy. The Directory resolved to anticipate them, and with this object distributed the French armies from

the mouth of the Rhine to the gulf of Tarentum. Ten thousand men defended Holland under General Brune; the army of the Rhine was confided to Bernadotte;

that of the Danube, consisting of forty thousand men, to Jourdan; Massena occupied Switzerland with thirty thousand troops; Scherer commanded the army of Italy, which now amounted to fifty thousand men; and Macdonald was at the head of that of Naples. It was on the Danube and the Adige that the Austrians were about to make their principal efforts, and the Directory, in their anxiety to anticipate the enemy, ordered Jourdan to advance as far as the sources of the Danube, and Scherer to cross the Adige and to traverse the

defiles of the Tyrol. The Archduke Charles defeated Jourdan at Stockach, and compelled him to fall back upon the Rhine in the direction of the Black Forest; whilst Scherer, in attempting to cross the Adige, was vanquished on the plains of Magnano; and after having been beaten in

a number of combats, which resulted in the loss of the Adige, the Mincio and the Adda, and the reduction of his army to twenty thousand men, he resigned the command to Moreau.

The illustrious general, who was in disgrace with the Directors, and who had been made a simple general of division under Scherer, never displayed more talent, coolness, presence of mind, and force of character, than in the terrible position in which Scherer's rashness had placed the army. Moreau first of all covered Milan, and then marched to cross the Po. Maintaining a formidable position at every halt, he concentrated his forces below Alexandria, at the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro, and halted in an admirable position at the foot of the Genoese mountains, there to await the arrival of Macdonald with the troops under his command.

Macdonald, so long impatiently expected, at length, on June 18, met Suwarrow—who had come to the aid of the Austrians with sixty thousand men—face to face in the valley of the Trebbia, and unfortunately gave him battle before he had completely effected his junction with Moreau. Macdonald was driven back beyond the Apennines upon the Nova. Moreau hastened up to his support, but could only cover his retreat.

Italy, as well as Germany, was now lost to the French. The confederates, commanded by the Archduke Charles, now attempted to cross the barrier of Switzerland, defended by Massena, whilst the Duke of York landed in Holland with forty thousand men.

5. The elections of April, 1799, were in favour of the Democrats,

whilst at the same time Sièyes, the chief opponent of the Directory, succeeded Rewbel. The animosity of the Councils to the Directory caused the substitution in that body of Gohier, ex-Minister of Justice, General Moulins, and Roger-Ducos ^{Changes in the Directory.} for Treilhard, Merlin du Douai and La Réveillère. Henceforth Sièyes, supported by Roger-Ducos, the Council of Ancients, the army and the middle classes, sought to destroy what remained of the Constitution of the Year III. It was by the aid of the army and of some great military leader that Sièyes was enabled to succeed; and Bonaparte opportunely presented himself. The Egyptian expedition had been brilliant. The Mamelukes, who alone made an intrepid resistance, were defeated at Chebreiss, and at the foot of the Pyramids. ^{Campaign on Egypt, 1793-1799.} Cairo opened its gates; Rosetta and Damietta submitted; and the Mamelukes retired into Upper Egypt. In the meantime, Admiral Brueys having imprudently posted the French navy in the roadstead of Aboukir, the English admiral Nelson bore down upon it and almost entirely destroyed it. In spite of this great disaster, Bonaparte completed the subjugation of Egypt, and then entered upon that of Syria, in the hope of penetrating as far as India, and striking the English at the source of their ^{Battle of Aboukir, July, 1798.} power. His army marched upon Gaza, which opened ^{Expedition to Syria. Siege of St. Jean d'Acre.} its gates. Jaffa and Caïfa were carried, and Saint Jean d'Acre invested. As Bonaparte, however, was without siege artillery, he failed to take this town, which was defended by the English commodore Sir Sidney Smith. Junot vanquished the Turks at Nazareth, and Bonaparte, supported by Kléber and Murat, obtained the celebrated ^{Victories of Junot at Nazareth, and of Bonaparte at Mount Tabor, April, 1799.} victory of Mount Tabor; after which he raised the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre, and returned to Cairo, where he learned, through the journals, the unfortunate position of the Republic, and the change in the Directory.

Anarchy reigned in France; the Royalists of the West and the South had again risen against the Directors. Italy was lost; Joubert had been killed, and the French defeated in the bloody battle of Novi; and the allies were marching ^{Battle of Novi. August 15, 1799.} towards the French frontiers through Holland and Switzerland, where they were stopped by Brune and Massena. Bonaparte having learned the condition of affairs and the state or public feeling, resolved to return to France immediately, and to overthrow the Directorial government. He was preceded thither by the report of a fresh and brilliant victory. Eighteen thousand Turks having made an attack in the roadstead of ^{Return of Bonaparte to France, October 9, 1799.} Aboukir, Bonaparte, supported by Murat, Lannes, and Bessières, routed and annihilated them. Directly after this he set out, leaving Kléber in command of the army in Egypt, traversed the Mediterranean in the frigate Muiron, escaped the English fleet as by a miracle, and disembarked

Victories of
Massena at
Zurich, and of
Brune at Berg-
hem, Septem-
ber, 1799.

in the gulf of Frejus on the 9th of October, 1799, a few days after the celebrated victories of Zurich and Berghem, the first of which had been obtained by Massena over the Russians, whilst the second had been won in Holland by General Brune over the Duke of York.

6. An alliance was soon formed between Bonaparte and Sièyes, with the view of overthrowing the constitution. The former,

Conspiracy
against the
Directory.

having obtained the military command of the division of Paris by the influence of Sièyes and his supporters, immediately attacked the Directors by his proclamations and word of mouth, accusing them of having destroyed France by their acts. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos proceeded to the Tuileries on November 8, and laid down their authority. Their three colleagues attempted to resist, but Barras, in despair, sent in his resignation; whilst Moulins and Gohier were made prisoners; and now there commenced a struggle between Bonaparte and the Council of the Five Hundred. On November 9, the Legislative Corps proceeded to Saint-Cloud, accompanied by a strong military force. Bonaparte presented himself, first of all, to the Council of the Ancients; and then, when summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, declared that it was vicious, that the Directory was incapable, and appealed to his companions in arms. He afterwards proceeded to the Council of Five Hundred, who sat in the Orangery, where the excitement was already at its height. His presence there created a furious storm, and Lucien, Bonaparte's brother, who presided over the Assembly, attempted to defend him; but, finding his efforts useless, quitted his seat of office. Bonaparte, after appealing to the troops for support, gave orders for the clearance of the hall in which sat the Council of Five Hundred. A troop of grenadiers entered the hall, under the command of Marat, who declared the legislative body to be dissolved. The grenadiers advanced, and the deputies escaped from before them by the windows, to the cry of "Long Live the Republic!" There was no longer any free representative system in France, and the Republic existed only in name.





CONSULAR AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

CONSULATE, November 10, 1799–May 18, 1804.

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULATE: THE GREAT PUBLIC POWERS: CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR VIII. 2. POLICY OF WILLIAM PITT; THE MARITIME ALLIANCE. 3. CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND GERMANY: PASSAGE OF THE ALPS BY THE FRENCH: VICTORY OF MARENGO: CONVENTION OF ALEXANDRIA: VICTORIES OF HOCHSTADT, NEUBURG AND HOHENLINDEN: FRESH SUCCESES OF MOREAU: PEACE OF LUNEVILLE. 4. CONVENTION OF EL-ARISCH: VICTORY OF HELIOPOLIS: BATTLE OF CANOPA. 5. ATTACK ON COPENHAGEN BY NELSON: PREPARATIONS FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND: PEACE OF AMIENS. 6. AMNESTY AND CONSPIRACIES: ACTS OF BONAPARTE AS FIRST CONSUL: CIVIL CODE: FINANCES: CONCORDAT: LEGION OF HONOUR: CONSTITUTION OF YEAR X. 7. MEDIATION IN SWITZERLAND: GERMAN DIET AT RATISBON. 8. CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO UNITED STATES. 9. RE-UNION OF PIEDMONT TO FRANCE: RUPTURE WITH ENGLAND. 10. CONSPIRACY OF PICHEGRU AND CADOUAL: MURDER OF THE DUC D'ENGHIEN: TRIAL OF THE CONSPIRATORS. 11. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR XII.: HIGH IMPERIAL COURT: MARSHALS OF THE EMPIRE. 12. CORONATION OF NAPOLEON.

1. **T**HOSE of the members of the two councils who had been Bonaparte's accomplices, or were favourable to the Revolution of Brumaire, hastened to establish the new government. Three Consuls were provisionally appointed,

Bonaparte, Sièyes and Roger-Ducos, and at the same time two legislative committees were selected to prepare a Constitution. The first act of the provisional government was the abolition of the law of forced loans. The priests and a great number of emigrants were allowed to return to France.

The great authorities entrusted with the drawing up and the maintenance of the laws of the state were, the Council of State, the Tribune, and the Legislative Body. The Council of State drew up the laws. The Tribune, consisting of a hundred members, publicly discussed the laws which were proposed, and voted their acceptance or rejection; and in this latter case it sent three of its members to discuss the matter with three members of the Council of State in the presence of the Legislative Body. The Legislative Body, after having heard this discussion in silence, voted on the one side or the other. Finally, the senate, consisting of a hundred members, was empowered to annul, every law or act of the government which might appear to be an infringement of the principles of the constitution.

At the head of the executive power was placed, by Bonaparte's desire, three Consuls, the first of whom, himself, was to have the initiative in, and the supreme direction of all public affairs.

When Bonaparte had been proclaimed Chief Consul, he selected as second and third Consuls, Cambacérés, formerly a member of the convention, but who had taken part neither with the Girondists nor the Mountain, and Le Brun, formerly a coadjutor of the Chancellor Maupeou. The Consuls having been thus appointed, nominated thirty senators, who elected sixty more. The Senate then chose a hundred tribunes and three hundred legislators. The constitution of the Year VIII. was submitted for the approval of the people, and received more than three millions of votes in its favour.

2. Bonaparte, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, offered to make peace with England, but that power refused his offer. England's prime minister was at this time the celebrated

William Pitt, who, infusing all the energy of an inflexible will into his animosity against France, skilfully kept alive the fear and dislike which the Continental monarchs felt for the first Consul, and finally seduced them into adherence to a system of extermination against France by the payment of enormous subsidies. In this way he long secured the support of Russia and Austria, but the former abandoned England in the campaign of 1800, and towards the end of the same year, the Czar

made himself the head of a maritime alliance, which was joined by Sweden, Denmark and Prussia. These powers acted in concert with France and the United States, and renewed the celebrated declaration of an armed neutrality, signed in 1780, for the purpose of protecting the freedom of commerce, and freeing the ocean from the tyranny of the English. Austria alone persevered on the Continent in the struggle against France, and English gold supported her armies.

3. Bonaparte threw the whole military strength of the Republic upon the Rhine and the Alps. Moreau had the army of the Rhine, and the first Consul reserved to himself the army of Italy. The former, being ordered to invade the defiles of the Black Forest, took the important position of Stockach, and gained several victories in succession, which led Baron Kray, the general of the Austrian forces in Germany, to concentrate his troops to defend the line of the Danube, thus rendering himself unable to aid the Austrian army under Melas in Italy. Upon this Bonaparte proceeded to carry the war suddenly upon the Po, between Milan, Genoa and Turin. The passage of the French troops and artillery was effected over the crest of the Alps, in May, 1800, and the army speedily found itself at the foot of the further side of the Saint-Bernard, whilst Melas, without any fear, occupied with a portion of his forces the line of the Po. Seventeen thousand Austrian troops were on the Var, in France, and General Ott, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, was pressing forward the siege of Genoa, which still held out, intrepidly defended by the feeble army of the Maritime Alps, under Massena, Soult and Suchet. The pass of Susa was speedily traversed by the French army, and Bonaparte, after crossing the Adda and taking a part of his troops over the Po, attacked General Ott at Montebello before he had had time to effect his junction with Melas, and obtained a first victory.

Campaign in
Italy and Ger-
many, 1800.

Passage of the
Alps by the
French.

On the 13th of June the French took up a position between the Boirmida and the village of Marengo, which they rendered so famous. On the following day, a desperate encounter took place in which the Austrians were completely defeated. Melas in vain attempted to defend Marengo, which was taken, and gave its name to this celebrated victory, which rendered the French masters of Italy. In a state of consternation he asked to negotiate, and the convention of Alexandria speedily restored to France all that had been lost within the preceding fifteen months, with the exception of Mantua.

Victory at
Marengo,
June 14, 1800.

As this treaty was only a military convention, it was necessary that the army of the Danube should force Austria to ratify it. Moreau forced the passage of Lech, took Augsburg, and obtained another victory at Neuburg. The Archduke John advanced with a hundred and twenty thousand men to meet Moreau, who defeated him, with terrible loss, at Hohenlinden, near the river Iser.

Victories of
Hochstadt,
Neuburg, and
Hohenlinden.

This brilliant victory and the capture of Salzburg opened to Moreau the road to Vienna. The victor pursued his march and obtained a fresh victory at Schwanstadt. The lines of the Irun, the Salza and the Fraun were crossed. The fortress of Linz was taken, and the French were now only a few marches distant from Vienna. In this extreme peril a truce was demanded, which was only obtained on condition that Austria should renounce its alliance with England.

French suc-
cesses of
Moreau, 1800.

Peace was signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801, between France, Austria and the Empire, and by this France secured possession of Belgium and the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, which

now formed the boundary line between France and Germany. Separate treaties were signed by France with the courts of Spain and Naples, by which the latter powers engaged to close their ports against English vessels. Spain, moreover, undertook to keep off such vessels from the coasts of Portugal, and received for this purpose a French army, which the First Consul placed under the orders of the Spanish government.

4. England now found itself alone in arms against the whole of the maritime powers, but the influence of France in Egypt had been severely shaken. Kléber considering himself unable

to maintain hold of the country without reinforcements, Convention of El-Arisch, January, 1800, which were withheld, concluded the convention of El-Arisch with the Sultan, by which it was agreed that the

French should evacuate Egypt on honourable terms. The English fleet at this time was blockading the ports of Egypt, and Admiral Keith wrote to Kléber to inform him that England refused to recognise the Convention of El-Arisch, and that it would consent to no capitulation unless the French troops laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners. Upon this Kléber prepared to

Victory at Heliopolis.

fight and defeated the Turks at Heliopolis. He next subdued a revolt in Cairo excited by the Mamelukes, and would have maintained Egypt for France had he not been assassinated on June 14, the day of the battle of Marengo.

The battle of Canopa.

He was succeeded as commander-in-chief by General Menou, who allowed himself to be surrounded by an English army. After the unfortunate battle of Canopa, Cairo capitulated; Alexandria, in which Menou had shut himself

Evacuation of Egypt.

up, speedily shared the same fate and the French army, and was compelled to evacuate Egypt.

5. England had taken possession of the Dutch colonies of Sinuamari, Guiana, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon,

Attack on Copenhagen by Nelson, 1801.

together with the French colonies; and Malta had fallen into its power. Nelson had attacked Copenhagen and forced the Danes. Paul I., of Russia, most powerful

supporter of the maritime league of the neutral powers, perished by assassination, and his young successor, Alexander, adopted a different policy. The league was then dissolved by the

Preparations for the Invasion of England, 1801.

force of circumstances, and England remained sovereign of the seas. In the meantime various causes rendered England desirous of peace. The First Consul had

collected at Boulogne, in preparation for the invasion of England, an immense flotilla of gun boats, which Nelson had attacked without being able either to destroy or disperse, and a French

Peace of Amiens, 1802.

army was ready to cross the Channel. This and other circumstances rendered peace as desirable for England as it was for France. Pitt was replaced in the Cabinet

by Addington. England offered to treat, and the First Consul accepted the offer. The preliminaries of peace were signed by the two Governments in September, 1801; while it was definitively concluded at Amiens on March 25, 1802. Separate treaties, the natural consequences of the peace of Amiens, were signed by France with Portugal, Bavaria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, Algiers and Tunis; and thus the world was for a time—alas! too short—at peace.

6. The First Consul had striven with all his energy to suppress factions at home. He revoked by a decree of amnesty the law which prevented a hundred and fifty thousand emigrants from returning to France, and gained over many royalists leaders; Georges Cadoudal and other

Amnesty and
Conspiracies,
1803.



COPENHAGEN.

Vendean leaders capitulated and the war in the West was brought to an end. Several plots, however, were formed against Bonaparte by the extreme Republicans and Royalists, but none of these were successful and all persons suspected of participation in them were punished in a most arbitrary manner. Bonaparte from this time forth displayed on many occasions a violent and despotic character; and a party hostile to his government was formed in the great bodies of the State, which had at its head, in the Senate, Lanjuinais, Grégoire, Garat, Cabanis; and, in the Tribunate, Isnard, Daunou, Andrieux, Chénier and Benjamin Constant.

Acts of Bona-
parte as First
Consul.

The difficult circumstances in the midst of which his authority

had come into existence rendered it almost indispensable that the dictatorship, of which at this period he generally made a salutary and glorious use, should remain for some time in his hands. For

anarchy, which prevailed in every direction, he substituted

Civil Code. order; he established regularity in the civil and military administration, and the Civil Code which he now projected was a monument of genius, and became a model of legislation for Europe. The subjects of public instruction, the Institute, commerce, industry, the roads, the ports and the arsenals, also attracted the notice and thoughtfulness of the First Consul. With the assistance of Monge and Berthollet he gave a better organisation to the Polytechnic School, which had been established during

the government of the Convention. Assisted by the

Finances. able Minister Gaudin, he re-established order in the finances, and being convinced that religion is the surest support of morality, he re-established public worship in France,

Concordat. and signed with Pope Pius VII. a concordat, by which the Catholic religion was recognised as that of the majority of the French. He further resolved to bestow a reward

The Legion of Honour. for merit in whatever rank he might find it, and for this purpose established the Order of the Legion of Honour, of which he declared himself the head.

The First Consul, whilst so active in promoting the national interest, neglected nothing which might confirm his authority, and after having obtained for his Consulate ten years' prolongation, he caused himself to be appointed Consul for life, and obtained the privilege of appointing his successor. Two days later the Constitution of the Year X. was decreed by a *senatus consultum*. To the Senate was given power to suspend the functions of the jury, to

place the departments beyond the pale of the Constitution, to annul the decisions of the tribunals which

Constitution of the Year X. had been instituted in the departments and their subdivisions, and to dissolve the Legislative Corps and the

August, 1802. Tribune. The number of the Tribunes was reduced to fifty, and Bonaparte selected for himself, in addition to the Council of State, a privy council, small in numbers, whose principal duty was to deliberate on affairs which required secrecy. All the citizens had been invited to give their opinions with respect to the establishment of the Consulship for life, and out of 3,577,299 votes on the registers, only 8,000 were given against it.

7. In January, 1802, the First Consul convoked at Lyons the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic, which was to be henceforward known as the Italian Republic, and bestowed a new constitution

upon it, he himself becoming its President. **Mediation in Switzerland.** In the

course of the same year, 1802, Bonaparte compelled the Swiss Cantons to accept the celebrated Act of Mediation, which enforced equality of rights between the different portions of the Helvetian territory. The Act of Mediation preserved the sovereignty of the Cantons, whilst it established a National Diet for the purpose of superintending the general interests

of the Confederacy, and this has remained almost the same to the present day. In addition to this he also succeeded in inducing the German Diet, assembled at Ratisbon in 1803 to regulate the indemnities to be given to the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, who had been deprived of their domains by the arrangements of the peace of Amiens, to remodel the whole constitution of the German Empire, the composition of the Diet, and that of the imperial body of electors in a manner favourable to France. The French colony of Louisiana in North America he sold to the United States for eighty millions of francs (£3,200,000.)

German Diet
at Ratisbon,
1803.

8. In the meantime England had observed all the clauses of the treaty with one exception. The island of Malta was not yet evacuated, and this fatal delay was caused by the omission on the part of the French Government to obtain the guarantees of Russia and Prussia for the execution of the Treaty of Amiens as agreed. To all the causes of jealousy and irritation which the First Consul had recently given to England by his almost despotic interference in the affairs of the Continent, was now added another by the sudden annexation to France of Piedmont without any compensation to the King, Charles Emmanuel, the ally of England. So arbitrary an act raised the exasperation of the English people to its height, and the outcries of the public press and of the members of the Opposition in Parliament, who were led by Grenville and Canning, would not permit the English Government to evacuate Malta before it had obtained from the First Consul explanations with respect to these aggressive acts, and of his encroachments in Europe. Bonaparte replied by threats and invectives against England and demanding the expulsion of the Bourbons from the country and the immediate evacuation of Malta. The English government proposed to surrender Malta after two years in exchange for another small island in the Mediterranean. But Bonaparte impelled by his pride, or as he chose to phrase it, compelled for the honour of France to refuse any concession whatever, chose rather for the sake of the immediate possession of a rock in the Mediterranean, to tear in pieces the most glorious treaty which France had ever signed, and Europe was plunged into the horrors of an endless war. The war commenced on either side by savage acts unworthy of civilised nations. The English fleet, on the one hand, fired on ships of merchandise in various seas before hostilities had been openly declared, and the French Consul, on the other hand, ordered, as a reprisal, the arrest of all the English travelling on the Continent, many of whom remained prisoners until the close of this long and frightful war.

Reunion of
Piedmont to
France,
1803.

Rupture
with England.

9. At the same time a dangerous plot was formed against the life of the First Consul, and for the restoration of the Bourbons, by the Chouan and Royalist chiefs. Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal were at their head, and Moreau was their confidant, but not their accomplice. The

Conspiracy
of Pichegru
and Cadoudal.

conspiracy was discovered in February, 1804, and Moreau, Pichegru and Cadoudal were arrested. This event was followed by a scandalous violation of the law of nations in the seizure of the Duc d'Enghien, the last of the princely race of Condé, at Ettenheim, in Baden, and his murder, for it was nothing better, in the moat of Vincennes, after going through the mockery of a trial before a military commission.

The pretext for this act was that the Duke was seeking to conspire against Bonaparte's government and had taken part in a meeting of Emigrants on the Rhine frontier. All Bonaparte's glory has not served to obliterate the remembrance of this bloody catastrophe, which was the principal cause of the third general war.

Paris, France and Europe were still deeply moved by so gross an outrage, when the trial of Pichegru and Moreau commenced. Pichegru, despairing of pardon from the First Consul, or disdaining it, strangled himself in prison. Moreau was condemned to two years imprisonment, which Bonaparte commuted to exile to the United States. Out of forty-seven persons tried, seventeen were condemned to death, and amongst these were Georges Cadoudal, Charles de Rivière, and Armand de Polignac. The punishment of the two latter was commuted; but the first died, as he had lived, without giving a sign of weakness.

10. The war against Great Britain, and Pichegru's conspiracy assisted Bonaparte to raise himself from the Consulate to the Imperial Crown; but first of all he added to the powers of the Senate, which had already been so greatly extended. This body was but a docile instrument in his hands, and when he had triumphed over all resistance in France, he caused it to request him to govern the Republic under the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, and with the title of hereditary Emperor; and accordingly the empire was proclaimed on May 18, 1804. The Constitution now underwent fresh modifications; the Senate was constituted guardian of individual liberty; freedom of debate was restored to the Legislative Corps; the powers of the members of the Tribunate were prolonged from five to ten years; but this latter body was divided into three sections, and it was forbidden to debate in a general assembly. Finally, a High Imperial Court was created, endowed with most of the judicial attributes which were subsequently possessed by the Court of Peers. The new

Constitution recognised the Emperor's two brothers, Louis and Joseph, as capable of being his successors, and they were nominated respectively Grand-Elector and Constable of the Empire. The post of Arch-Chancellor and Arch-Treasurer, were given to Cambacérès and Lebrun. Beneath these and two other great dignitaries the Arch-Chancellor of State and the Grand-Admiral were fifty grand officers, partly civil and partly military, at the head of whom were eighteen Marshals of the Empire, Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena,

Arrest and
execution
of the Duc
d'Enghien.

Trial of the
Conspirators,
1804.

Establish-
ment of the
Empire and
Constitution
of the Year
XII.

High
Imperial
Court.

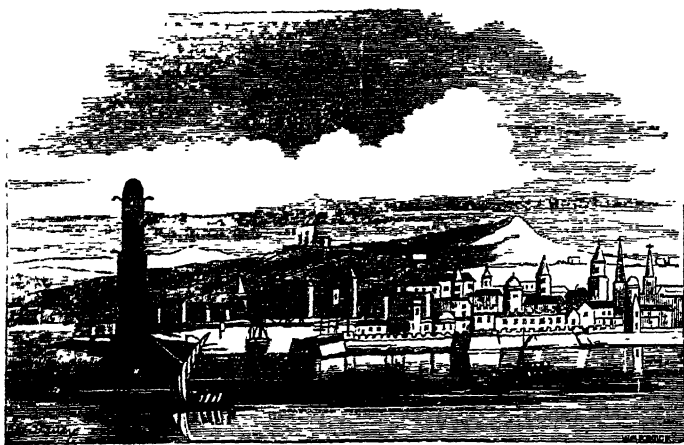
Marshals of
the Empire.

Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Broune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon and Serrurier. Napoleon desired that his reign should be sanctioned as well by the clergy as the people, and he obtained the approval of each. The new Emperor was accepted by an immense majority of the French people, and at his earnest request Pope Pius VII. went to Paris to bestow upon his unheard-of success the seal of religious consecration. On December 2, 1804, in the Church of Notre Dame, Napoleon, accompanied by his wife, Josephine, the beautiful widow of the Marquis de Beauharnais, and surrounded by the great bodies of the State and the great dignitaries of the Church, was consecrated Emperor of the French by the Sovereign Pontiff; but instead of receiving the crown from the Pope's hands, he took it from the altar himself and placed it on his own head.

Coronation
of Napoleon.
Dec. 1804.



THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE.




GENOA.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON TO THE SEIZURE OF SPAIN, 1804-1808.

- I. THIRD COALITION: CAMP OF BOULOGNE: PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND: FRUSTRATION OF NAPOLEON'S DESIGN. 2. CAMPAIGN OF 1805: CAPITULATION OF ULM: ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO VIENNA: BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ. 3. BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR: TREATY OF SCHÖNBRUNN: PEACE OF PRESBURG: BAVARIA AND WURTEMBERG ERECTED INTO KINGDOMS. 4. NAPOLEON CROWNS JOSEPH KING OF NAPLES, AND LOUIS, KING OF HOLLAND; NEW HEREDITARY NOBILITY. 5. ATTEMPTED RECONCILIATION WITH ENGLAND: CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE: FALL OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE: CONFEDERATION OF THE STATES OF THE NORTH: FOURTH COALITION: BATTLES OF JENA AND AUERSTADT: ENTRY OF NAPOLEON INTO BERLIN. 6. SAXONY CREATED A KINGDOM: DECREE OF THE CONTINENTAL BLOCKADE. 7. NAPOLEON ENTERS POLAND: BATTLE OF PULTUSK: CAMPAIGNS OF 1807: BATTLE OF EYLAU: SIEGE AND CAPITULATION OF DANTZIC. 8. THE TURKISH EMPIRE MENACED BY THE RUSSIANS AND ENGLISH. 9. MARCH ON KÖNIGSBERG: BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND: INTERVIEW BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER AT TILSIT: PEACE OF TILSIT. 10. BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN BY THE ENGLISH: PARTITION OF PORTUGAL: FRENCH ENTRY INTO SPAIN: JOSEPH BONAPARTE BECOMES KING OF SPAIN, AND MURAT KING OF NAPLES: RISE OF THE SPANIARDS. 11. RISING OF PORTUGAL: LANDING OF AN ENGLISH ARMY: CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

- I. APOLEON now desired to add to the title of Emperor of the French that of King of Italy, and the representatives of the Italian republic decided that that country should be made a separate kingdom. He immediately re-

paired to Milan, and girding his brows with the iron crown of the Lombard kings, declared that he only temporarily added it to his own, and appointed Eugene de Beauharnais, his stepson, Viceroy of Italy. The establishment of this kingdom, the sudden and violent annexation of the city of Genoa and the principality of Lucca to the empire, the immense exertions of the English government, now again directed by Pitt, and the indignation excited in Europe by the death of the Duc d'Enghien, resulted in the formation of a third coalition against France by England, Austria and Russia. Bavaria made common cause with France; Prussia remained neutral; and Spain also was unwilling to join the enemies of France. England declared that Spain had broken its neutrality by affording a refuge to some French vessels blockaded in the ports of Ferrol and Cadiz, and demanded their expulsion. Upon its refusing to do so, England declared war against it, and thus drove Spain into an alliance with France. Napoleon at this time once more contemplated a descent upon England, and again assembled a vast force with this object at Boulogne, and an immense flotilla of light boats for the purpose of conveying the army of invasion across the Channel, and landing it on the opposite coast. But an English fleet defended the passage, and several of its divisions blockaded the French squadrons, in the ports of Brest and Ferrol. A second English fleet, under Nelson, cruised in the Mediterranean, and watched the French fleet shut up in the port of Toulon. The Toulon fleet was ordered to sail to Martinique, and there await the arrival of the Brest fleet, return with it to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol and the coast of Spain, and finally return to the Channel, where the united fleets, consisting of sixty vessels, would be superior to that of the English. Napoleon believed that this plan would render him master of the Channel for four-and-twenty hours, which would be sufficient time to enable him to land his army on the opposite coast, when England would be already conquered. In accordance with this plan, Villeneuve, who commanded the Toulon fleet, having escaped Nelson in the Mediterranean, and joined Admiral Gravina and the Spanish squadron in Cadiz, proceeded to the Antilles, and after having waited in vain for the Brest fleet, sailed to Europe, and fought a glorious battle off Ferrol with the English fleet commanded by Admiral Calder, after which they formed a junction with two fresh divisions, the one French and the other Spanish. The Brest fleet being too closely watched by the English fleet to quit the port, Villeneuve was ordered to raise the blockade of Brest and release the fleet there. Failing the success of this manœuvre, he was ordered to sail, with all his forces, into the Channel, and protect Napoleon's passage, at the risk of losing half the fleet, if necessary. Villeneuve could not understand that these orders were to be obeyed at any hazard; and firmly believing that the result of a battle was much more likely to be the destruction of the French navy than the conquest of England, he lost all confi-

Third Coalition, 1804.

Commencement of hostilities.

Projected Invasion of England.

dence, and, instead of sailing to the English Channel, he made for Cadiz. When informed of this fact, the anger of Napoleon was equal to his grief, and it burst forth against Villeneuve in the most vehement and terrible expressions. No enterprise had ever been planned with greater care, and none more completely baffled by unforeseen chances.

2. It now became necessary for Napoleon to march against the

Campaign of 1805.

Russians and Austrians. A hundred and twenty thousand Austrians were marching in three corps, under the Archdukes Ferdinand, John and Charles, towards the Rhine and the Adige, and two Russian armies were advancing to join them. Napoleon, quitting the camp of Boulogne, hastened to meet them, and within twenty days the French army passed from the edge of the ocean to the shores of the Rhine. He crossed that river in October, 1805, with a hundred and sixty thousand men, divided into six corps, and advanced by the Alps and Suabia across Germany. The Danube was crossed in its turn, and Napoleon's lieutenants fought a series of glorious conflicts. Murat was victorious at Wertingen and at Günzburg; General Dupont at Hasslach; and Ney at Elchingen; while the Austrian army under Mack was

Capitulation of Ulm.

driven back to the city of Ulm, where Mack capitulated on October 20. The Austrians in Lombardy, under the Archduke Charles, were prevented from marching to the assistance of Vienna by Massena, who, to stop them, fought the bloody battle of Caldiero. The Archduke was compelled to fall back southwards, and Napoleon, driving the Austrians before him, crossed the Danube and entered Vienna. The Russians

Entry of the French into Vienna.

now entered Moravia, where they rallied the ranks of the Austrian army. Napoleon marched towards them, and encountered them in the environs of Brunn, on the plain of Austerlitz, where he gained a decisive victory over the allies on December 2, 1805. Fifteen thousand

Battle of Austerlitz.

Austrians and Russians perished, twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and forty flags, with two hundred pieces of cannon, were the trophies of this memorable victory.

3. Triumphant on the Continent, France suffered terrible

Battle of Trafalgar.

disasters at sea. Her fleet, united with the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, after having been beaten at Cape Finisterre, lost, on the 21st of October, the celebrated battle of Trafalgar. This great victory, which cost the life of the English Admiral, secured to England the sovereignty of the seas, and Napoleon no longer attempted to vanquish her on that element. The victory of the English at Trafalgar was productive of the most serious consequences to the Court of Naples, which had recently bound itself by treaty to neutrality. Hearing that Prussia was about to join the coalition, and that the French fleet had been destroyed at Trafalgar, it concluded that Napoleon was lost, and received into the kingdom twelve thousand English and six thousand Russians, with whom were joined forty thousand Neapolitans, for the purpose of

exciting Italy to revolt in the rear of the French army in Austria. This caused the fall of the Bourbons of Naples, who were overlooked in the negotiations for peace after the battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon granted an armistice to the Austrians and Russians, and signed with Prussia, on December 14, ^{Treaty of Schönbrunn.} 1805, at Schönbrunn, an alliance offensive and defensive, by which France ceded Hanover to Prussia in exchange for the Duchy of Cleves, the Principality of Neufchâtel, and the Marquisate of Anspach, which Napoleon soon exchanged with Bavaria for the Duchy of Berg. Ten days later, December 25, Napoleon forced on the Emperor Joseph the hard treaty of Presburg, by which Venetia, Friuli, Istria and Dalmatia, were transferred from Austria to the Kingdom of Italy; and Austria also ceded the Tyrol to Bavaria, and received in exchange the ecclesiastical principality of Wurzburg. The two electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were raised to the rank of kingdoms. Finally, Austria had to pay for the expenses of the war, a contribution of fifty millions. ^{Peace of Presburg, 1805.}

4. On returning to Paris, Napoleon set to work to remove the last vestige of the Revolutionary institutions. The Republican Calendar was replaced by the Gregorian Calendar, and it was ordered that on August 15, the fête of Napoleon should be celebrated throughout the empire. Napoleon further declared that the House of Naples had lost its crown as punishment for the part it had taken in the late coalition, and transferred the Neapolitan sceptre to his brother Joseph. He made ^{Napoleon crowns Joseph King of Naples, and Louis King of Holland, 1806.} the republic of the United Provinces a kingdom for his brother Louis, and made Prince Murat, his brother-in-law, Grand-duke of Cleves and Berg. He endeavoured to establish the military hierarchic régime of feudal times, and transformed various provinces and principalities into grand fiefs of the empire, which he bestowed as rewards upon his ministers and most illustrious generals; and two years later he struck the final blow at Republican institutions by creating a new hereditary nobility, in which those who were illustrious of old took rank for the most part after the celebrities of the day. ^{New hereditary nobility.}

5. In the year 1806, pacific negotiations were commenced between France and England. Napoleon, resolved to complete the ruin of the Bourbons, who still reigned in Sicily, demanded that that island should be annexed to his brother's State; and to induce England not to oppose this fresh conquest, he offered in exchange the restoration of Hanover, which had already been ceded to Prussia. This, however, was refused, and the negotiations were broken off. In the meantime Napoleon, pursuing his project of obtaining unlimited rule in Europe, completed the organisation of his military empire by rendering the old Germanic Confederation dependent on him. On the 12th of July, ^{Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.} 1806, fourteen princes of the south and the west of Germany formed the Confederation of the Rhine, and recognized Napoleon as their protector. This Confederation

enfeebled Prussia and Austria as much as it added apparently to the power of Napoleon. The Emperor Francis II. was, amongst the sovereigns of Germany, the one whose rights were most

**Fall of the
German Em-
pire, 1806.**

infringed upon, but he was too weak to make any opposition, he abdicated the title of Emperor of Germany, and retained only, under the name of Francis I., the title of Emperor of Austria, which he had assumed in 1804, and thus ended the Germanic empire, after it had existed for a thousand years. In the meantime the King of Prussia, Frederick William—greatly irritated against Napoleon, who, after having guaranteed him the possession of Hanover, had offered it to

**Confederation
of the States of
the North.**

England, had resolved to form in Germany a Confederation of the States of the North, in opposition to the Confederation of the Rhine, and he demanded, as a first condition of the maintenance of peace, the retreat of all the French troops in Germany to the further side of the Rhine. Napoleon, indignant at a coalition which he regarded as

**Fourth Coalition,
1806.**

an insult, would not allow Saxony and the Hanseatic towns to join the Northern League, and rejected the Prussian ultimatum, upon which Frederick William determined upon war, and invaded Saxony. Russia, Sweden and England immediately formed with Prussia the fourth coalition against France.

Napoleon lost no time in marching to meet the Prussian army, and manœuvred with extreme celerity so as to surround the enemy, cut off his communications, and close against him his line of retreat. The enemy was successively driven back to Schleitz and to Saalfeld. A few days afterwards the French army, as it was preparing to cross the Saale at three points, encountered at Jena a great portion of the Prussian army under Prince Hohenlohe.

**Battle of
Jena and
Auerstadt.**

Napoleon ordered the attack and a general engagement ensued. His victory was as complete as it was rapid; the Prussians lost in a few hours twelve thousand men killed or wounded, fifteen thousand prisoners, a multitude of flags, and two hundred pieces of cannon. On the same day, four hours later, Marshal Davoust totally defeated the Prussians under the old Duke of Brunswick at Auerstadt. These two great battles decided the campaign.

Nothing now prevented Napoleon from marching victoriously onward. He occupied in succession Leipzig, Wittem-

**Entry of
Napoleon into
Berlin, Oct.,
1806.**

berg, and Dessau; crossed the Elbe at three points, and on the 28th of October, 1806, entered Berlin in triumph. The line of the Oder was promptly occupied. Murat, Soult, Lannes and Bernadotte, completed the conquest of Western and Southern Prussia as far as the shores of the Baltic. The unfortunate Frederick William retreated to Königsberg, where he concentrated his last reserves, and the despotic and military monarchy of Frederick the Great appeared to have been within a month almost annihilated.

6. Napoleon, everywhere victorious, now used the rights conferred

upon him by victory, and disposed of crowns by his decrees. The Elector of Hesse was deprived of his states for having refused to take part with France, while the electorate of Saxony, whose prince had taken part with Prussia, against his will and even with regret, was added to the Confederation of the Rhine, and raised to the rank of a kingdom. Napoleon's next care was to attempt to punish England for having joined the coalition, and on November 26, 1806, there appeared at Berlin the famous decree for the blockade of the British isles. This decree declared the British isles themselves in a state of blockade; interdicted any commerce or communication with them; and ordered the seizure of all English persons and English merchandize which should be found on the territories of France, or on those of her allies. Every nation which did not submit to the system set forth in this decree was declared by it to be an enemy of France. This blow at British commerce, which nevertheless injured all the nations to whom commerce with the United Kingdom was a vital necessity doubtless inflicted immense loss upon England, but it did not place that power at her rival's discretion, as Napoleon had hoped, but led her, on the contrary, to adopt a series of violent and gigantic measures which precipitated his fall.

Saxony
created a
kingdom.

Decree of the
Continental
blockade,
1806.

7. Frederick William, although vanquished and almost entirely dispossessed had not lost all hope. He had collected, between Thorn and Königsberg, under General Lestocq, about thirty thousand men, his last resource, and Russian troops under old General Kraminski advanced to his aid across Poland. Divided into two corps under Generals Benningzen and Buntorfden, they approached the Vistula, and would have attacked the French in concert with the Prussians if they had not been prevented by their rapid movements. Victorious on the fields of Jena and Auerstadt, Napoleon had resolved to march to fight the Russians on the plains of Poland, and two French armies, each consisting of about eighty thousand men, and divided into nine corps, marched upon the Vistula at the commencement of November.

Napoleon
enters Poland.

A great number of indecisive conflicts, in which the French generally had the advantage, took place at the commencement of this campaign; and on December 6 the French obtained a decisive victory at Pultusk, where Marshal Lannes vanquished and repulsed Benningzen's division. The inclemency of the season and snow, compelled Napoleon to halt in Poland, where he passed the winter, posting his various corps in front of the Vistula, from Elbing, near the Baltic, up to Warsaw, and sending Marshal Lefevre to invest Dantzic.

Battle of
Pultusk.

The Russian general, Benningzen, however, ventured to carry on the campaign during the winter, and endeavoured to surprise the French army in its cantonments by turning its positions on the shore of the Baltic, and crossing the Vistula with the Prussian corps of General Lestocq, between

Campaigns
of 1807.

Thorn and Marienburg. But his plan was divined and frustrated. Then Benningzen concentrated his forces at the strong position of Jonkorvo, on the Alle, whilst Napoleon broke up his camps and marched to attack him. But Benningzen fell back before the French, who descended the course of the Alle in pursuit of him, and ultimately halted beyond Eylau and took up a position, resolved to give battle as soon as General Lestocq and the Prussians should



CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE BOSPHORUS.

arrive. There he was attacked by Napoleon just before the Prussians could effect a junction with him, on Februar 7, 1807. A desperate encounter ensued, in which Benningzen was defeated with immense losses, and compelled to retreat on the following day.

Napoleon pursued the Russians as far as Königsberg, and beyond the Pregel; after which he returned to take up his winter quarters beyond the Lower Vistula, between Elbing and Thorn, in order to cover the siege of Danzic, which, in spite of all the efforts made by Benningzen to relieve it, surrendered on the 24th May, 1807.

Battle of
Eylau, 1807.

Siege and
Capitulation
of Danzic.

8. Turkey was at this time the scene of serious events. The French ambassador at Constantinople, General Sebastiani, was making great efforts to induce the Sultan Selim to ally himself with France, when forty thousand Russians suddenly crossed the Dniester under pretence of securing the execution of treaties. This sudden invasion of Turkey had been concerted with the English Government, who proposed to send its own fleet through the strait of the Dardanelles; and when the Sultan ordered the Russian envoy to leave Constantinople, the English ambassador threatened to have that city bombarded by the English fleet if the Sultan did not immediately ally himself with England and Russia against France. The Sultan hesitated to incur the threatened peril, but Sebastiani revived his courage and armed Constantinople with formidable batteries; so that when, in March, 1807, the English fleet appeared before Constantinople, a terrible fire compelled it to repass the Dardanelles considerably damaged. France, nevertheless, derived but little advantage from this success, for a revolt of the Janissaries soon afterwards took place at Constantinople, and Selim was deposed.

The Turkish empire menaced by the Russians and English, 1807.

Defence of Constantinople by the French ambassador, 1807.

9. The war continued in Poland and Eastern Prussia, where the Russians, under Benningzen and Bagration, reopened the campaign in the spring, and Napoleon, after the fall of Dantzic, resumed the offensive. He marched upon Königsberg, and defeated the enemy in the battles of Gudstadt, Spanden and Heilsburg. Benningzen having retreated for the purpose of covering Königsberg, Napoleon followed him, and on June 14, encountered the Russians and Prussians before Friedland. Again the allies were defeated with terrific carnage, and Friedland was taken and burnt. The Prussian army fled in disorder, and lost eighty pieces of cannon and twenty-five thousand men, killed, wounded or drowned. Königsberg, after this bloody battle, opened its gates, and there remained nothing more of the Prussian monarchy.

March on Königsberg.

Battle of Friedland, June, 1807.

Napoleon now marched towards the Niemen in pursuit of the Russians, and on June 19 came up with them on the banks of that river, which flowed between the two armies. But there his victorious march came to a halt; for Alexander, vanquished, asked for peace, and expressed a desire to see his conqueror. A raft was constructed near Tilsit, on the Niemen, for the solemn interview between the Czar and the Emperor, and this interview took place in the sight of the two armies assembled on the river's banks. Peace was at length concluded at Tilsit by treaties signed by France, Russia and Prussia. The principal clauses of this treaty were—the restoration to Prussia of Old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silesia; the cession to France of all the provinces on the left of the Elbe, for the purpose of incorporating them with the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and making of the whole a kingdom of

Interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, 1807.

Peace of Tilsit, 1807.

Westphalia; the conversion of Posen and Warsaw into a Polish state, which, under the title of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, should be given to the King of Saxony, and should form part of the Confederation of the Rhine; the recognition of this Confederation by Russia and Prussia; and the recognition of Napoleon's brothers, Louis, Joseph and Jerome, as the Kings of Holland, Naples and Westphalia. Finally, it was agreed, in a secret clause, to call upon the European powers to adhere to the Continental blockade, and to close their ports against England, and declare war against it.

10. England was much dismayed when she found Russia withdrawn from her influence. Wishing to retain at any price a footing in the Baltic, she demanded that Denmark should form with her an alliance offensive and defensive, and that, as a guarantee of good faith, she should surrender her fleet and her capital into her hands. The King refused, and on September 2, 1807, Copenhagen was subjected to a frightful bombardment, and the Danish fleet fell into hands of the English. Denmark avenged herself for this act by immediately adhering to the continental blockade.

Bombardment
of Copenhagen
by the English,
1807.

At the end of 1807 Portugal was the only continental state which remained under the direct influence of Great Britain, and Napoleon signed on September 27, 1807, at Fontainebleau, an iniquitous treaty with Spain, by which Portugal, as a punishment for her alliance with England, was to be divided almost entirely between the King of Etruria, and Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, who governed the Spanish monarchy. This treaty declared Charles IV., King of Spain, suzerain of the two states thus to be formed out of Portugal. A proclamation announced on December 13, 1807, that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. A body of French troops, under the orders of Junot, were sent to Lisbon, charged with the execution of this sentence, and before their arrival the Prince Regent of Portugal embarked for the Brazils, abandoning to the invading army his capital and fleet. This rapid success, and the scandalous divisions in the Spanish Royal family, inflamed Napoleon's ambition,

Partition of
Portugal, Sept.
1807.

French entry
into Spain,
1808.

and he accustomed himself to look upon the Peninsula as his conquest. The weak Charles IV., who was entirely under the influence of Godoy, the Queen's favourite, had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all his subjects, whilst his son, Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, had become their idol by declaring himself the opponent of the odious favourite. In 1808 Napoleon sent an army into Spain, and demanded the surrender to the French empire of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro. Charles IV. and the Queen were struck with consternation. Godoy advised them to go to their possessions in America; but Ferdinand opposed the execution of this project, and having called on the people and the troops to support him, arrested Godoy, made his father prisoner, and forced him to abdicate, and then made a triumphal entry into Madrid as King of Spain. But on the following day, March 23, Murat entered Madrid

with his army. Charles IV. protested against his forced abdication, and Murat refused to recognise Ferdinand as King. Napoleon then invited the King and his son to meet him at Bayonne, ostensibly to decide upon their differences, but having got them into his power, he detained Ferdinand as a prisoner, and sent the King to Compiègne, after inducing him to resign the crown in his favour. In the meantime Murat kept possession of Madrid, and the Council of Castile, under the pressure of French influence, requested that Joseph, Napoleon's eldest brother, would become King of Spain. An assembly of Spanish notables was immediately convoked at Bayonne, where the Emperor organized a Junta to carry on a provisional government. Joseph gave up to Joachim Murat the crown of Naples, and immediately quitting that capital, reached Bayonne on the 7th of June, when he was declared King of Spain. The Assembly at Bayonne voted a constitution, which Joseph swore to observe, and on July 9th he was on his way to Spain. But already the Spaniards, indignant and furious, had flown to arms. A provisional government assembled at Seville annulled all the acts of the Junta at Bayonne. The Spaniards signalized their vengeance in Cadiz and other places by massacres and atrocities, declaring war to the death against the French; and the Portuguese followed their example. In the meantime Bessières was victorious at Medina de Rio-Secco, and his victory opened the gates of Madrid to King Joseph, who made his entrance into that capital on the 20th of July. But immediately afterwards General Dupont made a disgraceful capitulation at Baylen, and surrendered with twenty-six thousand troops. This terrible check shook the power of the French in the Peninsula, and reanimated the Spaniards, the result being that Joseph had to quit Madrid eight days after he had entered it in solemn state.

Joseph Bonaparte becomes King of Spain, and Murat King of Naples, 1808.

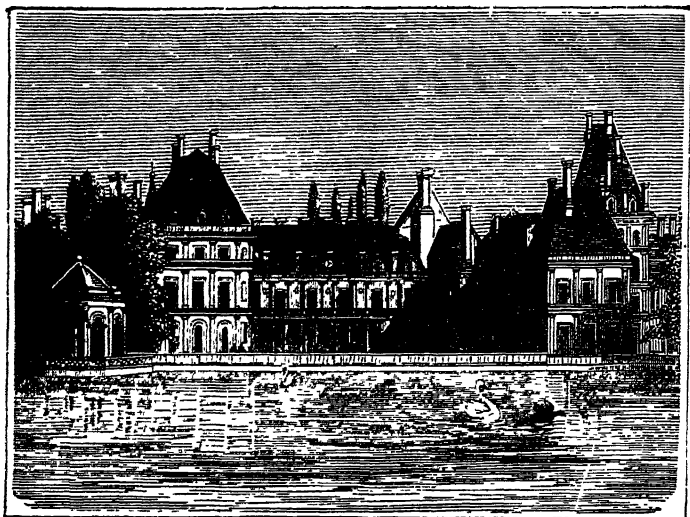
Rise of the Spaniards.

Capitulation of General Dupont at Baylen.

11. Portugal also rose, and an English army disembarked there under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington. Junot, with ten thousand men only, ventured to fight the battle of Vimiera against twenty-six thousand English and Portuguese. He was vanquished, and soon after signed the capitulation of Cintra, which at least allowed him to retreat to France with honour. Portugal was now evacuated by the French; and Joseph's only possessions in Spain were Barcelona, Navarre and Biscay. Napoleon chafed when he learnt the reverses suffered by his arms in the Peninsula, and resolved that his best generals and his German and Italian armies should cross the Pyrenees to efface the disgrace suffered at Baylen, and stifle at its birth an insurrection so threatening and unexpected. He entered at hazard upon a boundless path, where he lost himself and encountered a precipice. Already, at the point of his history at which we have now arrived, his star began to pale, and the prestige of the invincibility of his arms was destroyed.

Rising of Portugal. Landing of an English army.

Convention of Cintra.




FONTAINEBLEAU.

CHAPTER III.

*FROM THE CONFERENCE AT ERFURT TO NAPOLEON'S
ABDICATION AT FONTAINEBLEAU. 1808-1814.*

- I. TREATY OF ERFURT: THE WAR IN SPAIN: BATTLE OF CORUNNA. 2. FIFTH COALITION AGAINST FRANCE: INVASION OF AUSTRIA: BATTLES OF ABENSBERG, ECKMUHL AND RATISBON: SECOND ENTRY OF NAPOLEON INTO VIENNA: BATTLES OF ESSLING AND ASPERN: JUNCTION OF EUGENE WITH NAPOLEON: BATTLE OF WAGRAM: PEACE OF VIENNA. 3. THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION: ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF PIUS VII. 4. COURSE OF THE WAR IN SPAIN: MARCH OF MASSENA ON PORTUGAL: CHECK BEFORE TORRES VEDRAS. 5. DIVORCE OF JOSEPHINE: NAPOLEON MARRIES AN AUSTRIAN ARCHDUCHESS: ANNEXATION OF HOLLAND TO FRANCE: ANNEXATION OF THE HANSEATIC TOWNS, ETC.: COOLNESS OF ALEXANDER TOWARDS NAPOLEON. 6. CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN THE PENINSULA: BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONORO. 7. BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROMÉ: COUNCIL OF PARIS. 8. TYRANNY OF THE IMPERIAL RULE: CONGRESS OF DRESDEN. 9. THE FRENCH ARMY IN POLAND: SIXTH COALITION AGAINST FRANCE: CAMPAIGN OF 1812 IN RUSSIA. 10. BATTLE OF THE MOSEWA: ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO MOSCOW: BURNING OF MOSCOW: THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW: PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA. 11. CAMPAIGN OF 1813 IN GERMANY: BATTLES OF LUTZEN, BAUTZEN AND WURSCHEN: BATTLE OF DRESDEN: BATTLE OF LEIPZIC: BATTLE OF HANAU. 12. REVERSES IN SPAIN: TREATY OF

VALENCAY: DEFECTION OF MURAT. 13. PROPOSITION OF THE POWERS AT FRANKFORT: ACCEPTANCE OF NAPOLEON DELAYED: CONDUCT OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY: MARIA LOUISA DECLARED REGENT. 14. CAMPAIGN OF 1814: BATTLE OF BRIENNE: MURAT DECLARES AGAINST NAPOLEON: ENERGETIC MEASURES OF THE EMPEROR: DEFEAT OF BLUCHER: DEFEAT OF SCHWARTZENBERG. 15. THE CONGRESS OF CHATILLON: TREATY OF CHAUMONT: BATTLES OF CRAONNE, LAON AND ARCIS-SUR-AUBE. 16. BATTLE OF ORTHEZ: THE ALLIED ARMIES ROUND PARIS: RETREAT OF MARIA LOUISA: BATTLE OF PARIS. CAPITULATION OF PARIS: NAPOLEON AT FONTAINEBLEAU. 17. ENTRY OF THE ALLIES INTO PARIS: THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: DETHRONEMENT OF NAPOLEON. 18. DESERTION OF THE EMPEROR BY THE MARSHALS: ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON: RECALL OF THE BOURBONS: THE TREATY OF APRIL 11: ENTRY OF THE COUNT D'ARTOIS INTO PARIS: BATTLE OF TOULOUSE. 19. SUICIDE ATTEMPTED BY NAPOLEON: DEPARTURE FOR ELBA.

1. APOLEON being resolved to subdue Spain, confirmed at Erfurt, in September and October, 1808, his alliance with Alexander. The Russian troops had taken possession of Finland in the North, and in the South had invaded the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, whilst the French troops invaded Spain. The two sovereigns signed a treaty by which Napoleon recognised the three provinces invaded by Russia as an integral portion of that empire; and Alexander, in return, recognised the Napoleonic dynasty in Spain, and, in case France should be at war with Austria, engaged to assist her against the latter power. Napoleon now marched into Spain, accompanied by his great captains and at the head of his veterans, and victory, therefore, was certain. The Spaniards were defeated on November 10 by Soult, at Burgos; and on the following day by Victor at Espinosa and by Lannes at Tudela. In December the French army entered Madrid, and Joseph Bonaparte was replaced on the throne. A division of the English army in Portugal, under the orders of Sir John Moore, was on its march to cover this capital, but at the news of the disasters suffered by the Spanish armies, it retreated before Napoleon upon Astorga and Corunna. Marshal Soult followed it up closely and attacked the British troops when on the point of embarkation at the latter port. He was repulsed by Sir John Moore, who lost his life in the action, and the English embarked on the following day under the command of Sir David Baird.

Treaty of Erfurt, 1808.

The War in Spain, 1808.

Battle of Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809.

2. In the meantime Austria emboldened by the absence of Napoleon, and by the revolt of the Tyrolese against the Bavarians, formed a fifth coalition with England. The Archduke Charles accepted the command of the troops, which amounted to five hundred thousand men, divided into eight corps. Two, under the Archduke Ferdinand, were to invade Poland; three others, under the Archduke John, were to march into Italy and the Tyrol; whilst the other corps, assembled on the Bohemian frontier, were to march upon the Rhine, arousing on their way the whole of Germany. The French troops in these

Fifth Coalition against France, 1809.

countries did not amount at this time to more than a hundred and thirty thousand men, who were dispersed from the Baltic to the Danube, under the command of Bernadotte, Davoust and Oudinot. Eugene de Beauharnais occupied Piedmont and Italy with a few divisions. At the first rumour of the intention of Austria, and the movement of her armies, Napoleon quitted Spain, and on April 17 arrived on the Danube, when owing to his orders for the concentration of his troops having been misunderstood by

**Invasion of
Austria.**

Berthier, he found Davoust at Ratisbon, and Massena thirty leagues distant, at Augsburg, the allies of France, the Bavarians, the Wurtemberg troops, and the rest of the army of the Confederation of the Rhine, occupying a position midway between them. The intention of the Archduke was to force the centre of the French army by passing between the corps of Davoust and Massena. Napoleon saw the peril, and taking advantage of the hesitation shown by the enemy on his arrival, kept him for two days almost motionless, concealing from him the weakness of the forces at his disposal in the centre, in front of him. He ordered Davoust and Massena to approach each other as fast as possible, and to join the army of the Confederation in the environs of Neustadt. The Archduke Charles, who dared not risk a forward movement, marched towards the right bank of the Danube, and took possession of Ratisbon, which Davoust was quitting. Victorious at the battle of Thann, Davoust effected a junction with the centre, and on April 19 Napoleon saw the whole of his army concentrated under his hand. The four following days were

**Battles of
Abensberg,
Eckmühl and
Ratisbon.**

marked by the victories of Abensberg, in which the Emperor broke the Archduke's line, took possession of his base of operations, routed his left, and took its artillery and magazines; of Eckmühl, in which on April 22, he vanquished the whole of the enemy's army, and drove it back between the Iser and the Danube; and of Ratisbon, which Napoleon took on April 23 after a bloody battle. Prince Charles retreated upon the frontier of Bohemia, and the French marched

**Second Entry
of Napoleon
into Vienna,
1809.**

upon Vienna, which Napoleon entered on May 13. The war, however, was not at an end; for the Emperor Francis had retreated to Znaim with large forces, and the Archduke Charles marched towards the capital by the left bank of the Danube, and soon took up a position opposite Vienna on the famous plains of Wagram. To attack the Archduke it was necessary to cross the Danube, of which the bridges in the neighbourhood of Vienna had been destroyed. Napoleon's first step was to throw bridges across the stream at Ebersdorf and occupy the large island of Lobau, which was carried on May 20. Lannes and Massena then crossed from the island to the left bank of the stream, when they took the villages of Essling and Aspern, where they sustained during two days the assault of a hundred thousand Austrians. The villages were five times taken and retaken, and gave their names to these terrible battles. At length another portion of the army effected the passage, and joined

the intrepid divisions of Lannes and Massena. That under Davoust was to follow, but Napoleon, without awaiting his arrival, in his impetuosity attacked an enemy twice as strong, numerically, as himself. Lannes pierced the Austrian centre; the Archduke was in full retreat, and Napoleon was preparing to follow up his victory, when he heard that Davoust's Corps, on which he had implicitly relied, had been unable to effect the passage of the Danube, and that the bridges over that river had been broken. He now found himself compelled to order a retreat, upon which the Austrians rallied and returned against the French in formidable masses, with the intention of surrounding the latter and driving them into the river. But the communications of the the French with the isle of Labau had not been cut off, and it was to this island that Napoleon now led back his troops. Here he was joined on June 14 by the army of Italy under Eugene, who in his march thither had defeated the Austrians under the Archduke John at Piave, Tarwitz, Goritz and Raab, the last of which victories enabled Napoleon to resume the offensive.

Battles of
Essling and
Aspern.

Junction of
the army
of Eugene
with
Napoleon.

After forty days' labour, three immense bridges spanned the Danube, and opened a passage for fifty thousand troops and five hundred pieces of cannon. The army crossed the river on a stormy night on July 4, exposed to a terrific cannonade, and on the following day carried the formidable entrenchments which had been erected opposite the island, between Essling and Aspern; on the following day a fruitless attack was made on the enemy, who occupied strong positions on the hills of Wagram and heights of Russbach, but on July 6, a sanguinary and obstinate contest and the splendid victory of Wagram, as the battle was called, once more placed Austria at the mercy of Napoleon. Francis I. had to obtain peace by means of the most serious sacrifices, and by a treaty of peace signed at Vienna on October 12, he ceded on the various frontiers of his states, to Italy, Bavaria and Russia, several circles and provinces, and three millions of subjects; he promised, moreover, to pay a heavy war contribution, and to adhere to the continental blockade.

Battle of
Wagram.

Peace of
Vienna, 1809.

3. The English, in the course of this campaign, had landed in Holland, in the island of Walcheren, forty-five thousand men. Flushing had fallen into their hands after a desperate resistance, and they already threatened Antwerp. But fever mowed down the English troops by thousands in the island of Walcheren, and they were compelled at length to evacuate Zeeland, where the town of Flushing alone remained in their power.

The Walcheren
Expedition,
1809.

On Napoleon's return to Paris he found that a serious misunderstanding had arisen with the court of Rome. Pope Pius VII. had not closed his ports against the English, and, justly displeased at Napoleon's encroachments on his territory, had resolved to refuse the Pontifical Bulls to the new French bishops. The Emperor

irritated at this, forthwith deprived the Pope of his temporal power, and was excommunicated. The excitement of the Roman populace placed the French troops in Rome in a position of great peril. General Miollis, the governor of the city, considered that the removal of the Pope was necessary; and Pius VII., after having been violently torn from the Pontifical Palace, was first removed to Savona and then to Fontainebleau, where he remained in durance for four years, while the ancient capital of the world was transformed into the chief town of a French department.

**Arrest and
Imprisonment
of Pius VII.**

4. The Spanish insurrection had become much more general immediately after the Emperor's departure; the populace arose in every direction, and the desire for national independence was a bond which united all parties against France. It was in vain that Napoleon's generals obtained numerous victories; that Sebastiani triumphed at Ciudad-Real, Victor at Medelin, and Soult at Oporto; for the example of Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, and the heroism of its inhabitants, who allowed themselves to be buried under its ruins rather than submit, excited the enthusiasm and patriotism of the Spaniards, whilst the English successfully seconded their efforts. On July 28 the French under Victor and Sebastiani were repulsed at Talavera by Sir Arthur Wellesley and compelled to retreat after an obstinate contest, which lasted two days; but Sebastiani was victorious over the Spaniards on August 21 at Almonacid, and Mortier at Ocana on November 19; and Andalusia fell into the power of the French. Spain, however, was not yet conquered, and in 1810 was commenced a fresh campaign as murderous as the preceding. Marshal Suchet invested the fortresses of Aragon, and held that province in check whilst Marshal Soult took in succession Granada, Seville and Malaga, and compelled the provisional Junta of Seville to retire to Cadiz, which French troops besieged. A third army, under the orders of Massena, had to struggle against the Anglo-Portuguese army of Wellington, which was very superior in numbers, and which nevertheless retreated before it towards Lisbon. Massena sustained defeat at the bloody battle of Busaco, and was stopped by Wellington before the lines of Torres Vedras, which protected the capital, and received, on October 10, the whole British army.

**Course of the
War in Spain,
1809-1810.**

**March of
Massena on
Portugal.**

**Check before
Torres Vedras,
1810.**

5. Whilst the Peninsula devoured the best troops of the French army, Napoleon attained the highest point of his prodigious destiny. Equally influenced by his desire to have an heir, and by his ambition to be allied with the old dynasties of Europe, he repudiated Josephine de Beauharnais, his first wife, and married, on March 30, 1810, Maria Louisa, Arch-duchess of Austria, the daughter of the Emperor Francis.

In the course of this year Holland was annexed to France; while one of his generals, Bernadotte, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, was

elected by the Estates-General of Sweden as successor to Charles XIII., who was childless. The annexation of Holland, which deprived his brother Louis of his crown, was followed by an act still more unjustifiable, for Napoleon, on December 13, 1840, without any preliminary announcement, annexed to his empire, by a *Senatus Consultum*, the Valois, the Hanseatic Towns, and the coasts of the Baltic from the Ems to the Elbe. Circumstances, said the Emperor, demanded such a measure, and he made vague promises of indemnity to the princes despoiled by this fresh usurpation. Amongst the princes who had been deprived of their possessions was the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg, the uncle of the Emperor of Russia, and Alexander regarded this decree, which forcibly dispossessed a member of his family, as a personal insult to himself. He now listened to those about him who were most eager that he should break with France; and on December 31 replied to the *Senatus Consultum* by a commercial ukase which closed Russia against a large number of French products, and opened its ports to the products of the English colonies when conveyed in neutral bottoms. Fresh levies of troops were ordered throughout his dominions, his armies marched upon the Niemen, and Europe awaited fresh and sinister events.

Annexation of
Holland to
France, 1810.

Annexation of
the Hanseatic
Towns, &c.

Coolness of
Alexander
towards
Napoleon.

6. In the Peninsula Suchet retained the upper hand in Aragon and Catalonia; but in Estremadura, Andalusia and Portugal, the armies of Soult and Massena endured great hardships and struggled against immense difficulties. Soult had captured Badajoz, and from thence had marched to Cadiz, to hasten the reduction of that important place; but the English speedily besieged Badajoz in their turn, and compelled Soult to return to Estremadura. Massena having failed to force the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, had found himself compelled to return to Spain, and had retreated to Salamanca, closely pursued by Wellington. At the end of April, 1811, having received reinforcements, he made an effort to relieve Almada, which the English were besieging. On his way thither, he encountered the enemy on May 3, at the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, half way between Almada and Ciudad-Rodrigo. There Massena engaged Wellington; a terrible battle took place; but after sustaining the contest for three days, Massena was compelled to fall back and retreat upon Salamanca. Napoleon reproached him for not having been victorious, and replaced him in his command by Marshal Marmont.

Continuation
of the War in
the Peninsula,
1811.

Battle of
Fuentes
d'Onoro, 1811.

7. The empire was in a state of decline; but fate still granted to the Emperor a great and much longed for favour. He had a son born to him in March, 1811; who was proclaimed King of Rome in the cradle. Napoleon now desired to terminate his protracted differences with the court of Rome, and assembled a general council in Paris for the purpose of regulating, with the assistance of that assembly, the ecclesiastical

Birth of the
King of Rome.

affairs of his empire. The Sovereign-Pontiff, up to this time, had persisted in refusing to institute the French bishops appointed by the Emperor, the number of which had been raised to twenty-seven. Napoleon desired that the Pope should accept at the expense of France a sumptuous but dependent establishment at Rome, at Paris, or at Avignon, and should thus renounce his temporal power. He demanded, more-



THE INFANT KING OF ROME.

over, on the ground of the necessities of the several dioceses, that the bishops should be canonically instituted; and sought some legal method of providing for their institution, should the Pope refuse to bestow it. The Emperor's first proposition was rejected by Pius VII., but he was more yielding on the second point, and at the request of the members of the council, whom Napoleon forced to work his will in a most arbitrary manner, he promised to institute the twenty-seven bishops, and the council was then dissolved.

8. Whilst insisting with offensive haughtiness that Alexander should withdraw the ukase of December 31, Napoleon chose to

ignore the much more serious wrong which he had done to the Czar by annexing the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg to his empire without according any indemnity to the Duke. His pride made him see an insult to France and himself in Alexander's refusal to withdraw the ukase in question; he believed that his work would not be accomplished until he should have rendered all the sovereigns of Europe, even the greatest, dependent on his will; and to effect this object he drew down innumerable calamities upon France and himself. Even now the tyranny of the Imperial rule was severely felt in France and the countries that had been annexed to the empire, and the peoples whom he held in restraint and subjection were beginning to protest, by word and deed, against the despotism that enchained them. In France, worn by lack of food, and deprived by the constant conscriptions of those who should have been adding to her prosperity and means of support by engaging in agriculture, commerce and the peaceful arts, complaints were heard daily, and revolts, which were promptly stifled at their outbreak, were of frequent occurrence. The bitter evils of the Imperial system, intolerable in France, were felt even more heavily in the unhappy countries which Napoleon had conquered, which were crushed by taxes and devastated by the continual passage of armies; and the French name became odious to the peoples who submitted in despair to the rule of France or its oppressive ascendancy. It was on these peoples, however, and their sovereigns, that Napoleon thought he could rely in his enterprise against Russia, and it was in this belief that he had imposed his alliance upon Austria and Prussia, with whom he had concluded fresh treaties. He then assembled his army behind the Vistula, and, on the invitation of the King of Saxony, he set out from Paris in May, 1812, and established himself with his Court at Dresden, under pretext of assembling the other sovereigns at a Congress which was attended by the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and many of the sovereigns of Europe, but in reality with the purpose of drawing near to his army and being in a position to surprise the enemy by a sudden attack at the commencement of the campaign.

Tyranny
of the
Imperial
Rule.

Congress of
Dresden,
1812.

9. Napoleon resolved not to commence the campaign until the month of June, and in the meantime, while he was constantly attempting to deceive Alexander by assurances of his amicable feelings towards him, he assembled behind the Vistula an immense army of four hundred and twenty-three thousand men, a thousand pieces of artillery, six pontoon equipages and a month's provisions. This army was supported by two hundred thousand reserve troops, who were distributed between the Elbe and the Vistula. This formidable assembling of troops had already justly aroused the alarm of the Emperor Alexander, and now, foreseeing the danger which threatened him he formed with England, Spain and Portugal, a

The French
army in
Poland,
1812.

new coalition, into which he succeeded in drawing Sweden, by allowing Charles XIII. to take possession of Norway, which had long been a dependency of Denmark. Napoleon now no longer concealed his hostile designs and, on June 25, he commenced the campaign, alleging as a reason for his aggression, a recent and formal demand which he had received from Alexander to remove the French troops from Western Prussia. He crossed the Niemen with the larger portion of his forces, and on the 28th he entered Wilna, where he received a final letter from Alexander suggesting peace, and promising to continue his alliance with France if Napoleon would evacuate the Russian territories. But to have retreated a step would have been a humiliation in the eyes of Napoleon. He sent a reply in the negative and halted seventeen days at Wilna—a delay which was fatal. The Emperor then continued his march, and arrived at Witepsk after a series of glorious conflicts. The enemy's army retired before him; the Dnieper was speedily crossed, and a bloody battle took place at Krasnoë, before Smolensk which was carried after a murderous conflict, and delivered to the flames. The Russians still fell back, and Napoleon followed them in the direction of Moscow. The plains of Valoutina, Gorodrezna and Polotzk were the scenes of desperate combats, in which the French arms were triumphant; but the Russians declined any decisive battle and, retreating after each defeat, led the French troops, who pursued them, into the heart of old Russia.

10. The army arrived at length, on September 5, on the plains of Borodino, some leagues distant from Moscow, near the banks of the Moskwa, and found itself face to face with the whole Russian army, which was under the command of the old general, Kutusoff. A general engagement took place on September 7, in which the Russians were defeated and compelled to retire, after a desperate conflict. Another battle took place at Majaïsk, half a league from Moscow, in which the Russians were again vanquished, and their army only entered that ancient capital immediately to evacuate it. After a time the French entered the silent streets of this vast city, and were astonished to find them utterly deserted. The inhabitants had quitted it in a body. Napoleon entered the citadel of the Kremlin unresisted. He resolved to establish his winter quarters there, and enjoy the fruits of his victory. But during the night a frightful conflagration burst forth. Rostopchin, the governor of the city, had determined, when he evacuated it, to make a great sacrifice for the purpose of saving his country. Russia must be lost if the French could find a refuge in Moscow, and at a given signal, therefore, convicts were sent throughout the city, torch in hand, to fire it in a thousand places. Moscow crumbled beneath the flames, and was speedily nothing but a heap of ashes. The winter approached, and the French had no asylum against its

Sixth
Coalition
against
France, 1812.

Campaign
of 1812 in
Russia.

Battle of
the Moskwa.

Entry of the
French into
Moscow,
1812.

Burning of
Moscow.

rigours. Napoleon had hoped for peace, and Alexander had designedly detained him in Moscow for forty days while negotiations were being carried on. These however, were at length broke off, and Napoleon ordered a retreat, quitting the city at the head of a hundred thousand troops. The Russians intercepted him on the road to Kalouga, and Kutusoff, five days after the evacuation of Moscow, on October 25, fought a bloody but indecisive battle with the French at Malojarslawetz, after which Napoleon, yielding to the advice of his generals, directed the retreat towards Smolensk. The winter suddenly came on with a rigour which was very uncommon even in the heart of Russia; and the French troops, paralysed with cold, were pursued and harassed in their retreat by innumerable enemies, and covered the line of march with their frozen corpses.

The Retreat
from
Moscow.

However, the army continued its march in tolerably good order as far as the Beresina, which it had to cross in the face of Kutusoff, Wittgenstein, and Tchitchagof, and their three armies, which occupied and barred all the fords. To cross the river it was necessary to build bridges under the enemy's fire and to fight incessantly. The Russian batteries kept up a constant fire as the troops passed slowly across the bridges, which broke down at last under the weight that was thrown upon them, and plunged thousands of men into the Beresina. At length, after incredible efforts, the army crossed this formidable barrier; but the moral energy of the greater number of the French troops was destroyed, and the retreat became one vast and fearful rout. At last the Emperor, finding that his presence was necessary in Paris, quitted his army on December 8, to return to the capital, after giving the chief command to Murat.

Passage of the
Beresina.

11. The reverses suffered by the French army were followed by desertions. The Prussians withdrew at Tilsit; and the Austrians followed their example, whilst Murat, the Commander-in-Chief, abandoned his post and deserted. Eugene took the command and re-established order. France made a supreme effort, and gave a new army to Napoleon, who marched with it to meet Eugene. Austria, seized with fear, renewed its protestations of fidelity, whilst Prussia negotiated with Russia at Kalisch; and England promising to secure Norway to Sweden, obtained the active co-operation of Bernadotte against France. Napoleon now threatened in every direction, rejoined at Lutzen, on April 30, 1813, Eugene and the remains of the Grand Army, and gained with conscripts, against the veteran troops of Europe, the brilliant victories of Lutzen, Bautzen and Wurschen. He then renewed his negotiations for peace, and it was arranged that a Congress should meet at Prague on June 4. Napoleon, however, hesitated to accept the terms on which Austria promised her support; and the Congress was suddenly dissolved without any result, and Austria declared war against France. Napoleon fought the enemy under the walls of Dresden, and was victorious; but Vandamme sustained a terrible

Campaign of
1813 in Ger-
many.

check at Kulem, where he was made prisoner and lost ten thousand men. The three sovereigns, Alexander, Francis and Frederick William, negotiated at Toeplitz a triple alliance. The allied armies grew larger day by day, and many conflicts took place between unequal forces. Oudinot was vanquished at Grosberen, Ney at Dennewitz, Macdonald at Katzbach. The King of Bavaria declared war against Napoleon, and the French troops, surrounded on all sides, retreated to Leipsic, where a terrible battle took place, which lasted two days, and in which Napoleon was defeated, mainly through the defection of his Saxon allies, who turned their arms against him in the midst of the engagement. Napoleon retreated upon the Rhine, closely pressed by the allied

**Battle of
Dresden.**

**The battle of
Leipsic, Oct.
16-19, 1813.**



THE BATTLE OF DRESDEN.

armies. A corps of sixty thousand Austrians and Bavarians, under General Wrede, endeavoured near Hanau to intercept the French retreat, but Napoleon obtained a glorious victory, dispersed the enemy, and encamped his army on the Rhine, whilst the allies took up a position opposite to him, and selected Frankfort as their head-quarters.

**Battle of
Hanau.**

12. Spain shook off the rule of France. Two great battles lost there by the latter—Salamanca by Marmont, in 1812, and Vittoria by King Joseph, in 1813—enabled Wellington to march to the Western Pyrenees, where Soult, after having struggled gloriously in the Peninsula with very unequal forces, was not in a position to oppose him successfully. In this extremity Napoleon did not hesitate to sacrifice his brother's crown, and in the faint hope of arresting the progress of the Anglo-

**Reverses in
Spain, 1812-1813**

Spanish Army at the Pyrenees, he engaged, by a treaty signed at Valençay, where he still kept King Ferdinand captive, to acknowledge him as King of Spain and to open the doors of his prison as soon as the treaty should be accepted by the Regency at Cadiz and the Cortes. Prince Eugene, faithful to France, still struggled at this period in Italy, and heroically defended the course of the Adige; but the weak Murat, to save his crown, declared against Napoleon.

*Treaty of
Valençay.*

13. The old generals and supporters of the Empire—including even Ney, Marmont and Macdonald—now openly spoke of peace as indispensable, and pressed the Emperor to conclude it, and the Ministers of England, Russia and Austria—Lord Aberdeen, Nesselrode and Metternich—assembled at Frankfort, proposed in concert to Napoleon, on the 13th November, the immediate convocation at Mannheim of a congress, for the purpose of negotiating peace on the basis of the re-establishment of the kingdom of France within its ancient limits—the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine—as they had been guaranteed in 1801 by the glorious peace of Luneville. Napoleon at first gave an ambiguous reply to the propositions of the foreign Ministers, and after three weeks' delay, when he sent in his assent to the proposal made at Frankfort, it was too late. Holland had risen in insurrection, and chose the head of the House of Orange for its King; Murat separated his fortunes from those of Napoleon; and England, perceiving how readily Holland had freed herself, conceived the hope of depriving Napoleon of Antwerp and Belgium.

*Proposition of
the Powers at
Frankfort.*

Immense resources were now required for the defence of France, which was exhausted both as regard men and money, and Napoleon, having assembled the Senate and Legislative Corps on the 19th December explained to them the necessities and perils of the country, and desired their assistance. The reply of the Senate was moderate and submissive; but the Legislative Corps voted, in answer to the speech from the throne, an address in which it demanded, in respectful but firm and distinct terms, the abandonment of conquests and the restoration of a legal form of government. This opposition was denominated treason by the Emperor, and provoked his wrath. By his orders all the copies of the address were seized; he prorogued the Legislative assembly, and on the following day, the 1st January, received a deputation from that body with a storm of reproaches. From this time parties hostile to the Emperor were formed throughout the empire, and Europe understood from this imprudent outbreak on the part of Napoleon that France no longer supported him as one man. The whole virile population of the State was summoned to arms; thirty thousand national guards of Paris were mobilised and incorporated with the active army; and the last resources of the nation were called into requisition. Napoleon declared Maria Louisa Regent, confided his wife and child, whom he was destined to see no more,

*Conduct of the
Legislative
Body.*

*Maria Louisa
declared
Regent.*

to the national guard, and took the field, after having given the command of the capital to his brother Joseph.

14. The English and Spaniards advanced on the south, and were already at the Pyrenees; sixty thousand men under Schwartzberg, marched upon France by Switzerland and inundated the Franche-Comté; sixty thousand Russians and Prussians under Blucher, penetrated into Lorraine and Alsace, and a hundred thousand Swiss and Germans invaded Belgium under Bernadotte. Napoleon confided to General Maison the defence of the frontier of the north, and that of Lyons to Augereau, and whilst Soult and Suchet still faced the enemy at the Pyrenees, he ordered Marshals Ney, Victor, Marmont, Macdonald and Mortier to fall back with the feeble remnants of their various corps to the environs of Châlons, where he arrived himself on January 25. His first step was to march rapidly from Châlons to Saint Dizier; from thence he proceeded to meet Blucher and encountered him under the walls of Brienne, where he gave him battle and gained a glorious victory. Blucher was dis-

**Battle of
Brienne.**

lodged from Brienne with great loss and driven back upon the Rothière, from whence he retreated as far as Tranne. Informed of Blucher's defeat, Schwartzberg hastened to effect a junction with him opposite the plateau of the Rothière, where the Emperor had halted. At this spot there took place on February 1, 1814, a desperate conflict, which lasted eight hours and ended without any decided result; the enemy being unable to carry the positions of the French, but retaining their own. It was necessary to fall back before the formidable masses of the allies, and during the night Napoleon effected in good order a retreat upon Troyes. From all sides now came news of fresh disasters. Murat declared openly against Napoleon, and was marching to crush Prince Eugene; the Spanish Regency of Cadiz refused to recognise the treaty of Valençay, as Ferdinand would remain in captivity, and the Anglo-Spanish arms retained a large portion of the French troops on the Adour and Pyrenees. Schwartzberg and Blucher continued their march, and hostile forces already made their appearance at a few leagues' distance only from the capital. Nothing however could crush Napoleon. He directed his brother Joseph to fortify Paris and defend it to the last extremity; ordered Suchet to withdraw the French troops from Catalonia, and to send them to him without delay; recalled Eugene, ordering him to evacuate Italy and to unite his forces with those which Augereau had assembled at Lyons; had the Pope conducted back to Italy, and set at liberty Ferdinand VII., after having obtained his promise that he would execute the treaty of Valençay; sent Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, to represent France and to negotiate peace at the Congress of Chatillon, which had assembled on the demand of England and Austria.

**Energetic
measures of
the Emperor.**

Blucher was now marching upon Paris by the valley of the

Marne; whilst Schwartzenberg followed the course of the Seine. Leaving a portion of his forces in the environs of Nogent and Montereau, under Victor, Oudinot and Gérard, to watch and hold in check Schwartzenberg, Napoleon threw himself with the rest, upon the army under Blucher. Four days sufficed Napoleon to overtake and vanquish the four corps of Blucher's army one after the other. On February 10, he engaged and destroyed the Russian corps of Olsouvieff at the glorious battle of Champ-Aubert; on the following day he fought and defeated General Sacken, at Montmirail; on February 13 he defeated General Yorck and Prince William of Prussia at Chateau Thierry; and on the 14th, encountered Blucher at Vauchamps, vanquished him, and drove him beyond Etoges, six leagues from Châlons. Napoleon thus victorious, resolved to advance without delay against Schwartzenberg, and arrived on the 15th of February at Guignes. On the 17th he assumed the offensive, attacked the enemy, and put him to flight with considerable loss at the battles of Mormont, Nangis and Ville-neuve, and again on the 18th at Montereau. Schwartzenberg, completely beaten, ordered a retreat upon Troyes, which he only passed through, and which Napoleon re-entered as a victor on February 24.

Defeat of
Blucher, Feb-
ruary, 1814.

Defeat of
Schwarzen-
berg, February,
1814.

15. The representatives of the powers at the Congress of Chatillon had by this time drawn up definite conditions of peace, which provided that France should re-enter the boundaries within which she had been confined in 1790, and take no part in the arrangement of the other states in Europe. This was to deprive her of the Rhine and Alps boundary lines, which had been left her by the Frankfort propositions, and of her rank as an European power. Napoleon rejected these offensive propositions with anger and contempt; he was determined to have the Rhine boundary, which had been offered at Frankfort, and demanded that which his enemies had already resolved not to grant him. The allied powers now signed at Chaumont a new treaty of alliance, by which each of them engaged to furnish a contingent of a hundred and fifty thousand men until the conclusion of the war, and England further offered an annual subsidy of six millions sterling, to be divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. The powers mutually agreed, moreover, that they would severally keep up, during twenty years after the signature of peace, an army of sixty thousand men, to be at the disposal of whichever of them France should attack. This treaty, so fatal to France, served as the basis of the famous treaty, subsequently known by the name of the Holy Alliance. With reference to the proposals made at the Congress of Chatillon, a term was fixed after which, it was declared, the negotiations with Napoleon would be broken off and never renewed. Blucher, who in the interval had almost repaired his disasters, had been reinforced by fifty thousand men from Bernadotte's army and had taken up a strong position behind the Aisne, on the plateau of Craonne,

The Congress
of Chatillon.

Treaty of
Chaumont.

between Soissons and Laon. From this, however, he was forced by an impetuous attack of Napoleon and compelled to withdraw to Laon, where, after two days' desperate fighting, he managed to retain his position. Unable to defeat Blücher, to whose assistance Schwartzberg was rapidly approaching, Napoleon ordered a retreat, but, with a desperate hope of checking the junction of the allied troops by a victory over Schwartzberg, on his way he suddenly marched to Arcis-sur-Aube, where he gave that general battle. Victorious so far only as the maintenance of positions make a victory, the Emperor, finding himself unable to do more than slightly check Schwartzberg's march, retired to St. Dizier, hoping to draw the allies after him and away from Paris, or in event of their marching on Paris to gain time to collect more troops and, returning to the capital, to crush them there. Napoleon had now allowed the fatal period to expire without replying to the proposals of the Congress of Chatillon; the Congress was dissolved, and the allied sovereigns had loudly declared that they would treat no more with Napoleon. They were not at war with France, they said, but only with Napoleon, and it was to Paris that they resolved to march without delay for the purpose of dethroning the Emperor.

16. France was equally invaded on the south, and the Anglo-Spanish army, under Wellington, had already crossed the Pyrenees.

Battle of Orthez. Soult gave them battle at Orthez, and being defeated, was compelled to order a retreat and fall back upon Toulouse, leaving Bordeaux uncovered, which opened its gates to the English, and on March 12 declared for the Bourbons with the most enthusiastic manifestations.

Marmont and Mortier, who had occupied a strongly entrenched position behind the Ourcy Canal, had fallen back upon Paris, after having sustained a sanguinary defeat at Père Champenoise. No

The Allied Armies around Paris. obstacle now hindered the march of the allies, and on March 29 their columns took up positions around the capital.

Consternation reigned in the immense city, for whose protection and defence no preparations had been made. The government itself was in a state of profound stupor. The Empress Maria Louisa in obedience to orders left by the Emperor in case such an emergency should happen, set out for Blois, carrying with her the King of Rome: but her flight completely paralysed the defence.

Paris was already invested on every side, and on March 30, the attack commenced on the one side, in front of La Villette, La Chapelle and Montmartre, and on the other, between Vincennes, Charonne and the heights of Belleville. The battle lasted till the evening, when at length, to stop the effusion of blood and to spare the capital the horrors of capture by assault, the Marshals capitulated, having obtained a free retreat for their troops, and quitted Paris during the night, whilst King Joseph and all the ministers of the Imperial government hastened to Blois.

Capitulation of Paris.

Napoleon, who was hastening towards Paris heard of the capitulation of Paris and the events which had preceded it at Fromenteau, near Essone, but hoping yet to retrieve the disasters which had happened, he proceeded to Fontainebleau, which he made his head quarters,

17. Paris now received within its walls the allied sovereigns, at the head of their armies. The Emperor of Russia entered the capital on March 31, together with the King of Prussia, and was received with demonstrations in favour of the Bourbons. His first act was to publish, in the name of the allied sovereigns, a celebrated declaration that they would never negotiate with Napoleon Bonaparte or with any member of his family, that those sovereigns would recognise and guarantee the constitution which France should choose for herself, and that the Senate was invited to form a provisional government to provide for the government of the country and to prepare the new constitution.

Entry of the
Allies into
Paris, March
31, 1814

The senate accordingly appointed a provisional government of five members, the Prince de Talleyrand, the Duc de Dalberg,

The Provisional Government.

General Beurnonville, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and M. de Jancourt, who immediately formed a ministry by appointing, with the title of Commissaries General, for the finances, Baron Louis; for war, General Dupont; for the interior, M.

Beugnot; for foreign affairs, M. de la Forest; for justice, M. Henrion de Pansey; and for naval affairs, M. Malouet. An old staff-officer, General Dessolles, was appointed to the command of the National Guard of Paris. On the following day, April 2, the Senate proceeded to declare Napoleon deprived of the throne, and released all French subjects from their oaths of fidelity to him and his family.

Dethronement
of Napoleon.

18. Napoleon, however, still had powerful resources at his command: the army under Augereau at Lyons, the armies of Soult and Suchet in the South, that of Eugene in Italy, and seventy thousand men, under his own direct command at Fontainebleau, and he determined to make a supreme effort to recover Paris. But although the troops were willing to follow him, his marshals, when summoned to a council of war by the Emperor, before setting out for Paris, did



ALEXANDER I. EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

not hesitate to declare to him that if he persisted in his desperate enterprise he must not reckon upon their assistance. Finding himself on the point of being abandoned by the illustrious companions with whom he had so often been victorious, his resolution gave way. He offered to abdicate in favour of his son, who would reign under the regency of his mother, and sent Caulaincourt, Ney, Macdonald and Marmont to Paris, to negotiate on this new basis.

**Desertion of
the Emperor
by the
marshals.**

Alexander, however, told Caulaincourt and the marshals that Napoleon must make an unconditional abdication, and that, in return, he should be treated with all due consideration. The negotiators were consequently sent back to Fontainebleau to demand and obtain such an abdication. The Emperor, looking steadily at the state of affairs, saw clearly that there was little hope of saving his crown, or of recovering for France her frontiers. He resigned himself to his fate, therefore, and signed

**Abdication of
Napoleon.**

his abdication. Then, summoning around him his marshals, who had been impatient to obtain it, he addressed to them a few sad and serious words, and read to them his deed of abdication, which he then handed to Caulaincourt, to exchange it in Paris for one in which should be set forth the fate reserved for himself and his family.

The Senate had already voted for France a constitution by which it voluntarily recalled to the throne, under the title of the King of the French, Louis Stanislas Xavier, the brother of Louis XVI., and conferred upon him the hereditary royalty. This constitution established on the throne an inviolable king, the sole depository of the executive power, which he was to exercise by means of responsible ministers, and provided that he should share the legislative power with two chambers; an hereditary one, consisting for the most part of the members of the Senate, and an elective one. It also provided for an irremovable magistracy, liberty of worship, individual liberty, and the liberty of the press. Immediately after the publication of the Senatorial Constitution, as it was called, the

**The Treaty of
April 11.**

provisional government drew up, at the urgent request of Alexander, a treaty which assigned the island of Elba to Napoleon in full sovereignty, gave Parma and Piacenza to the Empress and the King of Rome, promised a principality to Eugene, and finally bestowed incomes on Napoleon and his family. This treaty, which was signed on April 11 by the ministers of the allied sovereigns, and by Talleyrand in the name of the royal government, was immediately exchanged for the Emperor's deed of abdication; and on the following day Count d'Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII., entered Paris, when the white flag was substituted for the tricolour. The Prince received

**Battle of
Toulouse,
April 10, 1814.**

a cordial welcome from the National Guard, and large groups of royalists greeted him with the most enthusiastic shouts. On April 10 a sanguinary battle took place under the walls of Toulouse, between Soult and Wellington, when the former, after an obstinate contest which was

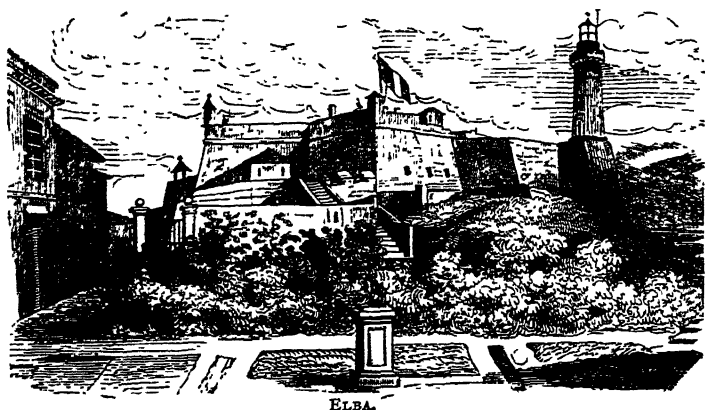
prolonged for twelve hours, was defeated and compelled to retire on Villa Franca.

19. The treaty of April 11 was presented to Napoleon for signature on the evening of that day, but he hesitated and endeavoured to escape the humiliating necessity of signing his own dethronement and that of his descendants by taking poison which he had carried on his person ever since his reverse at Moscow. The poison, however, did not have the effect that he expected, and on recovering from a deep lethargy which followed his attempt to commit suicide, he placed, without further resistance, his signature to the treaty, and some days later, on April 20, at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the Foreign Commissioner charged with the care of his person, took leave of his brave army. He then threw himself into his carriage, and set out for the island of Elba, which was bestowed upon him in full sovereignty, and whither he was preceded by a battalion of his guard. He arrived at his destination on the 4th of May, after a painful journey through the departments of the South, through the midst of populations whom long and cruel wars had exasperated, and who did not spare the illustrious exile the insults he had too truly anticipated.

Suicide
attempted by
Napoleon.

Departure
for Elba,
April 20th,
1814.






CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST RESTORATION.—THE HUNDRED DAYS.

April, 1814—July, 1815.

1. THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE: THE ROYAL COUNCIL: CONVENTION OF APRIL 23: LANDING OF LOUIS XVIII. AT CALAIS. 2. DECLARATION OF SAINT-OUEN; ENTRY OF LOUIS XVIII. INTO PARIS: FIRST MINISTERS OF THE RESTORATION. 3. TREATY OF PARIS: THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER: IMPRUDENCE OF THE KING AND GOVERNMENT. 4. REACTIONARY DECREES: POLITICAL PARTIES: FINANCIAL MEASURES: LAW AS TO THE PRESS: PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT: UNPOPULAR MEASURES. 5. CONGRESS OF VIENNA: REDISTRIBUTION OF TERRITORY: RETURN OF NAPOLEON FROM ELBA. 6. FIRST MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT: NAPOLEON'S MARCH ON PARIS: NEY DECLARES FOR NAPOLEON: FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVIII.: NAPOLEON RE-ENTERS PARIS. 7. FIRST IMPERIAL DECREES AND ACTS: CHAMP DE MAI: MURAT DEFEATED AT TOLENTINO: MARCH OF THE ALLIED FORCES. 8. MILITARY OPERATIONS, JUNE, 1815: BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS: BATTLE OF WATERLOO. 9. NAPOLEON'S SECOND ABDICATION: HIS SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH AND BANISHMENT TO SAINT HELENA.

1.  HE head of the Royal house, Louis Stanislas Xavier, whom the Senate called upon to reign under the name of Louis XVIII. had acquired in his youth, as Count de Provence, a certain popularity by voting, in the second assembly of the

Notables, for the double representation of the Third Estate ; and he had, moreover, whilst in exile in England, nobly resisted the Republic, and protested against Napoleon by claiming his rights to the crown. Most of the members of his family, Monsieur, the Count d'Artois, his brother, the Ducs d'Angoulême and de Berry, sons of Monsieur, and finally, the two princes of the house of Condé, the father and grandfather of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien, had only made themselves known by their vain efforts to triumph over the Revolution by means of civil war and foreign arms. Alone of all the princes of the House of Bourbon, the Duke of Orleans had borne the national colours and fought the enemies of France. Amongst the members of the Royal family specially to be distinguished was the daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, married to her cousin the Duc d'Angoulême, a princess who had too much to forget and to pardon to enable a large portion of the nation to regard her return to French territory without anxiety. The Count d'Artois had preceded the King, his brother, and had entered Paris on the 12th April with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. The Prince invited the provisional government to form his council, to which were added Marshals Oudinot and Moncey, and General Dessoles. This council, which was named the Upper Royal Council, set to work as soon as it was constituted, and the government of the Bourbons commenced. The first care of the Prince and his councillors was to afford some immediate relief to the provinces devastated by war, and still occupied by the enemy ; and with this praiseworthy object, it signed a burden-some convention, by which France undertook to surrender to the Allied Powers, within the briefest possible space of time, all the places which her troops still occupied on their several territories, with all the *matériel* of war which they contained, in return for the immediate release of the soil of France from foreign troops. This convention was signed on April 23. On the following day Louis XVIII. arrived at Calais, which he entered amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the populace, and from whence he set out for Paris.

The Royal
Family of
France.

The Royal
Council.

Convention of
April 23.

2. Jealous of his hereditary privileges, the King would not acknowledge that the Senate had a right to impose a constitution upon him ; but nevertheless, yielding to the earnest representations of the Emperor Alexander and the advice of Talleyrand, he preceded his entry into his capital by a celebrated declaration, dated at Saint-Ouen, by which he guaranteed to France the liberties promised by the Senatorial Constitution. On the following day the 3rd May, the King, the Duchesse d'Angoulême, and most of the Princes of the family of the Bourbons entered Paris in solemn procession and received everywhere a warm reception, for the declaration of Saint-Ouen began a new era for France ; reliance was placed on the royal promises, and the heart :

Declaration of
Saint-Ouen.

Entry of
Louis XVIII.
into Paris.
May 3, 1814.

of the people were open to hope. The King confirmed in its attributes the consultative superior council established by his brother under the name of the Royal Council, and in subordination to which another council, that of the Ministers, exercised the executive power. It was, however, soon perceived with anxiety that among the ministers were some who were opposed to the liberal spirit, and who had been selected by the Monarch on account of personal liking or of services rendered before the Revolution, such as

**First
Ministers
of the
Restoration.**

Dambray, who had been made Chancellor of France and Keeper of the Seals, the Abbé Montesquiou, Minister of the Interior, and the Count de Blacas, Minister of the King's Household. General Dupont was Minister for War; Talleyrand, for Foreign Affairs; Malouet, for the Naval Department; Baron Louis, of Finance; and Beugnot, of Police.

3. Active negotiations for the establishment of peace were immediately commenced, and it was concluded on the

**Treaty of
Paris, 1814.**

May 30, 1814, by a treaty signed at Paris, by which France was restricted, with a few trifling exceptions, to the limits within which she had been confined in 1790. She had to surrender three of her colonies—Santa-Lucia, Tobago and the Isle of France. It was agreed that France should pay twenty-five millions to the allies as an indemnity for them, and finally, that the vessels constructed by order of her Government in foreign parts should be divided between herself and the Allied Powers. Shortly after the signature of the treaty of Paris, the French soil was freed from the presence of foreign troops. On June 4 the King convoked the Senate and the legislative body, and on the same day, in their

**The Constitu-
tional Charter.**

presence solemnly bestowed upon the French a constitutional charter, which established a representative government composed of a King and two Chambers, one of which consisted of peers nominated by the Monarch, whilst the other consisted of the deputies of departments. It abolished confiscation and the odious conscription law, secured individual liberty, the freedom of the press and of public worship, the inviolability of property, the irrevocability of the sales of the national property, the responsibility of the ministers, the annual voting of taxes, and the payment of the interest on the national debt, and re-established the old nobility in their rights whilst it maintained those of the new. Immediately after the charter had been read the Chancellor produced the decree which established the Chamber of Peers, which was composed of most of the old Senators, of the Marshals, and a great number of dignitaries of the old court and noblesse. The promulgation of this charter was accompanied by one serious fault. The King had refused to accept it as a condition of his elevation to the throne, and had granted it simply as an act

**Imprudence
of the
King and
Government.**

of his sovereign will, and had dated it the nineteenth year of his reign. This was to ignore all that had taken place in France during twenty-five years, and to expose the charter to peril by placing it at the mercy of the supreme power. The dangerous nature of the ground on which the

Monarch rested his power soon become manifest. A number of persons who had been dissatisfied with the return of the Bourbons, received the new order of things with distrust, and the press, implacable and violent, spread abroad alarms and threats. The journals were subjected to a censorship, but while the partisans of the Revolution were compelled to be careful how they wrote, the Royalist papers were permitted full licence of language; and many intemperate articles, which were not suppressed, were attributed to the instigation of the Government. Louis XVIII. also committed the fault of re-establishing, at a great expense, the old military appendages to the Royal Household—the companies of household troops and the musqueteers, which were composed of young men of family, who were all recognised as officers at the commencement of their career, in the presence of an army in which during twenty years military rank had only been obtained at the price of blood and glorious services.

4. Many decrees were issued which were either offensive to the army and the people, or peddling and vexatious. The clerical party ordered the police to prevent any ^{Reactionary} commercial transactions or labour on Sundays and ^{decrees.} fête days, a measure which was praiseworthy in principle, but rendered untimely and unpopular by the manner in which it was carried into effect. The suppression of the Concordat was negotiated at Rome, and there seemed reason to fear that the clergy would be reinstated in their old privileges. Many priests thundered against the present proprietors of the national property; and finally, many bishops openly expressed their adherence to the bull of Pope Pius VII. which re-established the order of the Jesuits. The army, stationed in obscure garrisons, found itself deprived by General Dupont of a multitude of officers who had grown old in its ranks, and who were succeeded by men whose only title to honours of command was their birth or services in foreign ranks. Irritation and anxiety filled the breasts of all whose interests allied them virtually with the Revolution, and they formed ^{Political} two powerful parties; the Imperialist party, which was ^{parties.} supported by almost the whole of the army, and the Revolutionary or Republican, party, which obtained the sympathy of most of those who were now in possession of the national property. Opposite to these parties was a third called the Ultra-Royalist party, and composed of most of the old noblesse and the clergy, which was led by Monsieur, the King's brother, and which never ceased to urge Louis XVIII. to unpopular acts, which were as contrary to the spirit of the charter as to the Monarch's personal inclinations. Finally, a fourth party, named the Constitutional party, consisted of all the men whose wishes and necessities were satisfied by the charter, such as Lafayette, Royer-Collard, Lanjuinais, Carnot, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, the Duc de Broglie, Boissy d'Anglas, &c. This party which was supported by the National Guard of Paris, was powerful amongst the citizens of the chief cities and had the majority in the two chambers. The chambers assembled on

June 4, Chancellor Dambray being the president of Chamber of Peers, and M. Lainé that of the Chamber of Deputies.

Legislative
Session of
1814.

Financial
measures.

The financial measures of Baron Louis were immediately adopted; but their execution was accompanied by much suffering, for it was necessary, for economy's sake, to suppress a multitude of offices, and to reduce to half-pay a number of good officers, who overflowed Paris and moved its inhabitants by their complaints and their wretchedness, whilst extreme irritation was caused by the continuation of all, even the most vexatious taxes, the suppression of which had been either promised or hoped. The censorship of books and journals was one of the most serious questions discussed

in the Chamber. Law as to the
The charter pro- press.

mised that the press should be free, but a royal decree had nevertheless placed the press under the laws in force with respect to it during the Empire. It was finally decided by the Chamber, which was in favour of the principle of a free press, that the censorship was only to be maintained as a temporary measure till the end of 1816. Another proposed law for the restoration to the emigrants of a portion of the property taken possession of by the State, raised a violent storm, not so much on account of itself as on account of what it seemed to foreshadow. The Chamber did not pass this measure until it had undergone considerable modifications, but



MARSHAL SOULT.

the ill-judged expressions of M. Ferrand, the Minister of State, who had introduced it, were regarded as the expressions of the King and his Government, and, spreading rapidly through France, gave a fresh and unfortunate activity to the dangerous hopes of some and the sullen rage of others. The public excitement was great, and was increased by many alarms. There was no end of rumours of conspiracies, and a plot for the Restoration of the Empire was actually formed by some imprudent generals without Napoleon's connivance or even knowledge. The army was the most formidable focus of discontent, and instead of doing all in its power to attach it to itself, the Government was constantly putting measures into execution which could not fail to alienate it. The Minister of War, General Dupont,

Unpopular
measures.

proposed to the Chambers to suppress many branches of the Hotel des Invalides, and some establishments for the education of the children of members of the Legion of Honour; while the Government at the same time created a pension list for the Vendéans and Chouans, and the officers who had served in Condé's army against France. Public indignation was excited by these projects, and the economical measures relative to the Invalides and the orphans of the Legion of Honour were rejected, and General Dupont was obliged to resign, and was succeeded by Marshal Soult. Shortly afterwards the sittings of the Chambers were closed and adjourned to May 15, 1815.

5. On November 3, 1814, a Congress had been assembled at Vienna, for the purpose of dividing the immense spoils collected by Napoleon, and was still sitting at the opening of the new year. By this it was arranged that Prussia should have the Electorate of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and a great portion of the territory between the Rhine and the Meuse. Russia acquired the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. Austria recovered Lombardy and all its old possessions on the two shores of the Adriatic. Tuscany was given to the Archduke Ferdinand, Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and Parma to the ex-Empress Maria Louisa, but only for her life. The foreign policy of all the States of Germany was rendered subject to the decisions of a Federal Diet, of which Austria was to have the perpetual presidency. Sweden obtained Norway, while England retained the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Malta and Heligoland, and exercised a protectorate over the Ionian Islands. Holland and Belgium were united into the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the rule of the House of Orange. In Italy the Legations were secured to the Pope; whilst in Switzerland, which was declared neutral territory, the Congress maintained the state of things which had been established by the Act of Mediation of 1803, and raised the total number of Cantons to twenty-two. Talleyrand, who represented France, further insisted that Napoleon should be removed to a greater distance than Elba and that Murat should be dethroned. This led Murat to seek a reconciliation with Napoleon, whom he invited to Italy and promised powerful support. Such was in February, 1815, the general position of Europe, when an astounding event suddenly startled it throughout its length and breadth. This was no-
Congress of Vienna.
Return of Napoleon from Elba.
 thing less than the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his disembarkation on March 1, in the Gulf of Juan, between Cannes and Antibes, with eleven hundred men, four pieces of cannon, and his three brave generals, Bertrand, Drouot and Cambronne. By thus tearing up the Convention of April 11, he annulled all the obligations of Europe towards him, and whilst he was about to involve France in a criminal enterprise, and drag her to her ruin, he declared that he was about to deliver and avenge her!

6. The news of his landing spread around Louis XVIII. terror and consternation. The King convoked the two Chambers; and

the Count d'Artois, with the Duc d'Orleans, was ordered to advance with troops upon Lyons in concert with Marshal MacDonald. **First measures of the Government.** Ney accepted the command of the troops spread over Franche-Comté, and took an oath of fidelity to the King. The Duc de Feltre replaced Marshal Soult as minister of war; and a royal decree declared Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor and a rebel, and enjoined all Frenchmen to treat him as such.

In the meantime Napoleon advanced by forced marches, and after having feigned to follow the Toulon and Marseilles road, had taken that of Grenoble. A first attempt **Napoleon's march on Paris, March, 1815.** made on the garrison of Antibes had failed, and for some days Bonaparte marched without encountering any troops either friendly or hostile. It was resolved by the authorities in the south, who appeared to be struck with stupor at Napoleon landing, and incapable of acting with energy, that Grenoble should be defended, and all the disposable troops in Dauphiné were concentrated there. A detachment commanded by a resolute officer, named Lessard, was sent some leagues beyond Grenoble to destroy the bridge of Ponthaut, and having met on March 7, with the Imperial advanced guard under Cambronne on the Mure, prepared to dispute his advance. However on an impassioned appeal from Napoleon, the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" was raised by Lessard's men, and was a thousand times repeated. The two bodies of troops fraternised, hoisted the same flag, and marched together to Grenoble. Soon afterwards, in the neighbourhood of Vizille, Colonel la Bédoyère hastened up with his regiment to join Bonaparte, whom the unfortunate young man almost worshipped. Grenoble and Lyons opened their gates in succession; the soldiers everywhere responded to the appeal of their old general; Ney's corps followed the example; Ney him-

Ney declares self for Napoleon. himself was induced to do the same; Napoleon embraced him, and continued his march towards Paris. As Napoleon was approaching Louis XVIII. held a review in Paris, but the troops would not respond to the cry of "Vive la Roi!" The Monarch understood this silence, and, yielding to the force of necessity, he precipitately quitted his palace on the night of the 19th March, and hastened to Ghent, where Talleyrand soon afterwards joined him.

Flight of Louis XVIII. On the evening of March 20, Napoleon re-entered his capital, without having fired a single shot. He had made known his acceptance of the Treaty of Paris, and had protested his intention of keeping the peace; but his couriers were arrested on the frontiers, the allied Sovereigns placed no reliance on his assurances, and by a fresh treaty, signed on March 25, renewed amongst themselves the alliance of Chaumont. The Congress of Vienna declared Napoleon to be out of the pale of public and social law, and a million troops were preparing once more to pour down upon France. It was necessary, therefore, that Napoleon, if he were to reign,

should receive from the hands of victory fresh and bloody consecration.

7. The first imperial decrees, dated at Lyons, were energetic. They declared the Chambers of Louis XVIII. dissolved; convoked the Electoral Colleges in an extraordinary assembly for the purpose of modifying the constitution of the empire in the interests of the people; abolished the old noblesse; and declared all the property of the Bourbons sequestrated. Napoleon admitted into his council the celebrated Conventionist, Carnot, as Minister of the Interior, and appointed Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Minister of Police. Finally he requested the celebrated Publicist, Benjamin Constant, to draw up an "Act Additional to the Constitutions of the Empire," which created, in the first place, two legislative Chambers, those of the Peers and the Representatives, the first hereditary, nominated by the Emperor, and the second elective, while the other clauses of this act were transcripts of the principal portions of the charter of Louis XVIII. Napoleon submitted it to the people for acceptance, and a million consented to it, whilst four thousand

Champ de
Mai.

ventured to re-
ject it. The Em-
peror swore to

keep inviolate this new constitution in a solemn assembly of the Electoral Colleges on the Champ de Mai, where the eagles were distributed amongst the regiments, and where Napoleon appeared with all the pomp of the Empire. Military measures now occupied Napoleon's whole attention. The South seemed quiet; the Duc d'Angoulême had made a rapid and perilous campaign on the Rhone; but soon, abandoned by his troops, he had found himself surrounded and made a prisoner, and having been set at liberty by the Emperor's orders, he had left France. La Vendée was in a state of insurrection, and, although kept in check by General Lamarque, it compelled Napoleon to detach twenty thousand men to occupy and reduce it. In the meantime the imprudent Murat had attacked the Austrians at Tolentino, lost his army and his crown, and now wandered about a fugitive, whilst his vanquishers replaced the Bourbons on the throne of the Two Sicilies. All Europe was now

First Imperial
Decrees and
Acts.



MARSHAL NEY.

Murat de-
feated at
Tolentino, 1815.

advancing with menacing front; the English under Wellington, and the Prussians under Blücher, occupied Belgium. The whole of Germany rose against him with enthusiasm, and behind it the Russian columns and Tartarordes were already in motion.

8. Napoleon again collected within a few days a formidable army numbering three hundred thousand men. Of this number a hundred and twenty thousand were marched upon Belgium. On June 12 he set out in person for his army, to give battle to Wellington and Blücher, who were each at the head of ninety thousand men. On the 16th he succeeded, by means of a rapid and secret march, in surprising the Prussians near the village of Ligny and defeating them after an obstinate and bloody battle. On the same day, at a few leagues' distance, another battle took place at the farm of Quatre-Bras, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels, between a portion of the English forces and the French troops under Ney, in which the English held their positions, but unfortunately fell back on Mont Saint-Jean, which was reached by the troops under the immediate command of Napoleon on the evening of the 17th, Grouchy, having been detached and sent in pursuit of the Prussians. The English army was partly hidden from the French by the undulations of the ground on the other side of the hill, but at night the bivouac fires showed the whole extent of its position, and gave Napoleon reason to hope that he might fight it on the morrow before the Prussians, whom he believed to be held in check by Grouchy, should have time to join it.

The high road of Charleroi, traversing the forest of Charleroi, divided the plateau of Mont Saint-Jean and the valley which separated the two armies. A little in the rear of the English, and at the very extreme of the forest, stood the village of Waterloo, which was to give its name to the disastrous battle of the morrow. Wellington had very skilfully posted his army on the plateau on each side of the Brussels road.

Trusting in the speedy arrival of the Prussians on his left, he had concentrated the bulk of his forces on his right and centre, and had occupied with a few battalions the Château d'Hougoumont and the farms of La Haye-Sainte and Papelotte, which were in front of his position, and which, being surrounded by orchards and woods, formed excellent natural defences. The whole French army was deployed in a fan-shape, in three lines, in front of the English at the foot of the hill of Mont Saint-Jean. Ney commanded the first line, of which Reille's corps occupied the left, supported by Kellermann's cuirassiers, whilst d'Erlon was on the right, having behind him the magnificent division of the cuirassiers under Milhaud. Lobau's corps, on the second line, formed a reserve at the centre. The infantry and all the cavalry of the guard, posted on each side of the Brussels road, formed a third line, which was less in extent, but deeper than the two others. The battle commenced by impetuous assaults on the advanced works which

covered the enemy's position. The wood of Hougomont, on the left, was first of all carried by General Reille, and desperate conflicts took place around La Haye-Sainte, which was many times taken and retaken, whilst Count d'Erlon's infantry attacked the English left. At last Ney carried and held La Haye-Sainte, and, excited by this success, asked of the Emperor reinforcements, to enable him to make a decisive assault on the plateau itself. But before Napoleon could assist Ney on his left, it was necessary that he should cover and fortify his right against a portion of the Prussian army under Bulow, which was advancing to join the



CHATEAU OF HOUGOMONT.

English left at Mont Saint-Jean. Lobau's corps, which was very inferior in numbers, was ordered to check the advance of the Prussians. The Emperor, however, granted to Ney the eight regiments of Milhaud's cuirassiers, although at the same time he ordered him to await his own directions before risking an attack. These fine regiments advanced to occupy the new position which had been assigned to them and drew along with them, in consequence of an unfortunate error, the whole of the cavalry of the guard. Ney, on perceiving this enormous and splendid mass of cavalry at his disposal, and seeing sixty pieces of English artillery ill protected before him, anticipated the Emperor's orders, took the cannon, fell like a tempest on many squares of English infantry,

and destroyed them. Then, taking with him, in spite of the remonstrances of their commander, Kellermann's cuirassiers and the last squadrons of reserve, he commanded and led eleven furious charges against the new squares of the enemy. He found before him living walls, which fell, half-destroyed, but which he could not drive back. Wellington remained firm at the head of the third line, and opposed a calm and admirable tenacity to Ney's feverish impetuosity. Infantry was necessary to Ney to enable him to be victorious, and he urgently demanded it; but the Prussian corps of Bulow employed on the right all the infantry which Napoleon still possessed, with the exception of some battalions of his guard. Napoleon deplored the rashness of Ney as much as the absence of Grouchy, who had gone in pursuit of the Prussians in the wrong direction; but as the audacity of despair was now prudence, he himself threw these heroic battalions, his sole reserve, on to the plateau on which Ney was in peril, and thus made a final effort to obtain the victory. At this moment fresh Prussian columns debouched on the right. Blucher, who had concealed his movements from Grouchy, led them in person. His innumerable cavalry overflowed the plain and the sides of the hill, the theatre of this frightful struggle, and rendered the Emperor's charge impossible. Wellington now took the offensive in his turn. His third line, which was intact, was set in motion, and charged and overthrew the remains of the corps of Reille and d'Erlon, and of the French cavalry, which was now but an unformed and confused mass. Thus ended this frightful battle, which was the funeral of the First Empire, and in which sixty thousand men, killed or wounded, were stretched upon the field.

9. Napoleon, who was forced from the field by his staff when all was over, named the city of Laon as the rallying point of the remains of the army, and then hastened to Paris to take measures for defending the French territory against the allies. The end was now at hand. The Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies, secretly instigated by Fouché, expressed a wish that the

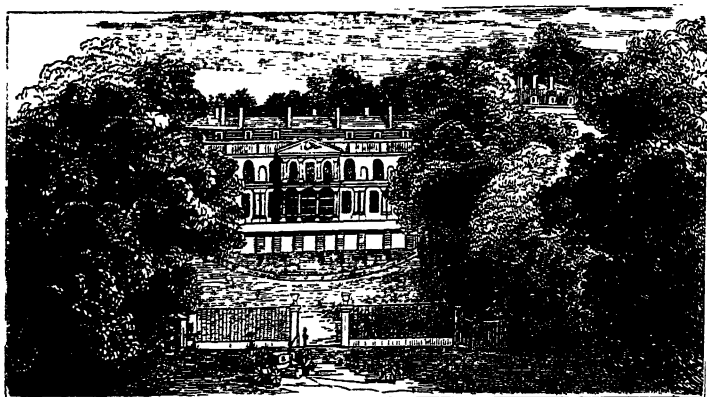
Napoleon's
second abdi-
cation.

Emperor should abdicate, and threatened, in case he should refuse, to decree his dethronement. Napoleon saw his friends themselves in a state of consternation and signed a second abdication in favour of his son. The Chamber accepted the Act of Abdication, but nevertheless avoided declaring themselves in any absolute manner for Napoleon II., and formed a Government composed of the Ministers Carnot and Fouché, Generals Caulaincourt and Grenier, and the old Conventionist Quinette. Fouché, who had betrayed the Emperor, was appointed President of this Provisional Government. Napoleon quitted Paris, and resigning himself to the necessity of quitting France, proceeded towards Rochefort, under the protection of General Becker. But as the English cruisers blockaded the port, and there appeared no chance that Napoleon would be able to escape them, he determined to surrender himself to the English government, and then embarked with his suite on board the

English vessel, the *Bellerophon*. Soon afterwards orders were sent to conduct him to Saint Helena, and he was almost immediately conveyed, for the repose of the world, to the rock which was to be his prison and his tomb.

His banishment to Saint Helena





CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS AND THE RETURN OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE CAPITAL, TO THE FALL OF THE MINISTER DECAZES.

JULY 3, 1815—FEBRUARY 20, 1820.

- I. SURRENDER OF PARIS: LISTS OF PROSCRIPTION: RETURN OF THE ALLIED TROOPS TO PARIS: DISBANDMENT OF THE ARMY: THE NEW CHAMBERS: ELECTIONS OF 1815: THE ROYALISTS AND THE LIBERALS. 2. MINISTRY OF THE DUC DE RICHELIEU: TREATY OF NOVEMBER 20: MASSACRES IN THE SOUTH: LEGISLATIVE SESSION 1815-16: EXECUTION OF LA BEDOYERE AND NEY. 3. OBJECTS OF THE CHAMBER: ITS MEASURES: INFLUENCE OF THE COUNT D'ARTOIS: DECREE OF SEPTEMBER 5. 4. FAMINE AND DISTRESS IN FRANCE: LEGISLATIVE ACTS, 1816-17. 5. RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY: EVACUATION OF FRANCE BY THE FOREIGN ARMIES: RESIGNATION OF THE DUC DE RICHELIEU: FORMATION OF A NEW MINISTRY. 6. LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1818-19: PRESS LAWS: THE DOCTRINAIRES: PETITIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE EXILES: THEIR REJECTION. 7. LIBERAL ELECTIONS, 1819: WAVERING OF M. DECAZES: ASSASSINATION OF THE DUC DE BERRI: SECOND MINISTRY OF RICHELIEU: STATE OF EUROPE.

- I. **T**HE French army, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men and five hundred pieces of cannon, encamped under the walls of Paris, and the restoration of the Bourbons might still have been disputed. Filled with the idea, however, of the horrible fate to which a fresh reverse might subject the capital of France, the Chambers and the head of the Government judged it more prudent to negotiate than to fight, and, on July 3, a capitulation

Surrender of
Paris, July 3,
1815.

or military convention was signed at Saint-Cloud by three commissioners, in the name of the Provisional Government, and by Wellington and Blücher, the generals in command of the English and Prussian forces. By this convention it was agreed that the French army should evacuate Paris, and retire behind the Loire, that private and public property should be respected, and that the inhabitants of the city at the time of its capitulation should be in no way disturbed or annoyed in respect to their affairs, their conduct or their political opinions. On the 8th July the King once more entered Paris. Talleyrand was made president of the new ministry, and Fouché, who had greatly conduced to the return of Louis XVIII., was rewarded by a place in the Council and the portfolio of police. Two lists of proscribed persons were immediately drawn up and published in a celebrated decree dated July 24. Carnot was amongst them, and Fouché, his colleague in the ministry of the Hundred Days, signed the lists of proscription. The allied troops had entered the capital before the King, and their angry bearing gave reason to believe that they imagined that, this time, they had entered it less by virtue of a treaty than by right of conquest. The Prussians, especially, regarded with ferocious looks the monuments which were the trophies of the French victories, and it required a noble resistance on the part of Louis XVIII. to preserve the bridge of Jena from their brutal violence. In spite of the capitulation the museums were pillaged; every State, every city in Europe demanded the restoration of the pictures and statues of which they had been despoiled.

The army of the Loire was disbanded, and Gouvion Saint-Cyr, the Minister for War, then planned the creation of a new army, and it was at this period that the organisation of the Royal Guard took place. The composition of the Chambers underwent important modifications. The peerage, which in 1814 was hereditary or for life according to the will of the monarch, was rendered, in August, 1815, entirely hereditary. Many peers of the first restoration who had sat during the Hundred Days were deprived of their positions, and the King nominated ninety-two new ones. A decree, dated July 13, submitted many articles of the charter to the revision of the legislative power, and ordered the election of a new Chamber of Deputies on August 14. Most of the members that were then elected belonged to the class called Ultra-Royalist, and joined the Chamber not only with ideas most hostile to the Revolution, but also with a desire for vengeance, and with the confidence, too often rash, inspired by victory after a cruel defeat. It was now that the inextricable difficulties in which the Government of the Restoration was involved became manifest. In the Chamber there were now two clearly defined parties, the Royalists, who sought to extend the influence of the aristocracy and the clergy, basing their political system on tradition and facts consecrated by time; and the Liberals who aimed at bestowing

Return of the
allied troops to
Paris.

The new
Chambers.

The Royalists
and the
Liberals.

upon the greatest possible number of men the social advantages and rights which had formerly only belonged to a limited number of privileged individuals, regarding liberty as the natural possession of human nature. These were the views of the moderate men of each party, but attached to each were found many who carried them to an extreme that was alike objectionable, imprudent and even unsafe. The struggle between the two parties lasted fifteen years, and commenced in 1815. Each appealed to what was obscure and ill-defined in the charter, either with the object of destroying it or of exacting from it more than it really promised. The Royalists at first had the advantage. It was difficult for Talleyrand to maintain his position in a Chamber fraught with the resentments of the Hundred Days, and the Duc de Richelieu was ordered to form a new Cabinet.

2. This statesman, who was President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, selected as his colleagues—M. Barbé-Marbois, as Minister of Justice; M. de Vaublanc and subsequently M. Lainé, as Minister of the Interior; M. Dubouchage, as Minister of Marine; and M. de Corvetto, as Minister of Finance. The direction of the police was entrusted to M. Decazes; and Clarke, Duc de Feltre, was for some time Minister of War, being succeeded by the illustrious Gouvion Saint-Cyr. In May, 1816, M. Barbé-Marbois retired, when the Ministry of Justice was temporarily given to M. Dambray, Chancellor of France, who was succeeded by Baron Pasquier, a member of the preceding Cabinet under the presidency of M. de Talleyrand. About the same time M. Molé succeeded M. Dubouchage as Minister of Marine. The first act of the Duc de Richelieu was to hasten the conclusion of the treaty which finally defined the burdens and sacrifices which the allies imposed on France. Their demands were reduced to five heads: 1st, the cession of the territory comprising the fortresses of Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis and Landau; 2nd, the demolition of the fortifications of Hunningen; 3rd, the payment of an indemnity of seven hundred millions, without prejudice to the debts due from the French Government to the private persons of all the States in Europe; 4th, the restoration of the department of Mont Blanc to the King of Sardinia; 5th the occupation for between three and five years, if the allies should think fit, of a line along the French frontiers by an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to be supported by France. This sad treaty was signed on November 20, 1815. These were not the only evils which France had to suffer in consequence of the disastrous events of the Hundred Days. Several departments of the south were long a prey to civil war and a bloody anarchy; and this fatal period was also distinguished by some horrible assassinations. The session was opened on October 7, and the Chamber of Deputies gave a free vent to its violent and reactionary passions. It demanded exceptional laws, which were adopted as soon as presented. One of these suspended individual liberty, another punished seditious crimes with trans-

Massacres in
the south.

portation, and a third subjected periodical publications to the censorship. A vote of amnesty was indeed finally passed, but the regicides were excluded from it, and all were condemned to perpetual banishment who had signed the "Acte Additionnel," or who had been employed by the Government of the Hundred Days. This measure touched Fouché himself, who was then the French Ambassador at Dresden, and who died in exile. Bloody executions preceded the passing of this vote of amnesty. The young La Bédoyère was the first victim; and after him, Ney was condemned to death and executed; Lavalette, Director-General of the Posts during the Hundred Days, only escaped capital punishment through the devotion of his wife and the aid of three generous Englishmen, who favoured his escape; and in course of the year many others who had been mentioned in the decree of July 24 were arrested, and tried, and executed.

Violent measures of the Chamber.

Execution of La Bédoyère and Ney.

3. The Chamber, amidst all this bloodshed, continued to advance towards the achievement of its objects, which were, first, the re-establishment of legitimate royalty on its old basis; second, the formation of local independent administrations, so organised as to give great influence to the territorial and ecclesiastical interests; third, the creation by law of a powerful territorial aristocracy; fourth, the re-establishment, financially and politically, of the French clergy. In spite of a formal engagement entered into by the King in the previous year, it proceeded to deprive the State creditors of the best guarantee for the payment of their debts, by declaring that the State forests should not be alienated, and that the Church should recover possession of the property not yet sold which had belonged to the old clergy of France. The law of divorce was abolished; the clergy were authorised to accept every species of gift; and finally, it was proposed to place the university under the superintendence of the bishops, and to bestow the civil registrarships upon the parish priests. The prudent resistance which the King opposed to the hastiness of the elective chamber was odious to the members of the majority. They openly accused him of revolutionary tendencies; boasted that they were more royalist than himself, and leagued themselves with the members of his own family for the purpose of opposing and frustrating his wishes.

Objects of the Chamber.

The King had announced, on his return from Ghent, that thirteen articles of the charter would be submitted for revision, and it was evident that the chamber intended to make this a pretext for annihilating the charter altogether. The Count d'Artois and his friends, who accused the King's government of being too Liberal in 1814, shaped the course pursued by the chamber in 1815, and by the measures which were proposed and carried at their instigation. France now found herself pursuing a course contrary to her new institutions, and the representative monarchy was itself in peril. Listening, therefore, to the suggestions of his own reason, and the

Influence of the Count d'Artois.

earnest advice of the ministers, Richelieu, Decazes and Lainé, Louis XVIII. issued the famous decree of September 5, which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, fixed, according to the text of the Constitution, the number of deputies at two hundred and sixty, and declared that no article of the charter should be revised. The command of the National Guard was taken from the Count d'Artois, and the result of the new election was such as answered the hopes of the ministry. It may be added here that the marriage of the King's nephew, Charles Ferdinand, Duc de Berri, with Marie Caroline de Bourbon, daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies, was celebrated in the month of June, 1816.



TALLEYRAND.

4. In the meantime the miseries of the country were at their height. Famine desolated France, oppressed by foreign troops, overburdened by ruinous charges and torn by domestic factions. The continual rains of 1816 inundated the plains, destroying the hopes of the farmers, and spread contagious diseases amongst the cattle.

Some political laws were adopted in the course of this session, and one of them fixed certain prudent limits to the law passed in the previous session, Legislative Acts, Session 1816-7. which suspended individual liberty.

But the most important legislative act of 1817, was the electoral law, which, for the first time since the restoration, sanctioned a legal course

in the nomination of deputies. It established direct elections, and fixed the qualification of electors at three hundred francs, and of those eligible for election at a thousand francs: the Chamber was to be renewed by fifths. The discussion of the budget was stormy, and the Government, in spite of considerable opposition, transferred to the sinking fund the 150,000 hectares of woods which a previous majority had given to the clergy. Four millions of rents, only, secured by the old property of the Church, which still remained unsold, were voted for the clergy as an indemnity for what they had lost. The Chamber of Peers ratified this plan; and two days later, on March 26, 1817, the session was closed.

5. Laws of great importance were introduced in the session of 1817-8, with the view of re-establishing the army on a respectable footing, although the laws of conscription had been abolished by

the charter it was restored, though in a milder form than that in which it had been enforced under the Empire; and the King was deprived of the unlimited power of granting commissions, while promotion was to be greatly dependent on seniority. Individual liberty ceased to be suspended, but the periodical press remained subject to the censorship. The illustrious head of the cabinet, the Duc de Richelieu, deserved well of his country at this time, by successfully employing his influence with Alexander and his allies for the purpose of obtaining the prompt withdrawal of the foreign troops from the French soil.

Thanks to him, the Emperor Alexander and his allies, assembled in conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, consented to evacuate the French fortresses and to recall their armies, and the fifteen millions of stocks inscribed in the great book of the public debt sufficed to liquidate the debt which France owed abroad. Shortly after this great event, which distinguished the year 1818, M. de Richelieu gave in his resignation. Alarmed at the result of the last elections, which were for the most part in favour of the Liberals, he had expressed a desire that the Ministry should form an alliance with the extreme section of the Royalist party, and that the law of elections should be modified. His wishes in this respect were not shared by some others of his colleagues; and as the Chamber of Deputies, at the commencement of the new session, had declared itself energetically in its address to the King against any modification of the electoral law, the retirement of the President of the Council was decided. The Chamber of Peers, however, voted a resolution in favour of a change in the electoral law, which was vehemently opposed by the ministers and Royer-Collard, and rejected by the deputies. The conflict between the two Chambers became day by day more virulent, and it appeared urgently necessary either to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, or to modify the votes of the Chamber of Peers. Several members of the Cabinet, MM. Lainé, Molé, Pasquier and Roy, who had replaced M. Corvetto as Minister of Finance, withdrew with the Duc de Richelieu; and General Dessolle became President of the Council. M. Serre received the seals, and Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr retained the portfolio for war. M. Louis was placed at the head of the finances, and M. Portal at the head of the marine. M. Decazes obtained the portfolio of the Interior, and was in reality the head of the new Ministry. The result of the elections of 1817 and 1818 was to give a majority to the moderate Liberal party, and it was to be feared that there would no longer be any species of harmony between it and the Chamber of Peers.

6. Relying on the support, in the Chamber of Deputies, of the Liberals, which gave it a Liberal and Constitutional majority, the Ministry presented in the course of the session several laws favourable to the public liberties: the most important of which were those referring to the press and the journals, the independence

of which had been hitherto provisionally suspended. The first of these proposed laws authorised the free publication of all non-periodical writings, whilst at the same time it declared every attack on good morals to be punishable. Two others contained the regulations to be enforced in the case of periodical publications and journals, in respect to which the registration of the names of the proprietors and responsible editors, and the deposit of a moderate security was demanded. The principal articles of the proposed laws prohibited the anticipatory seizure of journals and periodicals, and referred to the judgment of a jury all crimes committed through the press, with the exception of libels against private persons, which remained subjects of inquiry by the correctional police. The three laws were adopted, after an animated discussion, by a large majority in each Chamber. The state of the nation now began to be tranquil; foreign troops no longer encumbered its soil; commerce, industry and agriculture flourished, and public credit began to revive; everything, in fact, gave promise of a happy future. But party spirit was still ardent and implacable. The Royalists were unwilling to make the slightest liberal concession; whilst the Liberals, for their part, knew not how to be patient; and compromised the future for the sake of obtaining a temporary triumph. There were many distinct factions in the bosom of the Liberal party, the most violent of which was the revolutionary party, which, looking upon the Bourbons as the irreconcilable enemies of the Revolution, hoped to overthrow them. Constitutionalist who numbered among their ranks all the moderate men of the Liberal party, held, above all things, to the guarantees given by the charter, believing that in its rigorous observance alone lay the safety of France. In the bosom of the latter party there existed a small group of men who allied themselves with the wiser members of the Royalist party, refusing to regard the rights of the crown as distinct from those of the country, and considering them as equally inviolable. The members

The Doctrinaires.

of this party were named the Doctrinaires, and the most prominent of them were MM. Royer-Collard, de Broglie, Camille Jordan and De Barante, in the Chambers, and M. Guizot in the press. The Ministry, during the legislative session of 1818 and 1819, was constantly in harmony with this party. Towards the end of that session, however, a violent rupture took place between the Cabinet and the extreme portion of the Liberal party. Many petitions had been presented for the purpose of obtaining by a general act of the legislature the recall of all who had been banished after the second restoration. This was firmly denied in the case of the regicides, and the denial ultimately led to a complete rupture between M. Decazes and the Liberal party. The legislative session was closed on the 17th of July, 1819.

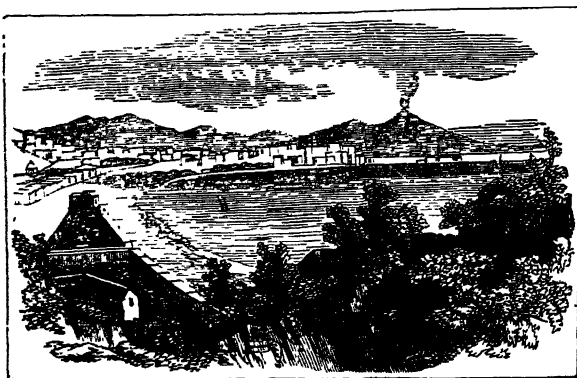
Petitions in favour of the exiles.

7. The elections which took place in this year for the renewal of the third series of the Chamber of Deputies, were chiefly made under the ever-increasing influence of the Liberal party. Many of the

members chosen were openly hostile to the Bourbons, and the King, seriously alarmed at the result of the elections and at the imperious demands of the Liberals, yielded to the solicitations of his brother and family, and resolved to modify the electoral law; and M. Decazes signified his approval of this course. Several of his colleagues, however, rightly thinking that his better course would have been to retire, quitted the Ministry and retired with the public esteem. These were MM. Dessolle, Louis and Gouvion Saint-Cyr, who were replaced by M. Pasquier, for Foreign Affairs, M. Roy, for the management of the finances, and M. Latour-Maubourg, for war. M. Decazes formed the new Cabinet, and received the title of President of the Council. His course of conduct, which had become undecided and wavering, irritated the Liberals without conciliating the Royalists; and the latter never relaxed in their attacks until a frightful event enabled them to overthrow him, and transferred the government to their hands. The Duc de Berri, second son of Count d'Artois, was assassinated on the evening of the 13th of February, 1820, as he was leaving the opera, by a wretch named Louvel. His death spread terror throughout Paris and all France, and the Royalists unjustly declared that M. Decazes was responsible for it. In vain did the Minister, for the purpose of appeasing his enemies, hasten to submit to the Chambers exceptional laws directed against individual liberty, and against the press, as well as a new law for the regulation of elections, but this only roused the Liberal party against him, and both Royalists and Liberals combined to bring about his fall. The King was compelled to dismiss him, and M. de Richelieu accepted the presidency of the Cabinet, which retained all its members, with the exception of its head, and in which M. Siméon replaced M. Decazes as Minister of the Interior. The greater part of Europe was at this time in a state of violent effervescence: Spain had risen against Ferdinand VII. and compelled him to grant a constitution to the country. Portugal had recalled her old king, John IV., who accepted a liberal constitution. A revolution in Naples had compelled Ferdinand IV. to consent to one precisely similar: while Germany was shaken to the foundation by the promulgation of liberal opinions, and Greece was seeking to liberate herself from the thralldom of Turkey.

Assassination
of the
Duc de
Berri, 1820.

Second
Ministry of
Richelieu,
1820.




NAPLES.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FALL OF THE MINISTER DECAZES TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.

February 29, 1820—September 16, 1824.

- I. THE HOLY ALLIANCE : CONGRESSES OF CARLSBAD, TROPPAU AND LAYBACH : THE ELECTORAL LAW : RIOTS IN PARIS : MILITARY CONSPIRACY : BIRTH OF THE DUC DE BORDEAUX. 2. ROYALIST ELECTIONS, 1820 : LAW OF ENDOWMENT FOR THE CLERGY : LAW ON GRANTS ON IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT. 3. REVOLUTION IN NAPLES AND PIEDMONT : DEATH OF NAPOLEON : THE CONGREGATION : COALITION OF LIBERALS AND ULTRA-ROYALISTS : RESIGNATION OF M. DE RICHELIEU : ULTRA-ROYALIST MINISTRY : POLITICAL LAWS OF 1822. 4. PLOT OF GENERAL BERTON : REVOLT AT BELFORT. 5. CRITICAL STATE OF SPAIN : CONGRESS OF VERONA : THE SPANISH WAR ; DECREE OF ANDUJAR : CAPTURE OF THE TROCADERO. 6. ELECTIONS OF 1824 : LAW FOR SEPTENNIAL CHAMBER : PROPOSED LAW FOR CONVERSION OF RENTES : DISMISSAL OF CHATEAUBRIAND : PROSECUTION OF JOURNALISTS : DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.

- I. HREE absolute monarchs, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar, and the King of Prussia, had signed, in 1815, a treaty famous under the name of the Holy Alliance, whose real object was the repression of the revolutionary spirit, which had displayed itself throughout Europe in every direction in a manner very threatening to social order.

The Holy Alliance.

- M. de Metternich, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, his master, convoked with this object, at Carlsbad, a congress which took energetic measures for the destruction of secret societies, and everything tending to subvert the then existing state of things ; and a few months afterwards the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia consulted together at Troppau, in Silesia, on the means of

Congresses of Carlsbad, Troppau and Laybach, 1820.

stifling the revolution in Spain, Portugal and the kingdom of Naples. Being assembled at a later period at a new Congress at Laybach, they invited the old King of Naples, Ferdinand IV., to proceed thither to join them. Whilst the three allied sovereigns thus set themselves in direct opposition to the revolutionary spirit, France was enduring the unfortunate consequences of some of the elections of 1819, and the fatal catastrophe of February, 1820. M. de Richelieu supported in the Chamber the exceptional laws presented by M. Decazes, the first of which suspended individual liberty. This was carried and so was the law aimed at the liberty of the press, by which the censorship of the journals was re-established for a year. The discussion on this measure was followed by still more angry debates on the new electoral law, which if carried, would deprive the middle and industrial classes of ^{The Electoral Law.} almost all their political influence to the profit of the great landed proprietors.

The law, as it was adopted, raised the number of deputies to four hundred and thirty, of which two hundred and fifty-eight were to be nominated by the district colleges, consisting of electors paying taxes to the amount of three hundred francs; whilst a hundred and seventy-two were to be elected by the colleges of departments, which were to consist of a fourth part of the most heavily-taxed electors of the department. The latter voted in the two colleges, and thus possessed a privilege over the others which was considered as a deviation from the charter, and which caused this new electoral law to receive the unpopular name of the law of the double vote. The law was eventually passed by a small majority in the midst of sanguinary *émeutes*, and ^{Riots in Paris.} the session was closed on July 22. The stormy debates on the electoral law caused a most disastrous feeling of excitement throughout the whole of France. The Liberal party found itself disarmed by it, and losing all hope of obtaining any preponderance in the State by legal methods it had recourse to dark and guilty tactics; to conspiracies and plots. The army, filled with discontented men, was ready to second any movement hostile to the Government, and was connected with many secret societies. A vast military conspiracy, which had ramifications in every part of the kingdom, was discovered ^{Military conspiracy. August, 1820.} in Paris on August 20, 1820. The leaders of the plot in the garrison of Paris were Major Bernard and Captain Nantil: the first made revelations, the second fled, and the conspiracy was crushed. A great number of their accomplices in every rank of life were arrested and taken before the Court of Peers. In the midst of the profound excitement caused by the discovery of this plot, the Duchesse de Berri gave birth to a son, who received the title of the Duc de Bordeaux, and whose birth seemed to promise a prolonged possession of the throne of France to the eldest branch of the Bourbons.

2. The elections which now took place were almost all favourable to the Royalists. The majority of the deputies thus elected be-

longed to the extreme section of the Royalist party. Disappointed in his hopes that the elections would be in favour of the moderate Royalists, M. de Richelieu felt compelled to give a new pledge to the Royalist party by admitting to the council M. Lainé, as well as MM. de Villele and Corbière, who exercised great influence over the Right, or Royalist, side of the elective chamber. The following legislative session showed how vain were the hopes in which the Ministry still indulged that they would be able to carry on the government by the aid of the moderate men of the two parties. The whole Left had been reduced by the late elections to a hundred deputies, who were all deeply irritated at the conduct of the moderate ministers, and who numbered amongst them men devoted to the principles of 1789, which they eloquently defended. All the functions of the Liberal party, from the Doctrinaires to the irreconcilable enemies of the Bourbons, were represented amongst them by their leaders. Opposite to them were confounded, under the name of Royalists, the men attached to the legitimate monarchy as it had been made by the charter, and the much larger number who, looking upon the charter as an unfortunate legacy of the Revolution, hoped, as they could not destroy it, at least to be able greatly to modify, by the aid of fresh laws, the effects of its principal clauses. The latter section, during the first months of the new session, did not venture to treat the Revolution as entirely vanquished; but in the spring of 1821, when all the insurrections of the populations of Italy were crushed, and the Austrians, after an easy victory, were masters of the whole Peninsula, the Royalist party of France regarded itself victorious along with them, and the majority in the Chamber of Deputies again openly displayed the ardent passions which had animated the Chamber of 1815. The new intentions of the Royalist party manifested themselves in May, 1821, during the debate on a proposed law, by which it was sought to apply the amount of extinct ecclesiastical pensions to the endowment of twelve new bishoprics, the improvement of vicarages and curacies, and the repair of churches. This project was opposed by the Royalists as insufficient and too restrictive of the rights of the Church and the Monarch. The opposition attempted to completely change the character of the ministerial plan, but the Ministry succeeded in preserving its principal clauses. The number of new bishoprics which the Government had proposed should be twelve, was, in principle, raised to thirty, and the choice of the places where these sees should be founded was left to the King. The proposed law, as thus modified by the Chamber of Deputies, was adopted by that of the Peers, and the condition of the clergy was then made pretty much what it remains at the present day. The next thing which excited the opposition of the Royalist party was the proposal of a law relative to the hereditary grants bestowed by the Imperial Government, and which had been secured on the property, in conquered territories, which formed part of the Emperor's "extraordinary domain." The remains of this, valued at four millions of "rentes," had been in-

**The Law of
Endowment for
the Clergy.**

corporated with the State property by a financial law of 1818; and the State had thus become the debtor of all those on whom grants had been bestowed under the Empire. The law proposed by the Government in March, 1821, granted *rentes* inscribed on the great book of the public debt to all the surviving grantees, divided into six classes; those coming under the first class to receive a thousand francs of *rente*, and those of the latter a hundred. The Royalists, however, vehemently opposed it, and demanded that the soldiers of Condé's army, the Vendéans and the Chouans, should be allowed, as well as the old grantees of the Empire, to become sharers in what remained of the Imperial "extraordinary domain." Their proposal was carried, but the law, as passed, recognised the posses-



ST. HELENA.

sion of no absolute rights by the grantees, and only bestowed life pensions on the old soldiers who still survived, whether Royalists or Imperialists, or the heirs of those who were dead. The violent debates on this law were brought to a close at the moment when the trial of the persons concerned in the conspiracies of August 20 was about to commence in the Court of Peers. The latter reckoned amongst its members many of the most illustrious men of the Empire, who bitterly resented the insults which had been heaped on the old army in the other Chamber, and were thus inclined, perhaps, to look less harshly on the military conspirators brought before them for judgment. Most of the conspirators were acquitted, and one only, Captain Nantil, who had fled, was condemned to death.

3. The revolutionary spirit, which had but recently worn so serious an aspect throughout Europe, was now everywhere crushed,

and a revolution in Piedmont, which had induced the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, to abdicate in favour of his brother, Charles Felix, was put down in the spring of 1821 by the new monarch with the aid of Austrian troops.

A great event, the news of which had only recently reached Europe, caused a powerful sensation there. Napoleon had ceased to exist, having expired at St. Helena on May 5, 1821, in the midst of a few faithful friends, after several months of frightful agony, and after a captivity of six years. At this time a secret power invaded all branches of the public administration. During the last ten years there had sprung up an influential society, named "The Congregation," whose object, at first, was simply the performance of good works and religious duties. It had affiliated itself to the Jesuits, who, although they were not

permitted to reside in France as members of the order, had founded many religious houses there under the name of "Fathers of the Faith." They had powerful supporters amongst the members of the Royal Family itself, and Louis XVIII. had consented to tolerate them, without, however, recognising their legal existence. The members of the Congregation finally began to take an active part in politics, and, being imbued as they were with the most reactionary principles, they became, under the patronage of MM. de Polignac and de Rivière, a most formidable obstacle to the Ministers Decazes and Richelieu. The elections of 1821 still further increased, in the Chamber of Deputies, the Right side at the expense of the Liberal Left, and MM. Lainé, de Villele and Corbière now quitted the Cabinet, to which they were no longer willing to lend the support of their names, and which they left, at the commencement of a new session, face to face with an ardent Royalist majority resolved to overthrow it. The Liberals openly leagued themselves with their adversaries for the purpose of overthrowing the Government. The opportunity offered itself at last in the proposal, by M. de Richelieu and his colleagues, of two laws for the prolongation of the censorship and the increased stringency of the law repressive of the abuses of the press. The rejection of these by a large majority rendered the resignation of the Government indispensable. M. de Richelieu surrendered his portfolio into the hands of the King; his colleagues followed his example, and a new Ultra-Royalist Cabinet was formed in December, 1821, of which the most influential members were M. de Peyronnet, the Keeper of the Seals, M. de Villele, Minister of Finance, and M. de Corbière, Minister of the Interior. The Duc de Belluno was made Minister of War, while the portfolio for foreign affairs was given to the Vicomte Matthieu de Montmorency, a prominent member of the Congregation, which thus won a place in the cabinet, its members thus obtaining the principal employments and offices under every ministry. From this time the Government and the Chamber of Deputies followed unani-

**Revolution in
Naples and
Piedmont.**

**Death of
Napoleon, 1821.**

**Entry of
Jesuits
into France.**

**Coalition of
Liberals and
Ultra-Royalists
in the legis-
lative session
1821-1822.**

**Ultra-Royalist
Ministry.**

mously a reactionary course. One of the first acts of the Ministry was to take from juries the right of deciding respecting crimes committed by the press, and to pass two measures respecting it of a very serious nature. According to the first, the political tendency of a series of articles might constitute an offence against the laws, although no one of them taken by itself could be so construed; and according to the second, the censorship, in certain serious circumstances, might be re-established.

Political Laws
of 1822.

4. The year 1822 further witnessed the outbreak of a Bonapartist plot contrived by General Berton, who assembled a troop of young men, soldiers and half-armed peasants, and marched at their head beneath the tricolour. He seized the city of Thouars in the name of Napoleon III., and marched upon Saumur, which he could not carry. Being now abandoned by most of his followers, he took to flight, but was arrested. About the same time there burst forth a military revolt at Belfort, to which the illustrious General Lafayette himself was not a stranger, and which was speedily crushed. Berton was taken before the Court of Assizes at Poitiers, and he and two of his accomplices lost their heads upon the scaffold; a third committed suicide. Paris was soon afterwards the theatre of an afflicting scene. Four young sub-officers in garrison at Rochelle, convicted of having been engaged in a revolutionary plot, were condemned to death, and marched to the scaffold through the midst of a populace inspired at once by pity and resentment. It was thus that the government of the restoration thought that it might once more obtain protection against criminal plots and too real perils by means of rigorous chastisements.

Revolt at
Belfort.

5. A new congress of sovereigns now assembled at Verona, at which was discussed the important question of the Spanish revolution. Great disturbances, rendered inevitable by the weakness and the perfidy of Ferdinand VII., had broken forth in that country; sanguinary combats had taken place between the populace and the royal guards; and the monks, who had been partially despoiled of their possessions, had excited a vast counter-revolutionary movement in Catalonia, and even established a Regency, issuing proclamations in the King's name and raised an army of twenty-five thousand men, who penetrated into Aragon. The Constitutional General Mina put this army to rout, and left no hope to the royalists save in French intervention. The yellow fever, which desolated Barcelona, had some time since made Louis XVIII. resolve to post a cordon of troops on the Pyrenees frontier under pretext of sanitary precautions, and these troops might at any moment be converted into an army of invasion. Such was the state of things in Spain when the Congress commenced its sittings at Verona. M.M. de Châteaubriand and Matthieu de Montmorency represented France at Verona, whilst the Duke of Wellington was the representative of England. When, accordingly, French intervention in Spain was proposed, the Duke of Wellington opposed it,

Critical state
of Spain

Congress of
Verona, 1822.

and M. de Villèle, who had become president of the Council, hoped that it might even yet be avoided or adjourned. But the majority in the Chamber of the Deputies were eager for war; the contagion of the Spanish revolution appeared dangerous to France, and more especially to Italy, in the eyes of the royalists, and the three allied sovereigns, and they unanimously resolved to suppress it. The ambassadors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia immediately quitted



VERONA.

Madrid. The ambassador of France, General Lagarde, was not yet recalled; M. de Châteaubriand succeeded M. de Montmorency at the head of Foreign Affairs. The extraordinary credits asked for the Spanish campaign were granted, and from thenceforth war appeared inevitable. A numerous army was already assembled on the Pyrenees frontier, the command of which was taken at the end of March by the Duc d'Angoulême. The French troops crossed the frontier early in April, and speedily arrived at Madrid, which the Cortes had quitted, carrying with them Ferdinand VII., first to Seville and then to Cadiz,

The Spanish
War, 1823.

after having declared him dethroned on account of imbecility. Negotiations were entered into with the moderate Constitutional generals, and the Duc d'Angoulême formed, in a spirit of conciliation, a Spanish Regency at Madrid, under the presidency of the Duke of Infantado, with the intention of keeping in check the ultra-royalist party, whose blind violence and fanaticism threatened Spain with a murderous re-action. To prevent the scenes of brigandage and murder to which this party would have resorted without wholesome restraint, the Duc d'Angoulême issued the celebrated decree of Andujar, which prohibited the Spanish authorities from arresting anyone without the sanction of the French officers, and placed the editors of the journals under the direct protection of these officers. The Cortes at Cadiz, however, refused to put faith in the promises of the Duke, who pledged himself to obtain liberal institutions for them from their King. They rejected all his propositions which their weakness should have induced them to accept, and the French troops then performed some gallant feats of arms. They attacked the formidable batteries of the Isle of Leon; the Trocadero was taken in the prince's presence; Cadiz submitted; and Ferdinand VII. was immediately set free.

Capture
of the
Trocadero.
October, 1823.

6. The war was at an end, and Ferdinand took a savage vengeance on the Constitutional party. The immense expenses of the war remained a burden on France, and it may be said that the expedition was only beneficial to the ultra-royalist party, as its success enabled them to carry most of the partial elections which followed the campaign. This inspired M. de Villèle with the idea of establishing his power on a mutual good understanding between the Government and a septennial chamber, or one elected for seven years; and to obtain a Chamber subservient to his views the existing one was dissolved, and every preparation made for a general election, in which, by reason of the undue influence exerted by the government, only nineteen liberal members were returned, thus giving the Court party a majority which far surpassed their most ardent hopes.

Elections of
1824.

At the opening of the legislative session, in March, 1824, the King in his speech to the chamber, announced that two laws of great importance would be submitted to them. The object of one of these laws was to substitute for the quinquennial and partial renewal of the elective chamber directed by the charter, its entire and septennial renewal; and the other referred to the conversion of the rentes inscribed on the great book of the public debt. The adoption of this latter law, the Monarch asserted, would allow of a great diminution in the taxes, and close the last wounds left by the Revolution. The first of these proposed laws was presented by the ministry to the chamber of peers; and having been carried there, was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies, where it was passed by a large majority in spite of the opposition of the Liberal party, led by Royer-Collard. The second project met with a very different fate. Its object was the conversion

Law for
Septennial
Chamber.

of the five per cent. rentes, which amounted to a hundred and forty millions, into three per cents., at the price of seventy-five per cent.; and bankers were engaged to furnish the necessary funds for the repayment at par of those holders of five per cent. rentes who might decline to accede to the proposed exchange. This plan, by which the government aimed at getting means to reimburse the losses suffered by the old emigrants or their families, excited much angry feeling. The Chamber of Deputies adopted it; but it was rejected by the Chamber of Peers, mainly through the tacit opposition of M. de Châteaubriand. M. de Villèle immediately demanded the dismissal of his colleague, which he obtained, and by this violent proceeding hastened his own fall. Châteaubriand, irritated at his dismissal, formed a new party adverse to the government, from among the royalists, and of this the *Journal des Débats* became the active and formidable organ. The liberal press generally at this time severely reproached the government for its retrograde tendencies, while the journals of the opposite party bitterly accused it of dilatoriness in satisfying the demands of the extreme royalists. This led the ministry to put into force those articles of the law which permitted it to prosecute journals on account of the general tendency of their articles. It brought several editors to trial in the royal courts, and in almost every case the magistrates made common cause with the press against the Court and Cabinet. The government rendered the opposition of the judges still more determined by censuring their judgments; and, as the ministers saw a serious danger in the acquittals pronounced by the royal courts, they re-established the censorship on this ground alone, and thus declared themselves in direct opposition to the magistracy. The clergy obtained at this period the appointment of a Minister for ecclesiastical affairs. The first appointed was a bishop, M. de Frayssinous, and the direction of public instruction was made one of his functions.

The King was now on the verge of the tomb. On Sunday, September 10, he could not hold an audience, and a few days later he was stretched on his death-bed, surrounded by the members of the royal family. The old monarch called down upon all his relations the benediction of heaven, and laying his hand on the Duc de Bordeaux, the last and feeble offspring of his race, he said with a voice full of emotion, as he looked at his brother, "Let Charles X. preserve the crown for this child." He gave his last sigh, after a protracted agony, and Charles X. was King.

Proposed Law
for the
conversion
of rentes.

Dismissal of
Châteaubriand

Death of Louis
XVIII. Sep-
tember, 1824.



CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES X.—THE REVOLUTION OF 1830—ACCESSION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

September 16, 1824—August 9, 1830.

1. POLITICAL OPINIONS OF CHARLES X. 2. PROPOSED INDEMNITY TO THE EXILES: DEBATE ON FEMALE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES: LAW RELATING TO PRIMOGENITURE. 3. CORONATION OF CHARLES X.: DENUNCIATION OF THE JESUITS: PROPOSED CHANGE IN ELECTORAL LAW. 4. STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING: PROPOSED LAW AGAINST THE PRESS: GENERAL OPPOSITION; DISBANDMENT OF THE NATIONAL GUARD: DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. 5. LIBERAL ELECTIONS, 1827; FALL OF THE VILLELE MINISTRY: FOREIGN POLICY: BATTLE OF NAVARINO. 6. THE MARTIGNAC MINISTRY: LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS: DECREES TOUCHING THE JESUITS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE KING AND CABINET: DEFEAT OF MARTIGNAC MINISTRY. 7. THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY: ADDRESS TO THE KING: DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBERS: CAPTURE OF ALGIERS. 8. THE KING'S IDEA OF HIS MISSION: DECREES ANNULLING THE CHARTER: PROTEST OF THE JOURNALISTS: REVOLUTION OF JULY, 1830: DECLARATION OF THE OPPOSITION: MUNICIPAL COMMISSION. 9. EVACUATION OF PARIS: REVOCATION OF THE DECREES OF JULY 26: RETREAT OF THE KING TO VERSAILLES: THE DUC D'ORLEANS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM. 10. MODIFICATION OF THE CHARTER: ADDITIONAL ENACTMENTS: ABDICATION OF CHARLES X.: ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE I.

1. **C**HARLES X., who was attached by all his feelings to the ancient system of things whilst reigning under the new, looked upon all who had defended the principles of the Revolution as indiscriminately guilty of the prolonged calamities of France, always suspected them in spite of the devotion which many of them had displayed for the monarchical cause, and constantly refused to enter into relations with them. Averse to all violent reaction, and naturally benevolent, he loved popularity, and protested his respect for the charter; but at the same time, whilst accepting and swear-

Political
opinions of
Charles X.

ing to maintain it, he would not admit that it had established in France powers which were rivals of his own, or a government which did not spring from his own sole authority. He only regarded the two Chambers as bodies in possession of political powers more extensive, doubtless, than those of the Parliaments and the ancient States of the kingdom, but which did not possess more extensive rights than those assemblies. Finally, Charles X. regarded as dangerous and humiliating to his crown any concession to public opinion; and was full of anxiety to reconstruct upon their old foundations, as far as possible, the authority of the throne, the aristocracy and the clergy, believing that this was the only means of securing the safety of the monarchy and of France.

The suppression of the censorship, which M. de Villèle and his colleagues had revived, was regarded as a favourable omen at the commencement of the reign. But whilst releasing the press from the censorship, Charles X. did not repudiate the acts of a Minister whom it condemned, but on the contrary, accepted them, by maintaining him in power. Then those of the moderate Liberals who had been too ready to hope, were disabused, and public opinion was exasperated by a series of unpopular projects presented in succession to the Chambers during the sessions of 1825 and 1826. We will only here refer to the most important of them.

2. The first of these plans, already announced by the late King in his last speech to the Chamber, proposed to grant to the emigrants or their heirs a milliard of francs, as an indemnity for the possessions of which they had been dispossessed during the Revolution. This plan, equitable though it was in itself, was vehemently attacked in the Chamber of Deputies by members of the extreme Right, because they did not consider that the plan offered the emigrants sufficient reparation; while the Liberals in the Chamber and without it thought that the scheme of reimbursement should be extended to the members of the Legion of Honour who had been deprived of their allowances from 1814 to 1821. The two Chambers, however, adopted the law which gave an indemnity to the emigrants or their heirs, without including the members of the Legion of Honour. While this law was being discussed in the Chamber of Deputies, that of the Peers were deliberating with respect to a project relating to the female religious communities. The principal object of the proposed law, which legalised the communities already established, was to render a simple royal decree sufficient for the establishment of new ones. As this would prove the means of sanctioning (which would subsequently allow the authorisation) by a simple decree, of the existence of the Society of the Jesuits, and of the numerous establishments which they already possessed in numerous parts of France in despite of the laws to the contrary, it excited even greater opposition than the former one in both Chambers; but in spite of this, and the angry feelings which it excited against the Government throughout the country, it was passed. In the following session, 1826, the Government proposed a law, according to

Debate on
Female
Religious
Communities.

which, in default of the formal expression of any wish on the subject on the part of the testator, a considerable privilege would be created in favour of primogeniture in the case of all estates paying land taxes of three hundred francs or upwards. This endeavour to substitute the power of the law for the will of the head of the family, for the purpose of re-establishing in France a territorial aristocracy, wounded one of the most nervous fibres of a democratic people, and betrayed a design to drive France back towards the social order of the old system. On this account, especially, it excited a great feeling of animosity against its authors; few acts of the Restoration were more strongly opposed to public opinion. The Chamber of Peers rejected the law, with the exception of the clause which extended the rights of a testator as to the disposal of a portion of his property. This decision made a great sensation throughout the kingdom; Paris illuminated, and the Chamber of Peers shared for a time with the chief magistracy the popular favour.

3. This long series of reactionary measures, which were so fatal to the moral authority of the Government, was interrupted in 1825 by the solemnities of the consecration. Charles X. appeared at Rheims, surrounded by all the old pomp of the royal majesty, took there an oath to preserve the charter inviolate, and received the crown at the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of an ancient ceremonial, which was little in harmony with the ideas of the age, and in which the new generation, unfortunately, could only see an inopportune act of deference towards the clergy. Shortly after this event, M. de Montlosier denounced the vast organisation of the Congregation as dangerous to the existence of religion in France and to the safety of the State; and M. de Frayssinous having acknowledged the existence of Jesuits in the kingdom, M. de Montlosier appealed to the laws against their re-establishment in France in the Royal Court of Paris. The latter having declared itself incompetent to proceed against them, M. de Montlosier immediately applied to the Chamber of Peers, which received the petition and referred it to the president of the council. Upon this the Government resolved to shackle the press, which denounced the Jesuits to the country, and to stifle the opposition in the Chamber of Peers, which invoked against it the rigours of the law. To effect its objects, it was now necessary for the Government to reduce the number of electors who were most lightly taxed, and who belonged to the classes most attached to the Liberal cause; and it accordingly presented a proposition for the reduction of the land-tax.

Coronation of
Charles X.,
1825.

Proposed
change in
electoral law.

4. The session of 1826 was closed in July. Public opinion, irritated by so many measures dictated by a policy contrary to the national feeling and subservient to the Congregation and the Jesuits, burst forth into complaints and menaces. From this profound discontent, which was in itself a great evil, there sprang also, as the consequence of a natural reaction of the public mind, an unfortunate tendency to confound Royalty and the Government in one common blame; a fatal disposition which is but too readily recognisable in

many publications of the period. In the meantime, M. de Villèle, in spite of his increasing unpopularity, persisted in clinging to power. Determined to be the sole master of the position, he had successively removed from power the most eminent men, MM. Decazes, Lainé, Richelieu and Châteaubriand, all of whom had powerful friends in the Chamber of Deputies, where he himself was now very weak, and he had altogether lost the majority in the Chamber of Peers. He resolved to strike in the person of the press the most formidable opponent of his power, and at the commencement of the following session, Peyronnet, the Keeper of the Seals, presented to the Deputies a law, the object of which was to restrain the liberty of the press within the narrowest limits in respect to pamphlets and books, and to stifle it altogether in respect to journals and periodicals. The proposed

**Proposed law
against the
Press.**

law excited an almost universal feeling of indignation, the French Academy appointed a committee of its members to draw up a petition to the King for the withdrawal of the project. This petition Charles X. refused to receive, and replied to it by the infliction of punishments; depriving MM. Villemain, Lacretelle and Michaud of their offices. The law, which was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, was vehemently opposed in that of the Peers. The Cabinet foresaw that, even if this Chamber accepted it, it would at least reject its most rigorous clauses, and saved it from so dangerous an operation by withdrawing it. This news was received with acclamations by the populace of Paris, already a prey to a formidable excitement, the symptoms of which were displayed in the midst of *feux de joie* and popular cries. Fresh and irrefragable signs of the general feeling were manifested every day; and it was impossible to doubt the sincerity or the power of public opinion which was supported by all the greatest and most esteemed bodies in the State, the peerage, the high magistracy, the Institute, the ministry, and even the wisest and most eminent men of the Royalist party. And yet the Cabinet persevered, determined to brave everything, as though fascinated by the deceptive prestige of a factitious parliamentary majority, the result of the double vote, and torn from France by an unlimited administrative centralisation. Charles X., whilst thus opposing every liberal feeling, was nevertheless anxious that the French should be personally attached to him. He had long been hurt at the silence of the people when he passed amongst them, and after having witnessed the enthusiasm of the Parisians on the occasion of the withdrawal of the law respecting the press, he ordered a general review of the National Guard for the following Sunday. The King was favourably received, but in

**Disbandment
of the National
Guard.**

almost every instance the cry of "Vive le roi!" was mingled with a shout of hostility against the ministers. The princesses who were present at the review were also exposed to insult and at the instigation of the offended members of his family and MM. de Villèle and Corbière, he dissolved the National Guard. The Liberal press and the opposition journals

vehemently reproached the President of the Council for this inconsiderate act of vengeance, and immediately after the session the censorship was arbitrarily re-established. A strong opposition against the decree which dissolved the National Guard arose in the Chamber of Peers, and appeared also in the Chamber of Deputies, where the minority hostile to the Ministers increased every day in strength. Already many members had declared that although a recent law had sanctioned the septenniality of the legislature, they had been elected only for five years, and could not retain their seats for any longer time in the chamber. M. de Villèle now, therefore, resolved to secure the duration of his power and the execution of his plans by the election of a new septennial parliament which should be more docile than the existing one, and in November, 1827, appeared the decree by which the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. The Electoral Colleges were convoked, and seventy-six peers created, most of the latter being members of the majority of the old Chamber of Deputies, 1827. Chamber and large landed proprietors whose great fortunes recommended them to the royal favour.

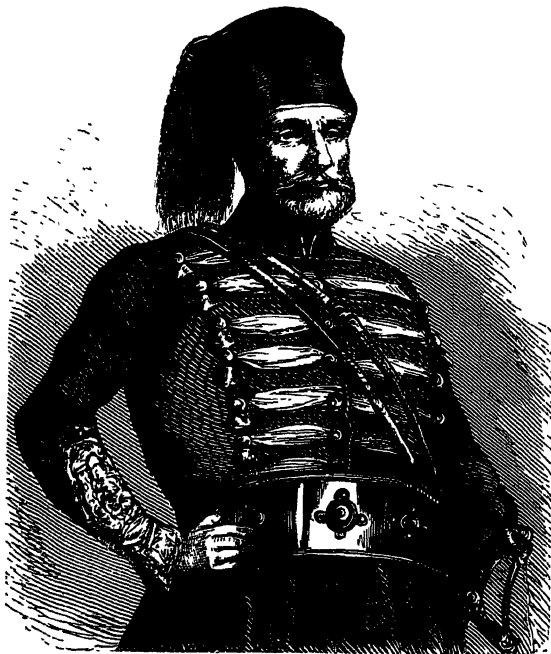
5. The Cabinet had overstepped the mark, and public opinion, so long misconstrued, crushed and braved, now exploded simultaneously in every part of the kingdom. All the members of the Left who had been rejected in the preceding election reappeared, and the result of the appeal to the popular vote throughout France was the formation in the Chamber of an imposing constitutional majority. Many of them returned to it deeply irritated, disposed to make the most violent resistance to the policy of the Cabinet. It was in vain that M. de Villèle still endeavoured to retain office by sacrificing those of his colleagues who were the most compromised; and in vain that he exhausted every species of combination for the formation of a Council in harmony with the new Chamber, and in which, at the same time, he might himself have a place. He was compelled at length to confess his powerlessness, and fell before that public opinion which he had too haughtily disdained. Having shewn the chief points in which the Villèle Ministry had rendered itself odious to all parties, it may now be as well to notice a few more satisfactory measures which it effected in its financial operations and foreign policy. It favoured the increasing credit which France now began to enjoy, the efforts of its manufacturing industry, and its trade with other nations. It emancipated the old colony of Saint Domingo, on condition of the payment of a considerable indemnity to the dispossessed colonists; and by the treaty of July 6 the French Government joined with those of England and Russia for the purpose of putting a stop to hostilities between Turkey and Greece. The son of Mehemet-Ali, Ibrahim Pacha, having been summoned to his aid by the Sultan, arrived in the Morea with a formidable fleet, and had it not been for the intervention of the powers, the Greeks, who were utterly exhausted, must have been lost. Ibrahim refused to observe

Fall of the
Villèle
Ministry,
December, 1827.

Foreign Policy.

the armistice prescribed by the powers, and this refusal led to the celebrated battle in which the French squadron, under Admiral de Rigny, together with the English and Russian squadrons, attacked and destroyed the Egyptian fleet in the port of Navarino. This victory saved the Greeks and raised them to the rank of a nation.

6. The new council was formed on January 4, 1828, and consisted of MM. de Martignac, Portalis, De la Ferronnays, De Caux, De



IBRAHIM PACHA.

Saint-Cricq and Hyde de Neuville, to whom the King added M. de Vatimesnil and Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais. There was no president of the council, but M. de Martignac, a talented and judicious man, who was very ready of speech and full of tact, gave his name to the new Cabinet, which lost no time in introducing some important laws conceived in a liberal spirit. One of these

Legislative enactments. abolished the censorship, and others sanctioned the system of speciality in the great divisions of the budget, and the permanence of the electoral lists, and controlled the action

of Government officials in respect to elections. Finally, the right of interpreting the laws was recognised as belonging to the three branches of the Legislature.

The most difficult achievement of the ministry was the issuing of two decrees, which forbade the Jesuits to take part in the instruction of youth. By one of these decrees the secondary ecclesiastical schools were placed under the common law, and by another it was ordained that no one should either teach in, or direct them who belonged to any society not authorised by law. These decrees were the most painful concession which Charles X. made to the demands of the age, and no sacrifice could have cost him more. The Congregation felt itself wounded by them to the heart, and the King was surrounded by cries of anger and indignation. The distrust with which Charles X. had always regarded the Ministry which had been forced on him by the pressure of public opinion was now changed into aversion, and he saw with satisfaction the opposition M. de Martignac and his colleagues encountered from the liberals, who began to be more eager in their demands for strong guarantees again the return of the Royalist party to power, than for the passing of laws which would tend to the good of France. The King hoped that the moment would come when the ministers would be condemned by the people at large, and he trusted to be able to find in their dismissal by the popular voice a reason or a pretext for returning to the men of his choice. About this time two important laws, one of which related to the organisation of the municipal councils, whilst the other regulated those of the departments and the arrondissements, were submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. Men of all parties concurred in refusing to support them, and an announcement from the ministry in conformity with the King's orders that no modification of the proposed laws would be permitted, having been followed by a division in favour of an amendment, they were immediately withdrawn. The Court rejoiced in the defeat thus suffered by the Cabinet, Charles X. resolved to dismiss his Council, and on August 8, 1829, after the vote for the budget of 1830, and the close of the session, appeared the decree which created a new cabinet.

Differences
between the
King and
Cabinet.

7. Three noteworthy men, the Prince de Polignac, and MM. de la Bourdonnaye and de Bourmont, were made members of the new cabinet, as a species of defiance to public opinion. The first was the living expression of the Congregationist party; the second represented all that was most violent in the unpopular chamber of 1815; and the third, an old leader of the Chouans, was only known to the people and the army as a deserter from the French camp at Waterloo. As soon as the names of the new ministers were announced, the press passed by turns from expressions of rage to those of insulting pity, from disdain to threats. Preparations were made to offer a vigorous resistance to the Court by means of the elections; and in every part of the kingdom a vast association was formed for the prevention of the dreaded imposition

The Polignac
Ministry, 1829.

of illegal taxes. On the 2nd of March, Charles X., displaying for the last time all the pomp of royalty, declared in the presence of the assembled deputies and peers, his firm intention to maintain equally intact the institutions of the country and the prerogatives of the crown. The composition of the address from the deputies in answer to the speech from the throne gave rise to a very animated debate, in which two already famous men, MM. Guizot and Berryer, made their entrance, on opposite sides, into parliamentary life. The address which was proposed pointed out to the King that the composition of his new cabinet was dangerous and threatening to the public liberties; and it also explained that the necessary harmony between the political views of the Government and the views of the nation did not exist, and entreated him to re-establish it. It was carried by a majority of forty in a house of four hundred and two, and Charles X., after having heard it, displayed much irritation, and declared that his resolutions were known and would remain immutable. The Chamber was prorogued and then dissolved. The

**Dissolution of
the Chambers.**

**General
election.**

King issued a decree which again convoked the electoral colleges; the two hundred and twenty-one signers of the address were almost all re-elected, and the opposition was reinforced by many new members.

In the meantime an affront offered to the French consul gave the ministry an opportunity of purging the sea of the Barbary pirates.

**Capture of
Algiers, 1830.**

An expedition was sent against Algiers under M. de Bourmont, the Minister of War, and Admiral Duperré, and the city was taken.

8. The political struggle at length approached its determination: the general result of the elections was known, and the Ministry found itself in front of a majority still more compact, impatient and hostile. Most of the members of the majority, however, did not wish for the overthrow of the throne, and were sincerely attached to the constitution; but to be devoted to the constitution was, in the eyes of the Court, to be the enemy of the Court; and thus, by refusing its support to the men who wished for the charter with the Bourbons, it inclined them to join those who wished for

**The King's
idea of his
Mission.**

the charter without the Bourbons. The King himself believed that he had a great mission to fulfil, and that a great duty had devolved upon him to stifle Liberalism, to establish his government on exclusively religious and monarchical bases. He had persuaded himself that the fourteenth article of the charter, which authorised the King to issue decrees for the safety of the State, also authorised him to leave the path of equality if the State, being in peril, could not be saved by legal measures. In his eyes the safety of the monarchy, depended on the continuance in office of the ministers he had appointed, and the triumph of the throne over a Chamber which he accused of wishing to overthrow it. At the same time he was not conscious that he was tearing the charter or perjuring himself when he made the article above named an excuse for violating it. During the last days of July, the King remained inflexible; but his Ministry

still deliberated, and either because it hesitated or because it wished to change public opinion, sealed letters were sent to the members of the two Chambers convoking them for the 3rd of August. Five members of the Council spoke of the danger of having recourse to violent and illegal measures ; but as the King, by interpreting every refusal as a sign of weakness and an abandonment of himself at the moment of danger, had thus transformed the question of State into one of honour, a blind feeling of devotion was alone attended to. On July 28, the *Moniteur* published an explanation drawn up by M. de Chantelauze, and followed by the famous decrees signed on the previous evening, which suppressed the liberty of the press, annulled the late elections, and arbitrarily created a new electoral system. A prolonged and sullen murmur spread through Paris at the publication of these decrees, and on the following day there appeared in the opposition journals an energetic protest, signed by forty-three of their principal contributors or editors, amongst whom were MM. Charles de Remusat, Thiers, Mignet, Armand Carrel, Bande and Chatelain. They declared that they could not submit to illegal decrees, and urged the deputies to resist them ; to regard themselves as legally elected, and to protest with themselves. Orders were given for the destruction of their presses, and a struggle took place in the printing offices, which was speedily transferred to the streets, in which the multitude on the same evening broke down the insignia of monarchy, with the cry of "The Charter for ever !" and improvised numerous barricades. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, who was placed in command of the troops, led them against the insurgent populace, occupied all the strategical points, and summoned additional regiments from the neighbouring garrisons. But already the Hôtel de Ville, abandoned by the two prefects, had fallen into the hands of the insurrectionists ; the tricolour was raised there, and the word "Republic" was echoed again and again by the excited crowd. A portion of the Opposition deputies who were in Paris, and among whom were MM. Casimir Périer, Lafitte, Lafayette, the elder Dupin, Charles Dupin, Guizot, Villemain, Sebastiani, Benjamin Constant, Salverte, Audrey de Puiraveau and Maugin, having assembled on the morning of the 28th, voted, with some modifications, a declaration drawn up by M. Guizot, in which they forcibly protested against the decrees of the 26th, and declared themselves legally elected, and incapable of being replaced save by virtue of elections conducted according to the forms ordained by the law. By the evening of the 28th the whole of Paris with the exception of the quarter of the Louvre and the Tuileries, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and on the morning of the day following the deputies, who had drawn up the protest in compliance with the wishes of the chief citizens, made Lafayette commander-in-chief of the national guard and nominated a municipal committee charged with the duty of providing for the safety of life and pro-

Decrees annulling the Charter, July 26, 1830.

Revolution of July, 1830.

Declaration of the Opposition July 28.

party, and of providing for the government of the city. This committee, with Lafayette and his staff, immediately took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where it installed itself in the midst of a crowd excited by victory, but which knew how to respect itself by prohibiting, on pain of death, devastation and pillage.

9. On the morning of the 29th the struggle still continued in the capital with all that increasing audacity with which the multitude had been inspired by the success of the previous evening. The country around Paris had risen, and cut off communication with the city. The royal army was devoid of the necessary supplies, and as it received neither provisions nor reinforcements, was much discouraged; and, reduced in numbers by wounds, death and desertion, it was unable to maintain its position in Paris. The Louvre,

which was ill-defended, was taken by the people, and Marmont ordered a retreat upon Saint-Cloud, where the King and Court then were. The King up to this time had remained inflexible in the midst of those who entreated him to revoke his fatal decrees; and it was not until Marmont had evacuated Paris, and had reappeared at Saint-Cloud with the remains of his battalions, that Charles X. yielded, revoked his decrees, and ordered the Duc de Montemart to form a Ministry.

But it was too late; too much blood had been spilt, and the Municipal Committee of Paris rejected the Court's overtures. The danger of the latter grew greater every hour; whole regiments appeared in the ranks of the insurgents, and Paris was preparing to march upon Saint-Cloud. During the night of July 29, Charles X. retreated to Versailles. There was, however, much reason to fear that the union maintained amongst the citizens of the immense capital during the conflict would be broken at the moment of selecting a new Government. Some wished to establish a republic; and others, who were the immense majority of the citizens, desired to retain a monarchical and constitutional government. But to effect this it was necessary to find a man already elevated above all by his private position, and who had given incontestable pledges of his devotion to the public liberties. Such a man existed, and France possessed him in the person of the Duc d'Orleans.

This was the opinion of the deputies who had spontaneously assembled at the Palais Bourbon, and, at the suggestion of Benjamin Constant, they voted a declaration to the effect that his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans should be requested to proceed immediately to the capital for the purpose of exercising there the functions of Lieutenant-General for the kingdom. The declaration at the same time expressed a wish that the colours raised by the insurrectionists should be retained as those of the nation. A deputation which was appointed to carry this declaration to the prince found him at the Château de Neuilly, his usual summer residence, and succeeded in overcoming his hesitation. On the following day the prince entered Paris. Time pressed, for the insurrectionary movement in defence of the charter

threatened every moment to become a republican movement. The cause of monarchical government seemed only capable of being saved by the immediate presence of the Lieutenant-General; for it was certain that otherwise a Republic would be proclaimed. The deputies informed of the real state of affairs, proceeded in a body to the Palais Royal, where they read to the prince a declaration, which he approved, respecting the new guarantees claimed for France; and from thence went in procession to the Hôtel de Ville, opening with some difficulty a passage through an armed and wrathful multitude. The Duc d'Orleans then visited the Municipal Committee, which resigned its powers into his hands, after which Lafayette handed to the duke a tricoloured flag, conducted him to a balcony, and presented to the assembled people the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The prince displayed the flag and embraced the old general amidst the acclamations of the moved and appeased crowd. From this moment the Duc d'Orleans was recognised without opposition in Paris and the departments as the head of the new Government.

10. The 3rd of August had been appointed by the fallen Government as the day for the opening of the Chambers; this day had already come, and a great number of peers and the majority of the deputies were in Paris. They commenced their sittings, and the first care of the deputies was to render the charter harmonious with the new position of the country by introducing into it the following modifications:—the fourteenth article, already alluded to, was cancelled; the Catholic religion ceased to be recognised as the religion of the State; the liberty of the press was irrevocably established by the abolition of the

*Modification of
the Charter.*

the censorship; the Chambers were endowed, equally with the monarch, with the initiative in the presentation of proposed laws; and the duration of the office of Deputy was limited to five years. It was agreed that the constitution of the Chamber of Peers should be settled at a later period, and the effect of this decision was the abolition of the hereditary peerage. The charter, thus modified, was followed by particular enactments, by which the Deputies abolished all the peerages established by Charles X., and declared that it was necessary that France should obtain by separate laws:—

1. That all crimes of the press, and political crimes, should be submitted to the judgment of a jury;
2. The responsibility of ministers and other Government officials;
3. The re-election of Deputies promoted to salaried offices;
4. The annual voting of the contingent for the army;
5. The organisation of the National Guard, and their right to take part in the appointment of their own officers;
6. The legal confirmation by the State of officers in the army;
7. Departmental and municipal institutions founded on the elective system;
8. The freedom of education;
9. The abolition of the double vote in the election of Deputies.

The acceptance of the charter thus drawn up was made the formal condition of the elevation of the prince to the throne. In the meantime the fugitive royal family, which had retired from Versailles to Rambouillet, went slowly and

for the last time into exile. On the 16th of August it embarked at Cherbourg for England. Before quitting France, Charles sent to the Chambers his abdication, and that of the Dauphin, his son, in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux; but as the proclamation of the royal infant would have provoked an irresistible explosion which would have led to the proclamation of a republic and a civil war, the Deputies rejected the clause to which Charles X. and the Dauphin had attached their abdication, and called to the throne his Royal Highness Louis Philippe d'Orleans and his male descendants in perpetuity. The Peers immediately assented to the views and acts of the other chamber, and salvos of artillery announced the

royal sitting of the morrow. On that day, August 9, 1830, the Duc d'Orleans, accompanied by his eldest sons, the Ducs de Chartres and de Nemours, went in solemn procession to the Palais Bourbon, where were assembled the Peers, the Deputies, the diplomatic corps, and numerous other persons, and after having formally sworn to observe the constitutional charter as recently modified, ascended the throne under the title of Louis Philippe I., King of the French.

Accession of
Louis Philippe,
August 9th,
1830.





ANCONA.

SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE TO THE DEATH OF CASIMIR PERIER, August, 1830—May, 1832.

I. PROSPECTS AND STRENGTH OF THE NEW MONARCHY: NEW PARTIES IN THE CHAMBERS: FIRST MINISTRY. 2. THE BELGIAN REVOLUTION: CONFERENCE OF LONDON: TUMULTS IN PARIS: THE LAFFITTE MINISTRY: TRIAL OF THE MINISTERS OF CHARLES X.: FRESH DISTURBANCES. 3. LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS: INSURRECTION OF ITALY AND POLAND: PILLAGE OF ST. GERMAIN L'AUXERROIS: ELECTORAL LAW. 4. FALL OF THE LAFFITTE MINISTRY: THE PERIER MINISTRY: DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. 5. FOREIGN POLICY: THE FRENCH FLEET BEFORE LISBON: SEPARATION OF BELGIUM AND HOLLAND: TREATY OF THE TWENTY-FOUR ARTICLES. 6. LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1831: ORGANISATION OF THE PEERAGE: FALL OF WARSAW: RISING IN LYONS. 7. THE AUSTRIANS IN BOLOGNA: CAPTURE OF ANCONA: TROUBLES IN LA VENDEE AND MARSEILLES: OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA AND DEATH OF CASIMIR PERIER.

I. **T**HE Government of July, threatened as it was by so many enemies within, had also declared and secret enemies in most of the foreign Governments, which looked upon its establishment as a danger to all thrones. Amongst the European Powers it had but one ally, Great Britain, which was then engaged in the great question of its Parliamentary Reform, and whose sympathies were enlisted in favour of a revolution in some respects analogous to that which had confirmed its own liberties and power. The new

Prospects and Strength of the New Monarchy.

Monarchy necessarily derived its chief strength from the middle or citizen class, which found in the Charter and the principles avowed by the new Government the faithful expression of its wishes. Enlightened by its interests, it had recognised order and security as the very conditions of its existence. All-powerful in the cities and towns of any importance, it possessed the larger portion of the movable property of the nation, and reckoned amongst its ranks the most enlightened, intelligent, and influential men of the country. It loved itself in the man of its choice, in the able and experienced Prince whom it had raised to the throne; and the new Government, which took for its motto Order, Liberty and Peace, was accepted by it as the best guarantee against the spirit of revolution and of conquest. It was necessary that the Government should be, with respect to domestic affairs, very firm, and decidedly opposed to the spirit of disorder and anarchy; prompt to prevent as well as to restrain the acts of demagogues, and nevertheless the friend of free institutions and of progress; very sympathetic with respect to the lot of the labouring classes, and deeply anxious to amehorate their moral and physical condition. Its task with respect to foreign nations was equally complex, for it was requisite that it should be at once proud and moderate, liberal and yet non-revolutionary, patriotic, bold and yet pacific. The difficulties in the way of the new Government were immense; but its safeguard and security lay in its resting on bases as large as possible amongst the classes more particularly interested in maintaining it—namely, those which 1830 had placed in possession of power, and in whom was the real focus of public opinion. The Charter, finally, could not become a reality if the country did not take a genuine share in the conduct of its own affairs, and if the Government did not remain faithful to its principle and mission. Its task, as we see, was very difficult and complicated, and few even of those who were sincerely attached to the new order of things, and who, after having taken part in establishing it, wished to defend it, understood its full extent. Although unanimous with respect to the end to be attained, they were not so with respect to the means. Some considered that the first, and most necessary thing to be done, was to keep down the revolutionary spirit, and to oppose to demagogism a resistance as courageous as obstinate: many others, on the contrary, saw more danger in resisting the current than in following it. The policy of the members of the two parties was also very different with respect to the relations with foreign nations. Those of the former party, seeing Europe disturbed at what had taken place, were anxious to re-assure it, and to conciliate its various Governments; they joined with the King in desiring the maintenance of treaties and of peace, and dreaded a revolutionary propagandism, the inevitable consequence of which would have been a general conflagration and calamities without number. The latter, on the other hand, thought that the France of July was called upon to support insurrection everywhere, and that the hour had come when, relying

New Parties
in the
Chambers.

upon the sympathies of peoples, a striking revenge should be taken for the affronts of 1815. These two tendencies, in many respects so opposite, caused the partisans of the new *régime* to be classified as the men of resistance and the men of movement. The opinions of the first were dominant in the two Chambers; and were those also of the doctrinaires who, especially at this period, added to the great party of Order a strength as considerable as it was incontestable. Chief among the second were some of the principal leaders of the old Left, or Liberal party—Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Laffitte, Salverte, Benjamin Constant, &c. One of the most distinguished of them was M. Odillon Barrot, a brilliant orator, who was destined to become the chief of a powerful party in the parliamentary opposition. At their head, finally, was General Lafayette, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards. Louis Philippe, at the commencement of his reign, displayed much ability in selecting the most influential members of these two parties to form his Council. The men of resistance were the more numerous in the first Council presided over by the King, in which, by the side of Dupont de l'Eure, the Keeper of the Seals, sat M. Molé as Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Guizot, Minister of the Interior, and M. de Broglie, Minister of Public Instruction and Worship. The existence of this Ministry was brief and agitated, but it provided with intelligence and courage for the necessities of the moment. At its suggestion five millions of francs were voted by the Chambers to be distributed amongst workmen, and they voted a credit of thirty millions as a guarantee for loans and advances to persons engaged in commerce. Other urgent laws were prepared, and the Cabinet at the same time carried on active negotiations with foreign powers. Success crowned its efforts, and the new Monarchy was recognised by all the powers.

First
Ministry.

2. A very serious event, however, occurred to place the peace of Europe in peril. Belgium, united to the Dutch territory by the treaties of 1815, had severed its connection with Holland. King William having demanded the assistance of the Prussian troops to reduce his revolted subjects to obedience, M. Molé put forward the doctrine of non-intervention, and checked the advance of the Prussian army by declaring that if it set foot on the Belgian territory the French army would enter it also. To prevent a European war the Great Powers thereupon agreed to decide between Holland and Belgium. A conference took place for this purpose in London, and Louis Philippe sent Prince Talleyrand to represent France. Whilst the position of affairs was thus disturbed abroad, it was still more alarming at home. A petition for the abolition of capital punishment had been presented to the Chamber of Deputies, and the Chamber had sanctioned the wish that it expressed. Popular outbreaks followed in many parts of Paris in consequence of a rumour having got abroad that this petition had been got up by the Government for the purpose of saving M. de Polignac and other

The Belgian
Revolution,
September,
1830.

Conference
of London.

Tumults in
Paris.

ministers of Charles X., who had been imprisoned in Vincennes, and were awaiting their trial before the Court of Peers. The prefect of the Seine, M. Odillon Barrot, censured the vote of the Deputies in favour of the abolition of capital punishment as injudicious, and, when threatened with deprivation of his office, was supported by several of the Ministers in opposition to their colleagues. There was discord, therefore, in the highest regions of power; and Paris was in a state of partial insurrection when the trial of the Ministers was about to commence. The King, in these critical circumstances, perceived the necessity of having recourse to men possessed of great popularity for the purpose of resisting

**The Laffitte
Ministry.**

the popular torrent, and accepting therefore the resignation of MM. de Broglie, Guizot and Louis, he made M. Jacques Laffitte Minister of Finance, and President of the Council. In spite, however, of the changes in the ministry, while the trial of M. de Polignac and his colleagues lasted, disturbances in Paris continued to rage with a ferocity which called to mind the most fatal days of the Revolution. Calm in the midst of this frightful crisis, and unanimously refusing to pass a capital sentence, the Court of Peers condemned M. de Polignac to transportation, and his three colleagues to perpetual imprisonment. But a savage mob demanded their heads, and threatened to inflict the most desperate outrages on the prisoners and their judges, and its rage was with difficulty held in check by the National Guard. The Minister of the Interior and General Lafayette were foremost in striving to defend the condemned men, and for this purpose nobly risked their lives. Their efforts were successful; Paris was preserved from the horrors of a new 2d September; and the condemned Ministers were conveyed from Vincennes to the castle of Ham to undergo their punishment.

3. During the short existence of this ministry the chambers passed the most liberal and popular laws of the new reign. One law decorated the citizens who had particularly distinguished themselves in the days of July; and others submitted offences committed by the press to the judgment of a jury, rendered the municipal councils elective, and gave a new organisation to the national guard. This latter law confided arms to everyone without distinction, and rendered the appointment of most of the officers a mere matter of election, without any interference on the part of the crown, and thus creating a great danger to the crown.

**Insurrection
of Italy
and Poland.**

Italy fell into a state of insurrection, and the Pope had already lost a great portion of his provinces when, being threatened themselves with the loss of their Lombard and Venetian possessions, the Austrians hastened to interfere, stifled the insurrection, and re-established the shaken throne. About the same time an insurrection burst forth in Poland and almost the whole of the Russian kingdom of Poland fell into the hands of the insurgent nation. The Duchy of Warsaw and its capital believed that they were freed; and the dethronement of the Romanoffs was shortly afterwards declared by the diet. In France

these great events were sympathised with by almost all classes of the population. The revolutionary party loudly demanded that France should simultaneously oppose Russia, which was now preparing to fall upon Poland, Austria, the Conference in London, and the Pope; and loudly demanded war at a time when France had only a disorganised army, when its finances were in the worst possible state, and when its credit was at the lowest ebb. It is to the honour of Louis Philippe that he energetically opposed this dangerous course, and while he did his duty by negotiating in favour of the Poles, he abstained from threatening demonstrations, which, to have been effectual, must have been followed by the revolutionary measures of a sinister epoch. Popular discontent burst forth with renewed violence in Paris on February 13, 1831, on the celebration of a funeral service for the Duc de Berri at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois by a great number of the partisans of the late *régime*, who now began to be commonly called Legitimists. The ceremony proved the means of exciting a fierce riot, which the authorities were slow to suppress. The church and the sacristy were shamefully pillaged, and the archbishop's palace was destroyed. The Chambers, justly indignant, held the government and the municipal authorities responsible for these odious and barbarous acts, and the two prefects of Paris, MM. Baude and Odillon Barrot, were deprived of their offices. At the same time the deputies opened the way for the formation of a new chamber by remodelling the electoral law. This law abolished the double vote, reduced the amount of taxes, the payment of which qualified a man to be eligible as a member of the Chamber of Deputies to five hundred francs, and gave the electoral vote to all who paid two hundred.

4. The frightful scenes which had taken place in Paris were repeated in many of the departments; and to many causes of discontent, trouble and disquietude were added those arising from the alarming state of the finances. On the eve of the dissolution of the Chamber and the Cabinet, M. Laffitte demanded a supplementary credit of two hundred millions for the purpose of meeting the extraordinary necessities of the State; and this supply he only obtained with much difficulty at the hands of an uneasy and angry majority. This and other circumstances, especially the disturbed state of Paris and the principal cities of the kingdom, which paralysed commerce and industry, caused the King to dismiss M. Laffitte and his colleagues and entrust the formation of a new ministry to M. Casimir Périer. In this Cabinet, which was presided over by Casimir Périer as Minister of the Interior, the principal portfolios—those of Justice, Foreign Affairs, War and Finance—were confided to MM. Barthe, Sebastiani, Soult and Baron Louis. Périer laid before the chambers a statement of the policy he intended to pursue; demanded a vote of confidence for the purpose of enabling him to pass the provisional clauses of the budget; and with their concurrence took energetic measures for

Pillage of
Saint-Germain
l'Auxerrois,
February, 1831.

Fall of
the Laffitte
Ministry.

Périer Ministry
March 13, 1831.

the re-establishment of equilibrium in the finances and peace in the streets. The Chamber was dissolved on April 30, and the electoral colleges convoked for the following month of July.

5. The foreign policy of the government at this period as enunciated by M. Périer, was strictly one of non-intervention, based on the principles that foreigners have no right to interfere by force in a nation's internal affairs. This

**Foreign
Policy.**

policy, which was also that of the King, was followed with firmness to Central Italy after the failure of the insurrection, when French diplomacy, adding its efforts to those of the other powers, obtained from the new Pope, Gregory XVI., a formal engagement to introduce into his States many necessary reforms which had been long ardently desired, and persuaded the Austrian government to withdraw its troops from Italian territory. It was necessary, however, to have recourse to arms in Portugal, where the usurper Don Miguel had inflicted the most disgraceful ill-treatment on French subjects. All satisfaction having been refused to the French consul, Admiral Roussin, under the fire of the Portuguese cannon, forced the mouth of the Tagus, destroyed the batteries of the forts, and by this brilliant feat obtained for the French arms a complete reparation for their reverses.

The great question pending between Holland and Belgium kept a portion of Western Europe in continual disquiet. Belgium, according to the decision of the Conference had surrendered to Holland a portion of Limburg and Luxemburg, which was an hereditary possession of the House of Nassau, and which formed, moreover, a portion of the Germanic Confederation; and had taken on itself half the national debt of the previously united countries, on which terms its independence was recognised. The crown of Belgium was first offered to the Duc de Nemours, the second son of Louis Philippe, but as his father declined to allow him to accept it, the Belgians elected as their king, Leopold Prince of Coburg, widower of the Princess Charlotte, who had been heir-presumptive to the English throne; and the marriage of that monarch in the course of the following year with the eldest daughter of the King of the French doubly strengthened the alliance between France and Belgium.

Leopold had scarcely accepted the crown when King William, refusing to acknowledge the armistice, advanced with his troops and marched upon Louvain. Leopold in this extremity demanded the aid of France, and Marshal Gérard immediately entered Belgium at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, before whom the Dutch army fell back without fighting. Belgium was thus a second time saved by France, and three months later, on November 15, a treaty called the "Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles," regulating in a definite and irrevocable manner the separation of the two kingdoms, was signed by Belgium, and the Conference guaranteed to the King of the Belgians the execution of its clauses. At the same time France obtained from the four other great powers, the demolition of the

**Treaty of the
Twenty-Four
Articles, 1831.**

fortresses of Menin, Ath, Philippeville, Mons and Marienbourg, maintained since 1815 as a barrier against France. The treaty,



LEOPOLD I., KING OF BELGIUM.

however, was not accepted by the King of Holland, whose troops occupied Antwerp, and peace was not as yet re-established.

6. The Legislative Session had been open in Paris from the commencement of hostilities. The Chamber passed, amongst other financial laws, one which fixed the civil list for the reign at twelve millions, an amount less by more than one-half than that of the previous civil list. But the chief business of the session was the revision of the article of the charter relating to the peerage, which was changed from an hereditary one into one for life; and although the Crown preserved the right of nominating its members, it could only select them from certain classes.

The Chamber had sat for some weeks only when great excitement was produced throughout France by the fall of Warsaw. A general cry in favour of assisting her arose in Paris, and the public wish became manifested in noisy demonstrations which soon became seditious, and which had to be suppressed by force. The agitation produced by the affairs of Poland was not calmed when a formidable insurrection burst forth in Lyons, caused by a great depression in the silk trade which threw eighty thousand operatives out of work and the means of subsistence. The insurrection was suppressed by force, but no measures were taken by the Government to relieve the suffering workmen and their families, suitable to the emergency of the occasion.

Although the suppression of the revolt in Lyons tended to strengthen the Ministry, numerous conspiracies were now set on foot in Paris for the restoration of the Republic, the Empire and the eldest branch of the Bourbons; but the energy of the Government enabled it to triumph over all these plots, and its attention was speedily called to foreign affairs in respect to Italy.

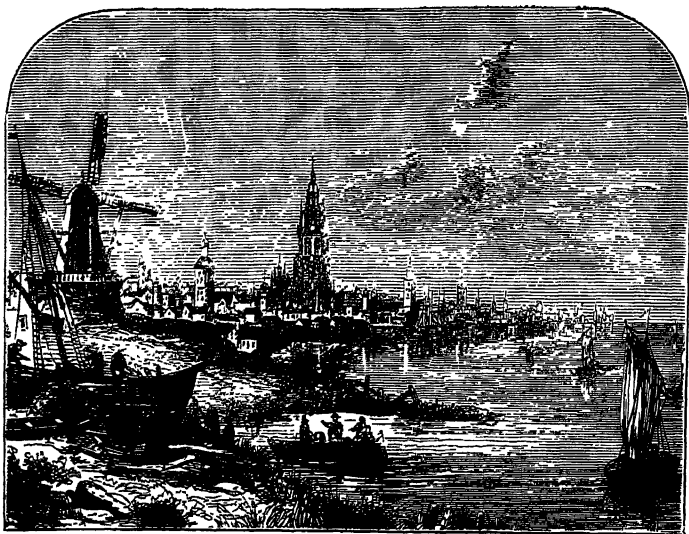
7. The promises exacted from the Pontifical Government had not been kept, and no reform had been made in an administration which was arbitrary, oppressive and absolute. The irritated people again rose in the Pontifical States, and the Austrians, having been called to his aid by Gregory XVI., took possession of Bologna. The French Government, indignant at finding its intervention despised and the most formal engagements ignored, resolved to enforce by arms in Central Italy the principal of non-intervention. A naval division carrying troops, under the command of Colonel Combes, was ordered to proceed to and take possession of Ancona. This order was rapidly executed, and on February 22 the city of Ancona, with its citadel, were in the hands of the French.

By this bold and violent act of aggression Casimir Périer provoked not only the anger of the Court of Rome but the loud remonstrances of the other European powers. The occupation of Ancona, however, was popular in France; the Chambers approved the act of the Minister, and the bitter complaints made against the Government abroad strengthened it at home. La Vendée and Marseilles. La Vendée was at this time the scene of sanguinary disturbances, and in Marseilles an attempt at insurrection instigated by the Legitimists, who were agitating in the south for

the purpose of raising the Duc de Bordeaux to the throne, had been suppressed (April, 1832), when the cholera appeared in Paris, where it made great ravages. It carried off Casimir Péri-^{Outbreak of}er, and to all the private causes for mourning there ^{cholera.} Death was thus added a great public one. The legislative ^{of Casimir Pér-}session, which closed a few days before his death, left ^{ier,} May, 1832. France in a precarious and disturbed state, but at least inspired with the salutary conviction that a general war might be avoided, and that the demon of civil war, revolt and anarchy was not invincible.



THE VENDÔME COLUMN, PARIS.



ANTWERP.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMPTE-RENDU—CONFLICTS OF THE 5th AND 6th JUNE—CIVIL WAR—THE MINISTRY FROM THE 11th OCTOBER TO THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1834.

May, 1832—June, 1834.

1. COMPTE-RENDU OF THE OPPOSITION: REPUBLICAN INSURRECTION: CIVIL WAR IN THE WEST: STATE OF AFFAIRS IN HOLLAND. 2. MINISTRY OF OCTOBER, 1832: FOREIGN POLICY: TREATY OF THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE: TURKISH AFFAIRS—TREATY OF UNKIAR-SKELESSI. 3. LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS, 1832-1834: THE SECRET SOCIETIES: PERIODICAL PRESS TRIALS: LAW ON ASSOCIATION: REFUSAL OF INDEMNITY DUE TO UNITED STATES: CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY. 4. REPUBLICAN INSURRECTION IN THE PROVINCES: STRUGGLES IN PARIS: REPRESSIVE LAWS: CLOSE OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1834.

1. **T**HE death of Casimir Périer altered but very slightly the composition of the Cabinet, in which M. de Montalivet, who gave up the portfolio of Public Instruction to M. Girard, became Minister of the Interior. The situation of the country was serious, and its perils, as well as the faults which had been committed, were pointed out with much bitterness in a document celebrated under the name of the *Compte-rendu*, which was signed by the Deputies of the Opposition. What was true in this document was

*Compte-rendu
of the
Opposition.*

misconstrued and did not bear fruit, and what was false and dangerous in it did much harm. The *Compte-rendu* inflamed the popular passions to the highest point, and hastened, perhaps, the explosion of a republican insurrection which placed the monarchy in the greatest peril.

After the death of Casimir Périer hope returned to the parties which had been held in check by his vigorous hand; they became eager to try their strength once more; and they found an opportunity of doing so at the funeral ceremony of General Lamarque, whose obsequies attracted, on June 5, 1832, an immense concourse of persons, most of whom came armed. An insurrection suddenly burst forth to the cries of "Down with Louis Philippe!" "Long live the Republic!" and it was not until after a severe struggle, which lasted till the evening of July 6, that it was suppressed.

Republican
insurrection.
July 5 and 6,
1832.

At this time civil war burst forth in the west, excited by the presence of the Duchesse de Berri. This was speedily repressed by force and the duchess herself was betrayed at Nantes and imprisoned in the citadel of Blaye, where she gave birth to a child. On this her marriage with M. Luchesi Palli, a Neapolitan marquis, was made public and the duchess was liberated as being no longer worth detention. To all these causes of agitation and alarm were added great anxiety with respect to the opposition made by the King of the Netherlands to the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles. It was proposed to deprive the Dutch of the citadel of Antwerp and some fortresses which were still occupied by their troops, and France and England agreed to act in concert in this measure, and overcome the King's resistance by force.

Civil War in
the West.

2. In the presence of so many perils the new monarchy had more than ever need of the strength derived from unity of opinion among the moderate men of all parties, and the recognised necessity of this led to the formation of the Ministry of October, 1832, in which, under Marshal Soult as the nominal head, the most eminent of the doctrinaires, MM. de Broglie and Guizot, were united with some very important members of the Left Centre, MM. Thiers, Barthe and Humann. The new Ministry pursued the same policy as Casimir Périer, and the particular characteristic of their administration was a steady resistance made to the Legitimist party on the one hand and the revolutionary demagogues on the other.

Ministry of
October, 1832.

The foreign policy of the Ministry was wanting neither in force nor dignity. The Government everywhere showed itself, in a just and moderate manner, favourable to the constitutional cause, whilst it avoided putting the peace of Europe in peril, and with this object strengthened its alliance with England. In accordance with the arrangement already entered into with that power, a French army entered Belgium and laid siege to Antwerp, which capitulated in December and was handed over to the Belgian government. In Spain the government

Foreign policy
1832-1834.

promised assistance, if necessary, to Maria Christina, the widow of the late King Ferdinand VII., in defence of the rights of the Infanta Isabella, then two years old, against Don Carlos, her uncle and rival to the throne; and in Portugal lent support to the cause of the young Queen Donna Maria against her uncle Don Miguel, by participating in a treaty with England, Spain and Portugal, by which the Regent of Portugal and the Queen-regent of Spain undertook to unite their efforts for the expulsion of the Infants Don Carlos and Don Miguel. The King of Great Britain and the King of the French promised to assist towards this end in a defined and limited manner. Such was the famous treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, which was signed in April, 1834, between the four constitutional Courts of the West.

In the East Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who had revolted against his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, had occupied the whole of Syria and defeated the Turkish troops at Konieh. On this the Sultan appealed to Russia for aid, but France and England induced Ibrahim to desist from further attacks on Turkey, in consideration of the annexation of Syria to Egypt. After the withdrawal of the Russian fleet, which had been sent into the Bosphorus, it became known that a secret treaty had been concluded at Unkiar-Skelessi (July, 1833), between the Ottoman Porte and Russia, by which the Sultan undertook, in return for the Czar's perpetual protection, to close the Dardanelles against all foreign ships of war. England and France vehemently protested against this treaty, and being supported by Austria, forced the Czar to refrain from availing himself of the advantages exacted by the convention from the weakness of the Sultan.

3. The Cabinet of October 11, supported by a majority in each of the two Chambers, procured the adoption of some useful and important laws during the years 1833 and 1834. The finances were restored to a regular state and an excellent law was introduced by M. Guizot and passed, providing for primary instruction for children in every commune of France; but as this at first slightly increased the communal taxes, the poor country population looked upon it at first rather as a new charge than a benefit. The working classes still suffered from the disorder in industrial and commercial affairs caused by the Revolution of 1830; and their discontent with the existing state of affairs was materially increased and sustained

by the action of the secret societies, which were for the most part born of the Revolution of 1830. The chief of these was the Society of the Rights of Man, whose chief aim was the establishment of the Republic of 1792. These societies were closely connected with the editorial committees of the democratic journals, against which the Government brought a multitude of actions, in which it was not always successful; and they seemed to derive an increased boldness, as well from the judgments which condemned their conductors as from those which acquitted them.

The popular passions were influenced by the expression of hatred and fury of parties, not only in the journals, but also in a multitude of frightfully cynical pamphlets, which were cried in the public streets and distributed by tens of thousands under the protection of the law. It was necessary to modify the existing state of the law on this point, and the Chambers passed a law which submitted the profession of crier and seller of writings on the public ways to the surveillance of the municipal authorities. The Government also submitted to the Chambers another preventive law, which forbade the existence of any association for religious, political or other purposes, unless sanctioned by a Government license, which was always revocable. This law could not touch secret societies, whilst it over-stepped its object by depriving peaceable citizens of natural and vital liberty, and seriously attacked the liberty of worship granted by the charter. Having been adopted on March 25 by the Deputies, it passed the Chambers of Peers on April 9 (1834). But during this short interval an unexpected vote of the Deputies had led to important modifications in the compositions of the Cabinet, without altering either its tendency or course of action. This vote was caused by the presentation of a proposal for the payment of an indemnity demanded by the United States for American vessels captured by the French ships during the Empire, and which had been fixed, in 1831, at twenty-five millions by a treaty executed between France and America. A portion of the Opposition, nevertheless, denounced the proposal as an act of weakness, and it was rejected by a majority of six. M. de Broglie, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, would not submit to this rebuff, and resigned his portfolio. He was succeeded by Admiral de Rigny; M. Thiers, whilst retaining the portfolio of Public Works, became Minister of the Interior; M. Duchatel had the portfolio of Trade; and M. Persil replaced M. Barthe as Minister of Justice.

Refusal of
indemnity
due to
United States
Changes in
the Ministry.

4. Everything now conspired to bring about a final struggle with the Republicans, who were indignant at the indefinite and fatal adjournment of many popular measures which had been promised in principle by the charter of 1830, and at the neglect of many others which had been extolled by the men now in power. Imbued as they were with the principle that the sovereignty properly resided in the people, they regarded the new power as an usurped power, which the people had not been called upon to sanction; and, as has been very truthfully observed, nothing appears more intolerable to a man than to have to obey those who appear to him to have no right to command his obedience. The struggle commenced in the departments. Lyons and many other cities, such as Saint Etienne, Clermont Ferrand, Vienne, Châlons, Artois, Luneville, Grenoble and Marseilles, were almost simultaneously the theatres of insurrections or serious disturbances. In every direction the branches of the secret societies gave the signal for revolution, calling all the enemies of the Government to arms. In Lyons a reduction in the wages of the workmen, made

Republican
insurrection
in the
Provinces.

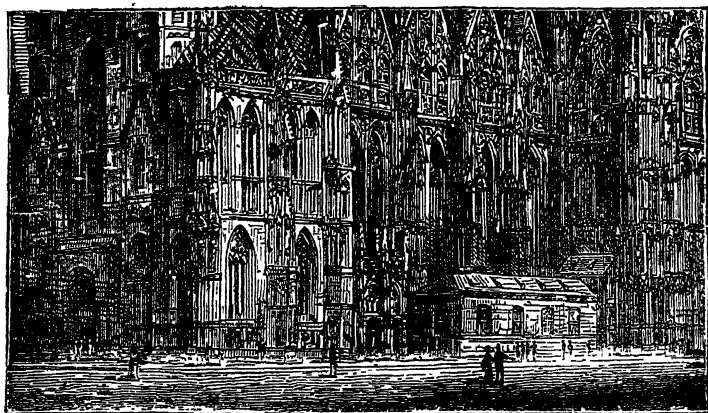
by some of the master-manufacturers, caused a strike, and the arrest of the ringleaders emboldened the Republicans to make an attempt to secure the city. Barricades were erected, and it was only after a struggle which lasted for five days that the revolt was quelled. It had been vanquished, indeed, in all the departments, when it appeared in Paris, where it had already lost its principal leaders. On April 13 the signal was given for the attack, and the Republicans opened fire on the military.

Struggle in
Paris, 1834.

The conflict, which was intrepidly maintained by the National Guard and the troops of the line, who were brigaded together under the orders of Marshal Lobau, lasted two days, and on April 14 the insurrection was put down in Paris. Many prisoners had been made in all the cities in which it had burst forth, and, as their guilty attempts all referred to one vast conspiracy, their trial was referred to the Court of Peers. To prevent the recurrence of similar attempts, the Government presented to the Chambers the projects of two laws, which were passed in the following session, one of which increased the strength of the army, whilst the other prohibited the possession of arms and munitions of war. A few days afterwards the session was brought to a close, and the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. The Government fixed June 21 for the general election, which resulted in the return of but few openly-declared Republicans, while twenty Legitimists, including M. Berryer, were sent to the new Chamber, and the ranks of the Conservative party were considerably augmented in point of number, but weakened through the want of that unanimity of opinion which had hitherto prevailed among the members of this party.



GRENOBLE.



CHAPTER III.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS; RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CABINET OF OCTOBER 11—THE LAWS OF SEPTEMBER—DISSOLUTION OF THE CABINET. April, 1834—February, 1836.

- I. MINISTERIAL CRISIS: MARSHAL GERARD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL: THE THIRD PARTY: PROPOSED AMNESTY: DISMISSAL OF MARSHAL GERARD: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CABINET BY THE DUC DE BROGLIE.
2. TRIAL OF THE APRIL RIOTERS: ATTEMPT OF FIESCHI ON THE KING'S LIFE: LAWS OF SEPTEMBER: FALL OF THE CABINET.

I. **T**HE state of Algeria gave rise, immediately after the elections of 1834, to a fresh ministerial modification, the real cause of which was the want of a good understanding between Marshal Soult, the President of the Council, and its most influential and eloquent members, MM. Guizot and Thiers. The entirely military nature of the Government of the French possessions in Africa, which was obstinately defended by Marshal Soult, the Minister of War and President of the Cabinet, had given rise to numerous abuses, and in the eyes of many the moment seemed to have come when it ought to be replaced by a civil administration. This opinion was that of MM. Thiers and Guizot, as well as of the majority of the members of the Council. The Marshal, persisting in his views, tendered his resignation. The King accepted it, and appointed as his successor Marshal Gerard, one of the most eminent members of a body in the Chamber, which now began to be known as the "Third Party," and which was composed of Conservatives, who thought the policy advo-

Ministerial crisis.

Marshal Gerard President of the Council, 1834.

cated by the party of resistance was too irritating and dangerous to be persisted in, and, while they were averse to the opinions expressed by the party of progress, thought it was time to initiate conciliatory measures, and endeavour to effect a compromise

The "Third Party."

between the ardent and irreconcilable views and desires of the other parties. The elections of 1834 raised the numerical state of the Third Party to eighty deputies.

Marshal Gerard thought that the time had come for the declaration of a general amnesty. He had always expressed a wish that

Proposed Amnesty.

it might be granted; and, now that he had become the head of the Cabinet, he insisted upon obtaining it, being in this supported by the Third Party, but opposed by the majority in the Council and the two Chambers. The Marshal's wish, in fact, appeared to be premature; for the two thousand accused persons, who had been taken with arms in their hands, relying on their numbers, and encouraged from without, for the most part protested in advance against any pardon, and defied the Government to try them. Under these circumstances an amnesty was impossible, and the King was right in refusing it.

Dismissal of Marshal Gerard.

This refusal caused the retirement of Marshal Gerard, which was speedily followed by the resignation of almost the whole Cabinet. The long and anxious crisis that followed lasted eight months, during which we find a ministry of three days' duration, under the presidency of the Duc de Bassano, and then the old Cabinet, reconstructed

Reconstruction of the Cabinet by the Duc de Broglie.

under the Duc de Trevisa, which lasted three months. At length, on March 12, 1835, the policy of October 12 still prevailing, the Duc de Broglie accepted the presidency of the Council, and was joined by MM. Thiers and Guizot.

2. The persons inculpated in the great trial now to be carried on before the Court of Peers, numbering about two thousand, were divided into classes, according to the cities

Trial of the April rioters.

in which the insurrection had broken out. With respect to the greater number, it was declared that there was no evidence against them, and they were set at liberty. The Court summoned before it a hundred and sixty-four accused persons, only forty-three of whom were contumacious. It was continually interrupted by the violence of the accused, encouraged by the journals of the Opposition and the sympathy, openly expressed, of many members of the extreme left in the Chamber of Deputies. Twenty-eight of the principal prisoners contrived to escape. Of the remainder, a hundred and six accused persons, including many who were tried in their absence, were found guilty and sentenced to various punishments, the severest of which was transportation. The Court of Peers displayed, in the conduct of this difficult matter, as much moderation as courage, and was really the rampart of threatened society. The trials lasted nine months, and long before their conclusion public attention was diverted from it by an attempt to assassinate the King on July 28, 1835, when on

his way to hold a review of the National Guards. The royal cortège had already arrived as far as the Boulevard du Temple when suddenly a jet of flame, followed by a loud report, ^{Attempt on the King's Life by Fieschi.} issued from a neighbouring house. On every side of the King there arose frightful cries. The monarch and his sons were spared, but the ground around them was covered with killed and wounded. Forty persons were struck, and eighteen mortally injured; Marshal Mortier, General Lachasse de Vérigny, two colonels, several National Guards and a young girl, being amongst the latter. A ball had grazed the King's forehead; another had penetrated the coat of the Duc de Broglie, and five generals were amongst the wounded. The instrument of the crime was an infernal machine, armed with twenty-five barrels, directed towards the Boulevard, and had been invented by a Corsican named Fieschi, the principal author of the plot. He was seized, together with his accomplices, Marcy and Pepin, and tried by the Court of Peers. All three were condemned to death, and died upon the scaffold.

A few days after the solemn funeral of the victims, the Chambers were convoked, and the Keeper of the Seals presented to the deputies the drafts of three laws relative to the Court of Assize, to juries and to the press. These laws were ^{Laws of September, 1835.} all intended to protect the King, his family and the new monarchy, against the hatred and fury of their enemies, and some of their clauses tended directly to this end. The latter abridged the proceedings before the courts of assize; gave greater independence to juries by means of the introduction of the system of secret voting; prohibited the journals from making any attack upon the King and the members of his family, or the principle even of the established government, and increased the responsibility of the conductors of them. But to these measures, which circumstances rendered reasonable, the Government had added others, which diminished in the Courts of assize the chance of acquittal hitherto possessed by the accused, demanded enormous securities from the journals, and subjected them to exorbitant fines; and finally, in certain cases, in direct opposition to the sixty-ninth article of the charter, removed the consideration of crimes of the press from juries by enabling the Government at its will to declare them to be outrages against the Crown, and thus cause them to be tried by the Court of Peers. In spite of a serious opposition, led in the Chamber of Deputies by Royer-Collard, who had kept silence for many years, and by MM. Villemain and de Montalembert in the Chamber of Peers, the projects were adopted and converted into laws, which have remained famous under the name of the "Laws of September." The effect of these laws, which intimated an intention on the part of the Government to persevere in a course of severity, strengthened the links that connected the sections of the Opposition and increased the want of harmony among the Conservatives, while at the same time they did not strengthen the Ministry. France was, it is true, peaceable during the four

months which followed their promulgation, but this calm was only the natural result of the depression felt by the republican party after so many defeats, and the Cabinet was overthrown at the commencement of the following session (1836) on the question of the conversion of the Rentes, which was carried in the Chamber against the Cabinet by a majority of two—a majority narrow enough, it is true, but sufficient to compel the resignation of Ministers, who had imprudently made the decision of the Chamber on this serious subject a question as to their Ministerial existence.

Fall of the
Cabinet.
February, 1836.



THIERS




STRASBURG.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST MINISTRY OF M. THIERS—MINISTRY OF M. MOLE TILL THE COALITION. *February, 1836—December, 1838.*

1. SEPARATION OF M. GUIZOT FROM M. THIERS: LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS: ATTEMPT OF ALIBAUD: FALL OF CRACOW. 2. FRENCH POLICY IN SPAIN AND SWITZERLAND: DISMISSAL OF M. THIERS. 3. MINISTRY OF M. MOLÉ: LOUIS NAPOLEON AT STRASBURG: PROCEEDINGS IN ALGERIA. 4. LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1836-37: IRRITATING LAWS IN THE CHAMBERS: CHANGES IN THE MOLE CABINET: WITHDRAWAL OF THE OFFENSIVE PROJECTS: GENERAL AMNESTY: DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES: RESULT OF THE NEW ELECTION. 5. FOREIGN POLICY: TREATY OF TAFNA: CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINE: NAVAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST MEXICO: MARRIAGE OF THE DUC D'ORLEANS.

1.  HE principal fact which marked the formation of the new Ministry was the separation of M. Thiers from M. Guizot and the doctrinaires. None of the latter had places in the Cabinet formed by M. Thiers, in which he was himself Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in which sat three members of the Third Party, MM. Sauzet, Pelet (of La Lozère), and Passy, who were respectively Ministers of Justice, Public Instruction and Commerce. This Ministry, which had declared that there could be no alteration in the conduct of the Government, and that it still adhered to the policy of resistance, lasted a still shorter time than the preceding one, and, amongst the small number of measures carried into execution during its administration, we should mention one useful law for facilitating the construction of country roads, and a praiseworthy sacrifice

Separation of
M. Guizot from
M. Thiers.

made to public morality of a revenue of about six millions by the suppression of gaming houses. The session was brought to a close in June, 1836, and a few days afterwards the King providentially escaped another attack made against his person. The author of this crime was a young fanatic named Alibaud, who, being tried and condemned by the Court of Peers, lost his head upon the scaffold. Tranquillity now began to be re-established in the interior, but the political horizon was gloomy abroad. The last

remains of the ancient independence of Poland perished **Fall of Cracow.** with the republic of Cracow, which was occupied jointly by Russia, Prussia and Austria, under the pretence of stifling and destroying a focus of political troubles.

2. Switzerland at this time appeared an asylum to the revolutionists, and M. Thiers, in compelling their expulsion, excited in

Switzerland an unfortunate feeling of resentment against the French Government. In Spain the horrors of civil war were added to the hideous spectacle of anarchy and a demagogic revolution. Carlists and Christinos

rivalled each other in fury and cruelty, and in July, 1836, the Queen-mother invoked the clauses of the treaty of the quadruple alliance for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the powers who had signed it against Don Carlos. The only foreign auxiliaries of the constitutional cause at that time in the Queen's armies consisted of a legion of about three thousand men of various nations, called the Foreign Legion, and a small body of English volunteers, under General Evans. King Louis Philippe was reluctant to engage the French Government in the sanguinary struggle which was then going on, but M. Thiers proposed that the Spanish Government should recruit from the army of observation of the Pyrenees a sufficient number of volunteers to raise the Foreign Legion to ten thousand men, who were to be placed under the orders of a French general, and act in concert with the corps under General Evans. Louis Philippe sanctioned this project, but before it was carried into execution, a military insurrection burst forth, in the month of August, in Spain, and the Queen-Regent was compelled to subscribe to the constitution of 1812, in which royalty was a mere phantom. In this new crisis, Louis Philippe wished the volunteers incorporated in the Foreign Legion to be dismissed; whilst M. Thiers insisted that they should be retained at their flags, to be ready to act when order should be re-established. As his views were directly opposed by the King he resigned his portfolio; all his colleagues, with the exception of M. Montalivet, followed his example, and the Ministry was dissolved.

3. The formation of a new Ministry was now entrusted to M. Molé, under whom, as Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the Council, M. Guizot had the portfolio of Public Instruction, M. de Gasparin that of the Interior, and M. Duchatel that of Finance. The existence of this Cabinet was a very agitated one. The relations between France and Switzerland became embittered; and the dis-

**Ministry of M.
Molé, September,
1836.**

turbed relations between the two countries precipitated, probably, the execution of a plot, the author of which was Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of the ex-King of Holland. This prince, who had been brought up in Switzerland at the castle of Arenberg by the Queen Hortense, his mother, had associated himself in 1831, whilst still very young, with the disastrous enterprise of the Italian patriots, and since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II.), which took place in 1832, he considered himself heir to his uncle's imperial throne, and did not doubt that he should some day sit on it. Deceived by the secret encouragements of various influential persons, he believed that France was ready to substitute an imperial government for that of July, and that he would only have to appear, to secure a fortress and a few regiments, and to march to Paris, to be saluted Emperor by the whole of France. During the night of October 30 the prince secretly entered the city, gathered together his accomplices, and endeavoured to raise all the troops and the inhabitants to the cry of "Long live Napoleon! Long live liberty!" The attempt, however, proved a failure, for the garrison and the inhabitants proved faithful to the King, and, after a short struggle, the prince and the principal conspirators were made prisoners. The latter were given over to the hands of justice; but Louis Napoleon, the author and whole soul of the plot, was set at liberty. The French arms at this period experienced a great disaster in Africa, where Marshal Clausel had recently succeeded Count d'Erlon as Governor-General of Algeria.

Louis Napoleon
at Strasburg.
October, 1836.



ABD-EL-KADER.

The war was carried on with the utmost vigour during the whole of the old Regency; and whilst Abd-el-Kader, the Emir Maskara, who was considered by the Arabs as the leader of the Holy War, held the French troops in check in the province of Oran, they had to repulse in the east, in the province of Bona, the continual and murderous attacks of the Bey of Constantine. The capture of this latter place was considered by Marshal Clausel as indispensable to the security as well as to the development of the French possessions in Africa, and he led an expedition against it consisting of 8,000 infantry,

Proceedings in
Algeria.

1,500 horse, two batteries of howitzers, and eight field pieces. An assault on the town failed, and the Marshal was compelled to order a retreat, in which he lost one-third of his army.

4. The Legislative Session opened in December, 1836, under the painful impression caused by this reverse, and a fresh attempt against the King's life. The address of the two Chambers in reply to the speech from the throne had scarcely been voted, when there arrived news of the strange result of the trial of the accomplices of Prince Louis Napoleon at Strasburg, who were acquitted on the pretext that the principal person accused had been withdrawn from his judges and the verdict of the jury. To this unexpected result the Ministry replied by presenting several irritating laws increasing the power of the Government against the subject; while at the same time, by an unfortunate coincidence, it demanded of the Chambers a sum of a million for the dowry of the Queen of the Belgians, and an allowance for the Duc de Nemours.

The public mind was excited by all these projects, at which the Opposition displayed both surprise and irritation, and the difficulties of the position were still further increased by the rejection of the law of disjunction for trying military prisoners apart from civilians implicated in the same crime, which the Chamber of Deputies threw out on the 9th March by a majority of two. M. Molé perceived that the moment had come for moderating the rigorous system which had hitherto been in force. A ministerial crisis ensued, during which the King applied successively to M. Guizot and M. Thiers, inviting them to form a cabinet, but each of them had to give up the task. The King then returned to M. Molé, who, resolved to adopt a conciliatory policy, took four new colleagues, MM. Barthe, Montalivet, Salvandy, Lacave-Laplagne, and they held respectively the portfolios of Justice, the Interior, Public Instruction and Finance. Thus was formed the Ministry of the 15th April, 1837, under the presidency of M. Molé, a cabinet which did not reckon amongst its members any of the great orators of the Elective Chamber, although it was composed of capable and enlightened men, who were animated by a desire for the general welfare. The first acts of the new Ministry tended to inaugurate a more conciliatory policy. The irritating projects recently presented to the Chamber relative to a settlement on the Duc de Nemours, the punishment of persons who should fail to reveal conspiracies, and the substitution of solitary confinement for transportation, were withdrawn, and the King granted an amnesty to all persons accused of political offence. No important change, however, was

Irritating laws in the Chambers, 1837. made in the general conduct either of home or foreign affairs. After the session the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the month of October appointed for the general elections. The Radical party concentrated all its forces for the electoral struggle which was about to commence, but all its efforts only resulted in the return of a few more Republican deputies. The Third Party also gained many new members, and

General Amnesty.

the various parties in the Chamber remained, in spite of the introduction of many fresh members, almost of the same respective strength as formerly. The Ministry of M. Molé did not make much greater efforts than preceding ministries to carry out in a liberal spirit the promises of the charter, and it failed to pay any more attention than they had paid to the social questions, properly so called, which had for their especial object the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, and which now began to occupy public attention. Whatever reproaches, however, the Ministry of M. Molé may have justly incurred, it must be acknowledged that the period which elapsed from the 15th April, 1837, to its fall, was a prosperous period, the most fruitful in useful laws in proportion to its duration, and the most tranquil of all the reign. The rise in the public funds now announced that public confidence, as well as the material and financial condition of the kingdom, was improving. The industry of the country had been immensely developed, and the construction of some of the great French railways commenced at this period.

5. France, in the meantime, maintained its rank and influence abroad. Ancona, indeed, was evacuated before the accomplishment of the reform promised by the Roman Government; but this evacuation only took place after the evacuation of the Pontifical territory by the Austrians themselves. The Dutch-Belgian question was finally settled at this period by the acquiescence of the King of the Netherlands in the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles. The Cabinet displayed at first some weakness in its conduct with respect to Algeria. It committed the fault of ratifying the Treaty of Tafna, concluded between Abd-el-Kader and General Bugeaud, May, 1837, a convention by which the Emir acknowledged indeed the sovereignty of France in Algeria, but by which also a considerable portion of the old territory occupied by the French troops was ceded to the Arabs. This unfortunate treaty however, was gloriously atoned for by the brilliant success of a new expedition made by the French army against Constantine. The town was carried by assault, October, 1837, and its possession extended and confirmed the power of France over all the tribes of that province. France had at this time just demands to make or offences to punish in various countries of the new world; in Hayti, in the Argentine Republic, now tyrannised over by President Rosas, and in Mexico; and she everywhere made her power respected. The French navy in particular covered itself with glory in the expedition directed against Mexico by Admiral Baudin, who was valiantly seconded by the Prince de Joinville, the third son of the King of the French. This rapid campaign was terminated by the attack on, and glorious capture of, the Fort Saint Jean d'Ulloa, the principal defence of Vera Cruz. That place capitulated, and the victory obtained by the French squadron was subsequently followed by a treaty, the conditions of which were dictated by France.

Dissolution of
the Chamber of
Deputies, 1837.

Foreign policy.

Capture of Con-
stantine, Oct.,
1837.

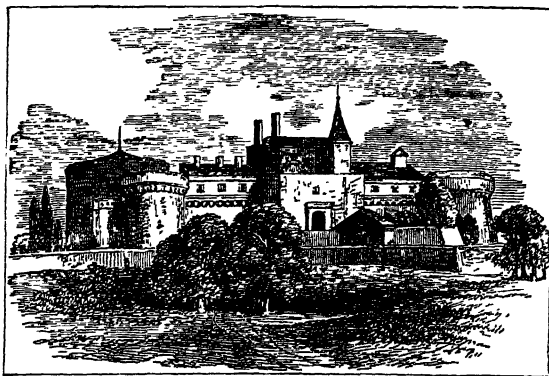
Naval cam-
paign against
Mexico, 1837.

Louis Philippe was at this time at the height of his greatness. He celebrated at Fountainebleau the marriage fêtes of his eldest son, the Duc d'Orleans, who espoused the Princess Helen of Mecklenburg Schwerin, the rare qualities of whose mind and heart rendered her worthy of the throne.

The same year witnessed the splendid inauguration of the historical galleries of Versailles ; fortune continued to smile upon him ; a grandson was born to him, and no mourning had yet fallen upon his brilliant family ; no sombre cloud, in spite of the existence in the country of so much implacable hatred, hung between the King and his people.



CONSTANTINE.



FORTRESS OF HAM WHERE LOUIS NAPOLEON WAS IMPRISONED.

CHAPTER V.

THE COALITION—MINISTRY OF THE THIRD PARTY—SECOND MINISTRY OF M. THIERS, 1839-1840.

1. COALITION AGAINST M. MOLE : LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1838-39 : DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS : DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBERS. 2. GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1839 : RESIGNATION OF THE MOLE MINISTRY : REPUBLICAN INSURRECTION. 3. MINISTRY OF MARSHAL SOULT : LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS, 1839 : LAW OF ENDOWMENT FOR THE DUC DE NEMOURS : FALL OF THE MINISTRY. 4. M. THIERS' SECOND MINISTRY : THE REMAINS OF NAPOLEON BROUGHT BACK TO FRANCE : LOUIS NAPOLEON AT BOULOGNE-SUR-MER : HIS TRIAL AND CAPTIVITY. 5. EVENTS IN SPAIN : THE EASTERN QUESTION : TREATY BETWEEN THE POWERS : FRENCH ARMAMENTS : DISMISSAL OF THE THIERS MINISTRY : MINISTRY OF OCTOBER 29.

1. **A**LTHOUGH M. Molé had found it necessary in the reconstruction of his cabinet to exclude M. Guizot from any office in it, it was on the members of the two Centres, who were more particularly under the influence of MM. Guizot and Thiers, that the President of the Council found himself forced to rely. But the motive spirit of the Government no longer came from them, and appeared, too openly, to emanate beyond the walls of the Chambers from the Royal will, which was obeyed by the officers of the Crown and the crowd of functionaries who sat on the Conservative benches. The leaders of the old majority, although far from satisfied with the secondary position in which they were placed, appeared at first to be resigned to it, and the Ministry held power so long as they afforded it their support. They became weary, at length, of this state of affairs, and being too weak to govern by themselves, formed

Coalition
against
M. Molé.

a league against the Cabinet with the Third Party and their old adversaries of the moderate Left. The struggle openly commenced in the journals in the interest of the now united parties. M. Duvergier de Hauranne, a zealous spokesman of the doctrinaire party, accused the administration of M. Molé in the *Revue Française* of incapacity and weakness; whilst the Conservative journals, with the exception of the *Presse* and the *Débats*, rivalled the violence, in this intestine war, of the papers most hostile to the monarchy. It was imputed as a crime to the Government that it had abandoned the foreign policy of 1830, and sacrificed to the preservation of peace the interests and dignity of France in Italy, Switzerland and Belgium; and the alleged encroachments of the Crown in the conduct of affairs were loudly denounced. From the very commencement of the Session the virulent attacks of the press were reproduced in the debates in the two Chambers on the discussion of the address to the King, and were almost entirely concentrated on these two chief points: the inefficiency or cowardice of the Cabinet in its relations with the Crown, its bad management of foreign affairs, its forgetfulness of French interests and of the Liberal cause in Italy, where Ancona had been evacuated without any guarantee, and in Belgium, which had been compelled to sacrifice two provinces; and finally, the abuse of the name of France in Switzerland, where the Government had offended the Diet by forcing upon it in most imperious and insulting terms the expulsion of Prince Louis Napoleon, who had returned thither after the failure of his enterprise at Strasbourg. The struggle was most violent in the Chamber of Deputies, which appointed to draw up the address to the King a committee chiefly consisting of members of the lately united parties. The latter drew up the address in terms very hostile to the Ministry, whose responsibility it declared not to be sufficiently genuine, and its language was somewhat insulting to the King himself, whom it invited, in an indirect manner and with a show of respect, to confine himself, with the other powers of the State, within constitutional limits. M. Molé, with the assistance of MM. de Salvandy, Marthe and Montalivet, the Ministers of Public Instruction, Justice and the Interior, succeeded in procuring some modification of the hostile paragraphs of the address drawn up by the committee, but he could only obtain a majority of eight votes in favour of the modification

and as this majority did not appear to him sufficiently strong to enable him to carry on the government, he procured from the King the dissolution of the Chambers, and appealed to the country by means of a general election.

2. The electoral struggle now descended from the high ground of the general interests to angry and personal debates between the members of the old Conservative party. The Coalition formed as many managing committees as there were political parties within it, and these committees were agreed to give the preference to the candidates of the most extreme Opposition over those of the Ministry. The Cabinet, driven to bay, made a supreme effort, employed without stint against its adversaries all the dangerous weapons which

centralisation placed in its hands, and made use of its whole administrative strength to influence the elections. But it was no longer in a position in which it was capable of controlling them. The consequence was that M. Molé was vanquished by numbers, although the public opinion of his talents was considerably raised. He sent in his resignation and it was accepted. The weakness of the three principal leaders of the Coalition, after a doubtful victory, showed the rashness of their enterprise. Incapable of uniting for the purpose of governing, they were severally powerless to govern alone. By none of the numerous combinations attempted by the King could MM. Guizot, Thiers and Odillon Barrot be so associated as to give to each that share of influence or authority which he had a right to claim. They all failed, one after the other, and as it was found absolutely impossible to form at this juncture a durable administration, recourse was had to an intermediate or transition Cabinet, which died only a few weeks after its creation, without leaving any trace. In proportion as the friends of the constitutional Monarchy became discouraged, the hopes of the demagogues became raised; and from all this chaos there resulted, on the 12th May, a furious *émeute*, which was set on foot by the members of the secret society of the Seasons,* which advocated the equal division of property and the abolition of all laws which guaranteed its possession. The principal leaders of the Society of the Seasons were Blanqui, Barbès and Martin Bernard; and these men, forced to act with rash premeditation by those whose hopes they had cherished, ordered a general rising for the 12th May, 1839. The insurgents hoisted the red flag, and surprised the Hôtel de Ville and several other important positions. The National Guards and the regular troops, however, repressed the outbreak, and order was speedily re-established.

3. This audacious attempt hastened the conclusion of the Ministerial crisis; and on the very day on which the insurrection burst forth, a Ministry consisting of members of the two Centres was formed under the presidency of Marshal Soult. The principal leaders of the Coalition had no share in the new Cabinet, which lasted but nine months, while its short career was marked by few incidents; the principal one being the trial of the insurgents of the 12th May before the Court of Peers. Sentence of death was passed on Barbès and Blanqui; but the King commuted this punishment, against the advice of his Ministers, into that of solitary confinement. Some useful laws were passed under the auspices of this Ministry for the better organisation of the staff of the army, the improvement of the ports, and the

Resignation of
the Molé
Ministry,
March, 1839.

Republican in-
surrection,
May, 1839.

Legislative en-
actments,
1839.

* In this society, for the purpose of rendering secrecy the more secure, seven members formed a so-called week, four weeks a superior group called a month, three months formed a season, and four seasons a year, consisting of three hundred and sixty-five members, under the orders of a revolutionary agent. The men composing a week only knew their immediate chief, who was called Sunday.

increase of the strength of the navy. The Chambers also discussed important laws relating to literary property, railways and parliamentary reform, which were incessantly adjourned and became every day more desirable. To turn to foreign affairs, the Government made peace with Mexico, from which country it obtained a war indemnity, and hostilities continued in La Plata without any decisive result. In spite of the devastating incursions of Abd-el-Kader in the plain of the Métidja, French dominion in Algeria made peaceful progress. The Cabinet appeared to have gained the support of a strong majority when it struck against an unforeseen rock on the occasion of the marriage of the Duc de Nemours. A draft of a law, the object of which was to settle on the prince an annual income of five hundred thousand francs, and to secure to his wife, in case she should survive him, an annuity of three hundred thousand francs, was presented to the Deputies and rejected. This defeat led to the fall of the Cabinet, and all the Ministers gave in their resignation (February, 1840).

4. The moment appeared to have come for the formation of a new administration under M. Thiers, who accepted the portfolio of

Foreign Affairs, and was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry. He selected all his colleagues from the Left Centre. The portfolios of Justice and Worship were given to M. Vivien, that of the Interior to M. de Remusat, of Finance to M. Pelet (of La Lozère), and of Public Instruction to M. Cousin. General Despons-Cubières was made Minister of War, and Admiral Duperré retained the portfolio of Naval Affairs and the Colonies. M. Guizot, who had lately become the French ambassador in London, promised the Cabinet the support of himself and his friends, on condition that M. Thiers would resign any idea of electoral reform or of the dissolution of the Chamber. The natural tendencies of the new Ministers led them towards the Left, whilst the most imperious necessity forced them to be leagued with the Right, and the result was that the Cabinet was driven into a state of utter inertness. One of the first acts of M. Thiers was to present a law the object of which was the transfer from St. Helena to France of Napoleon's remains, and as the English Government did not offer any obstacle to the accomplishment of this great national act, the remains of the Emperor, were brought to Paris in December, 1840, in the midst of an immense concourse of people, and deposited with great pomp at the Hôtel des Invalides. Three months after the passing of this law, Prince Louis Napoleon made a fresh attempt to gain possession of the throne, which he considered to be his by inheritance, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and was again unsuccessful. The prince, now once more a prisoner, was on this occasion tried by the Court of Peers, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and shut up in the fortress of Ham.

M. Thiers' second Ministry. March 1, 1840.

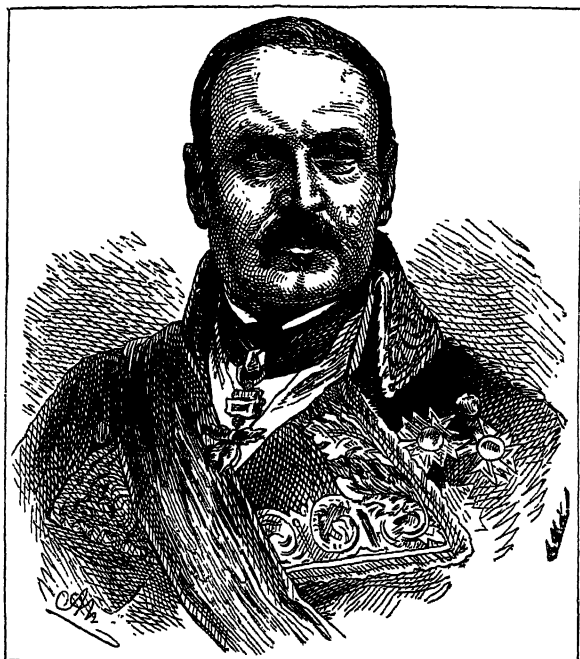
The remains of Napoleon brought back to France, 1840.

Louis Napoleon at Boulogne-sur-Mer. His trial and captivity, 1840.

5. In Spain, during this year the Queen-Regent, Maria Christina,

was forced to abdicate, and fled to France, whilst a new Government was established in Madrid, under the presidency of General Espartero, Duke of Vittoria, who was soon afterwards himself proclaimed Regent of the kingdom. Events in Spain.

In the East, hostilities had again broken out between the Sultan and his powerful vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Ibrahim, Mehemet's son, having crossed the Euphrates, gained in



GENERAL ESPARTERO.

Syria the victory of Nezib, June, 1839. The Turkish army was destroyed, and a few days afterwards the whole of the Sultan's fleet, surrendered to the Egyptians, and was carried into the port of Alexandria. The Sultan now The Eastern question, 1839-1840. had neither ships nor troops, and his whole empire appeared to be on the eve of dissolution, when French diplomacy again checked Ibrahim's victorious march. England, Russia, Prussia and Austria, having proposed to France that she should enter with them into a Convention for the purpose of depriving Mehemet of Syria, which he had acquired by the valour of his arms, the French

Government refused, on the ground that, as it had stopped the advance of Ibrahim's army, it could not allow his kingdom to be curtailed. The four powers then negotiated without the concurrence of France, and entered into a treaty with the Sultan, July 15, 1840, which limited Mehemet Ali to the hereditary possessions of Egypt, and ordered him to evacuate Syria within a certain time. This treaty, left France in the state of isolation in which she found herself in 1830; and she was, with good reason, seriously offended. The French Cabinet protested, and made formidable preparations for war, whilst, pending the assembly of the Chambers, which were convoked for October, royal ordinances created a number of fresh regiments, and decreed that Paris should be fortified by a continuous wall and a series of detached forts.

In the meantime, the period fixed for the evacuation of Syria by Mehemet having elapsed without Ibrahim's withdrawal, an English squadron bombarded Beyrout, and the dethronement of Mehemet Ali was declared by the Sultan. Upon this the French Government immediately declared that any attempt to deprive the Pasha of Egypt would be regarded by it as a signal for war, and the fleet was ordered to prepare for sailing. The session opened in the midst of these serious events, and the excitement caused by a fresh attempt on the King's life. The Cabinet had inserted in the speech to be delivered by the King from the throne some expressions which were a species of threat or defiance to Europe; but Louis Philippe thought it better to assume a less provoking attitude in respect to the other powers. He refused to use the language suggested to him by his Ministers, and recalled his fleet, which was already sailing for Syria, upon which the Cabinet resigned. The King accepted the resignation of M. Thiers and his colleagues, and transferred the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to M. Guizot, whom he requested to form a new Ministry, in concert with Marshal Soult, who had the portfolio of War, and became President of the Council. M. Guizot was its most influential member. He ultimately became its president, and the chief power did not leave his hands until the end of the reign.

**Dismissal of
the Thiers
Ministry,
October, 1840.**

**Ministry of
October 29,
1840.**






CHAPTER VI.

THE MINISTRY OF OCTOBER 29 TILL THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1846. *October, 1840-July, 1846.*

1. EUROPEAN TREATY ON EASTERN AFFAIRS: LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS, 1841-42: DISTURBANCES IN THE DEPARTMENTS: GENERAL ELECTIONS, JUNE, 1842: DEATH OF THE DUC D'ORLEANS: LAW OF REGENCY. 2. LAW ON FREE SECONDARY EDUCATION; LEGITIMIST DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON: DEBATE ON THE SUBJECT: DEBATE ON THE LAWS RELATING TO THE JESUITS. 3. THE AFFAIR OF TAHITI: ABANDONMENT OF THE RIGHT OF SEARCH. 4. WAR IN AFRICA UNDER BUGEAUD: WAR WITH MOROCCO: BOMBARDMENT OF TANGIERS AND MOGADOR: BATTLE OF THE ISLY: TREATY OF TANGIERS. 5. SERIOUS ASPECT OF AFFAIRS: REVERSES IN ALGERIA: SESSION OF 1846.

1.  NE of the first acts of the new ministry, whose members were unanimous in supporting a peace policy abroad, and in offering an obstinate resistance to all plans of reform at home, was to bring France once more into combined action with the European powers, by signing with them and Turkey the treaty of the 13th July, 1841, which re-established Mehemet Ali in the hereditary possession of Egypt, without restoring to him Syria, and which closed against the fleets of all nations the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The grand project relative to the fortifications was resumed by the Cabinet in the session of 1841, and sanctioned by the Chambers, but owing to the first expenses caused by these immense works, and the increase of the army, the charges in the budget were enormously increased, and it was found necessary to negotiate at various periods a loan representing a capital of four hundred and fifty millions. The ministry neglected or rejected all projects relative to the internal policy of the kingdom, but it presented in this and the following session (1841-42), several useful laws respecting literary property, judicial sales, and the great lines of railway. The Cabinet

European Treaty on Eastern Affairs, July 3, 1840.

Enormous Changes in the Budget. Loan.

tailed, however, to calm the spirit of agitation; many important cities, such as Lille, Clermont, Mâcon and Toulouse were the scenes of serious disorders, and publications of great virulence provoked, during two years, numerous prosecutions of the editors of journals and writers of pamphlets. An odious attempt to assassinate one of the King's sons, the Duc d'Aumale, on his return from a glorious expedition in Algeria, failed in its object, and gave rise to a criminal prosecution before the Chamber of Peers, which resulted in the condemnation of the would-be assassin and his accomplices. The Elective Chamber was dissolved in June, 1842, and the general elections, greatly influenced by the Cabinet, returned a new Chamber, which consisted of almost precisely the same elements as the preceding. This year was marked

**General
Elections,
June, 1842.**

by a circumstance as fatal as unforeseen. The Duc d'Orleans, Prince Royal, being run away with by his horses, fell whilst throwing himself out of his carriage, had his head fractured in the fall, and expired a few hours afterwards. The sudden death of this prince was a fatal blow to the dynasty of Orleans, already beaten by so many storms. He left behind him two very young children, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, and in anticipation of a minority, the Chambers decided, in concert with the government, that in case the sovereign should be a minor the regency should belong to his nearest relation in the paternal line, and the royal majority was fixed at eighteen years.

**Death of
the Duc
d'Orleans,
July 13, 1842.**

2. Few years were so sterile in legislative measures of great interest as the year 1843, during which Louis Philippe received at the Château d'Eu a friendly visit from the young Queen of England, who had succeeded her uncle, William IV., in 1837, an event which was regarded as of good augury to the maintenance of amicable relations between the two countries.

The government at this time made many enemies among the clergy and the clerical party, as the ardent supporters of the Romish Church were styled by a law which was proposed to regulate free

**Law on
Free Secondary
Education.** secondary education. It was proposed to allow anyone possessing a certificate of competency to open a school, after making a declaration that he did not belong to any religious society not legally authorised, the government exercising the right of inspection of schools established under these conditions. The proposed law exempted ecclesiastical schools or small seminaries from some of the conditions imposed on lay educational establishments. The Chamber of Peers, however, suppressed the immunities granted to ecclesiastical schools already existing, which gave great offence to the clergy. It was then taken down to the Chamber of Deputies, where, owing to the resignation of M. Villermain, the minister of public instruction, through illness, the law of free education was indefinitely adjourned.

A serious incident, brought about by some important men of the Legitimist party, occupied the attention of the Chamber at the commencement of the session. The hopes of this party had been

revived after the death of the Duc d'Orleans; and the Duc de Bordeaux, who had now assumed the title of the Comte de Chambord, having visited London in 1843, became, at his residence in Belgrave Square, the object of an enthusiastic demonstration on the part of a crowd of Legitimists, among whom were several Deputies, who had hastened from France to pay homage to him whom they regarded and honoured as the true heir to the crown of Charles X. The government thought it their duty to censure their conduct in a sentence of the speech from the throne at the commencement of the new session. This sentence excited an animated debate in the two Chambers, and especially in the Elective Chamber; but the paragraph which, in the Chambers' address to the King, censured the conduct of the inculpated Deputies, was adopted; and the latter immediately resigned their seats, but were re-elected. The new hopes of the Legitimists, so openly manifested by this incident, aroused the apprehensions of the Liberals, and had something to do, probably, with the cold reception given by the latter to the law presented to the Chamber on the subject of secondary instruction. On the other hand, the vehemence with which the great subject of freedom in the matter of education had been pleaded by many priests and laymen openly favourable to the Jesuits, provoked an inevitable reaction against this society in the constitutional party, and rendered it extremely anxious respecting the neglect into which the laws relative to the Jesuits had been allowed to fall. In the following session, May, 1843, M. Thiers, who had become the leader of the Opposition in the Left Centre, demanded that all enactments in existence against the Jesuits should be put in force; and submitted a proposition that the Chamber relied upon the Government for the execution of the laws, and it was carried by an immense majority. Two months later, and whilst the same question was being discussed in the Chamber of Peers, M. Guizot cut short the discussion by declaring that the Pope himself had persuaded the Jesuits in France to conform to the laws of the kingdom.

Legitimist
Manifesta-
tion in
London, 1843.

3. The satisfaction thus given by the Government to the opposition of the Left was far from appeasing the irritation caused by the policy of the Government at this period with regard to England on the subject of Tahiti, or the Society Islands, in the Pacific. Admiral Dupetit-Thouars had taken possession, in 1842, in the name of France, of the Marquesas Islands, and he subsequently thought proper to establish the protectorate of France over the Society Islands, where the English and Protestant missionaries had long since exercised over Pomare, the Queen of Tahiti, and the principal native chiefs, a civilising influence. The latter, at the instigation of the English missionaries, arose in defence of their national independence. The insurrection was promptly put down; and Admiral Dupetit-Thouars took complete possession of these islands in the name of France, and hoisted there the French flag, in spite of the vehement remonstrances of a merchant named Pritchard, who was the English

The affair of
Tahiti,
1842-1843.

consul. The latter resigned his office, but continued his intrigues with the chiefs and endeavoured to raise the country. He was arrested and put into solitary confinement by the French authorities, and ultimately sent back to England, where he demanded of France an indemnity for his commercial losses, as well as for the treatment he had undergone.

In the meantime, however, the French Government had disavowed the conduct of its admiral, and rehoisted its flag at Tahiti, as simply that of a protecting power. As, moreover, the English press and the British Parliament re-echoed the complaints of the ex-Consul Pritchard, the French Cabinet, while asserting that their officers had had a right to expel him, decided that an indemnity was due to him. This concession on the part of the Government aroused a violent storm against it, the whole of the Opposition uniting in accusing it of sacrificing the honour of France to the English alliance. The question was reopened during the discussion of the address, at the commencement of the following session, 1844-1845, and gave rise to the most stormy debates, the Government only obtaining in the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject of the indemnity to Pritchard, a majority of eight votes. The general irritation, now much envenomed by political passion and national susceptibility, rendered impossible the maintenance of the right of search, which had been reciprocally exercised by virtue of old treaties, by the navies of France and England, for the abolition of the slave trade. The complaints which were raised in France on this occasion were so loud that the Government did not venture to give the ratification so eagerly desired by England, to a new treaty negotiated with all the great powers, which provided for a greater extension of this right. The English Cabinet had to give way in its turn. It abandoned the right of search, and a treaty negotiated on other bases, and less efficacious for the repression of the slave trade, was signed by the two powers on May 29, 1845.

4. The war in Algeria was warmly prosecuted in 1843-1844 by Marshal Bugeaud. The numerous Arab tribes raised in revolt by Abd-el-Kader were chastised, and made their submission, and the Duc d'Aumale took the Smala, or camp, of the Emir, Abd-el-Kader, who fled into Morocco, and persuaded the Emperor Muley-Abder-Rhaman to take up his cause. On this, a French fleet, under the orders of Prince de Joinville, attacked Tangiers, and then took possession of the Island of Mogador, and bombarded the city of that name, which was the central point of the Morocco commerce. On the same day (the 14th August) Marshal Bugeaud, totally defeated the army of Morocco on the banks of the Isly. This victory was followed in September by the treaty of Tangiers, which gave to France all the satisfaction she demanded, and put Abd-el-Kader out of the pale of the law in the Empire of Morocco.

This treaty was the subject of vehement attacks on the part of the Opposition in the following session, and the satisfaction caused

War in
Africa under
Bugeaud,
1843-1844.

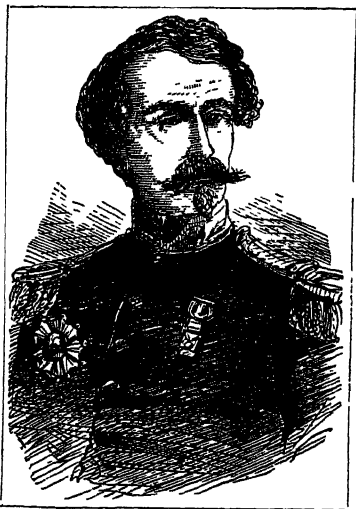
War with
Morocco, 1844

Treaty of
Tangiers,
Sept., 1844.

by the victory of Isly was drowned by the persistent refusal, on the part of the Government, to make any real reforms. The legislative sessions of 1844 and 1845 were in this respect completely sterile. A few laws of general utility were passed, but almost all those proposed which bore the impress of a really liberal spirit were rejected, or at least deferred.

5. Various circumstances concurred to aggravate the serious aspect of affairs at the commencement of the following year. There was a state of almost famine in the country districts, and great disturbances had been caused in the industrial world by extravagant speculations in railway property. To these causes of anxiety were added the discontent caused by the ever increasing charges of the Treasury, and some reverses suffered by the French arms in Algeria, where Abd-el-Kader had excited a serious insurrection. The turbulent Kabyles were, however, held in check by General Lamoricière, who had replaced Marshal Bugeaud for a short time, and on the return of the latter to his government the insurgent tribes were completely reduced to submission. All these subjects united occupied public attention at the commencement of the new session, 1846, which was only remarkable for the formation of a powerful Opposition, under the leadership of MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot.

Serious aspect
of affairs.
Reserves in
Algeria, 1846.



GENERAL LAMORICIERE

The most important law passed in this session gave the Government an extraordinary credit of ninety-three millions, for the purpose of increasing the strength of the navy, both in men and ships. Many projects of great political or social interest were voted by the one or the other Chamber in the course of this session, but did not become law. The Cabinet, absorbed in the difficult operation of consolidating its power, rejected or adjourned every proposal the adoption of which might have had the effect of weakening its majority in the next Elective Chamber. It was under these circumstances that the elections of 1846 took place.



VIEW OF BERNE.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL ELECTION—THE SPANISH MARRIAGES—THE POSITION OF AFFAIRS AT HOME AND ABROAD—PRELUDES TO THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY. July, 1846—December, 1847.

1. GENERAL ELECTIONS, JULY 1846: SPANISH MARRIAGES; ANNEXATION OF CRACOW TO AUSTRIA. 2. LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1847: LIBERAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE. 3. FATAL MISTAKE OF THE GOVERNMENT: POLITICAL CONDUCT OF THE KING. 4. FOREIGN POLICY: AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL: THE SUNDERBUND LEAGUE IN SWITZERLAND: OCCUPATION OF FERRARA BY THE AUSTRIANS. 5. GUIZOT PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL: AGITATION OF THE REFORM BANQUETS: GREAT SCANDALS: PUBLIC CALAMITIES: SUBMISSION OF ABD-EL-KADER.

THE influence of the administrative power over the electoral body had never been more marked since 1830 than at the general elections of 1846, and owing to this the Cabinet, in direct opposition to public opinion, unduly obtained a large majority in the Election Chamber. It happened, indeed, that in proportion as the Cabinet became more unpopular in the country, its majority became greater and greater in the Elective Chamber—a great danger both for the state and the throne. In the midst of these serious internal affairs, grave dissensions arose between France and England, in consequence of the unfortunate affair known as the Spanish marriages. In Spain, in 1844, the Queen-

mother had been recalled, and in 1845, the Cortes had declared her daughter, Queen Isabella, of age. In 1846 the young Queen married her cousin, Francis d'Assise de Bourbon, while her sister, the Infanta Donna Luisa, espoused the Duc de Montpensier, the fifth son of the King of the French. The English government through Lord Aberdeen, in return for the promise of the King of France that the Duc de Montpensier should take no steps to procure his marriage with the Infanta Donna Luisa until the Queen of Spain should have a child, had engaged that no prince of the House of Coburg should become a suitor to Queen Isabella. Lord Palmerston, however did not adhere to the engagement entered into by his predecessor, but sanctioned the candidature of the Prince of Coburg for the Queen's hand. The King of the French then considered that he was relieved from his promise, and authorised the simultaneous publication of the two marriages. On receiving this unexpected news the English Cabinet denounced the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier as a direct violation of one of the clauses of the treaty of Utrecht, which declared that the crowns of France and Spain should never rest on the same head: These accusations were evidently ill-founded, but nevertheless found an echo in the two French Chambers, where it was said that the Government, after having recently, in the Pritchard affair, sacrificed the honour of the country for the sake of remaining on cordial terms with England, had now sacrificed this alliance for the sake of mere family interests. This unfortunate misunderstanding between the two countries rendered the Northern powers less apprehensive of offending the French Government, and led to the ruin of the last remnants of Polish nationality. At the close of the insurrection which led to the occupation of the city of Cracow by the three Northern powers, the latter did what they had not hitherto ventured to do, and Austria annexed Cracow with the assent of Russia and Prussia.

Annexation
of Cracow
to Austria.

France and England protested against this proceeding, but separately; and, by refusing to act in concert, protested in vain. The Opposition made this circumstance a ground for redoubling its violence, and the Government was condemned on all sides for having isolated France in Europe by its errors, and for having been as imbecile in its management of foreign as home affairs. In the meantime the necessity for certain reforms was so generally felt, and the public feeling on the matter was so loudly expressed, that M. Guizot himself at length, in a celebrated speech delivered at Lisieux after his re-election, showed himself extremely favourable to a wisely progressive policy. After this France had reason to hope that the Ministry would support, in 1847, the liberal measures and reforms acknowledged to be the most urgent; but it was not so, for this session surpassed the preceding in insignificance, and no law of any importance, political or social, was carried out.

2. Two attempts against the King's life, and the escape of Prince Napoleon from the fortress of Ham, had recently caused fresh anxiety in the public mind, and the session opened in the midst of

the general dismay caused by fearful inundations, a partial amine caused by bad harvests, and a financial crisis. It was difficult, doubtless, under the pressure of the financial necessities of the moment, to make any serious and immediate reforms in the taxation of the country, and the Cabinet made this circumstance a pretext for rejecting all that were proposed. At the same time it refused to listen to all the other reforms, all the great measures which were considered urgent even by its own more enlightened supporters—an exhibition of obstinacy on the part of the French Government which was so much the more astonishing because it was in strange contrast with the liberal movement which was at this time taking place in all the countries of Europe. Germany was again demanding the fulfilment of the promises made in 1813, and most of its states were engaged in establishing new constitutions.

Liberal
movement
in Europe,
1844-45.

Holland had introduced great modifications into its own; Spain, was attempting, under its young Queen to enter upon a constitutional and parliamentary course; in Italy the venerable Pius IX., who had been recently elevated to the pontifical throne, was inaugurating a new era of liberty, after having commenced his reign by a general amnesty; similar reforms were being made in Piedmont by King Charles Albert; and Great Britain now began to reap the fruits of her great parliamentary reform. The general necessity for reform was felt even in the Turkish empire, and the Sultan Abdul-Medjid had of his own accord granted a charter to his subjects.

3. Louis Philippe's Government at this time followed the policy which had been fatal to that of the Restoration by confounding in an almost equal condemnation all the opponents of the Cabinet with the enemies of the monarchy; fearing that if it made concessions to the former it might be hurried by the latter into a revolutionary course. This perseverance in a policy of *statu quo* at a time when Europe generally was in a state of movement and in the presence of numerous questions which urgently demanded solution—the dangerous obstinacy, against which not only a great portion of the Conservative party protested, but even the principal organ of the Government, and the moral head of the Government—at length led the disquieted and anxious nation to look for its cause in a quarter which was higher than the Ministry. The protecting veil which the constitution had drawn around the crown had long been in rags, and at no period had the sovereign been less shielded by the Ministers than now.

The King was now growing old, and had attained that age at which a man's opinions become permanently fixed, whilst the remembrances of his early years return to his heart with increased force. The memories of Louis Philippe kept him constantly in mind of the bloody episodes of the revolutionary period, and showed to him, as was also the case with Charles X., a virtuous but feeble king, led through one concession after another to the scaffold, his family slaughtered or in exile, and France ruined and twice invaded.

Political
conduct of the
King.

Then he remarked that when he had received the crown he had calmed the tempest, reintroduced order and prosperity within the kingdom, and maintained peace abroad. He remembered that France and all Europe had attributed these great results to his wisdom and to the inflexible resistance made by his Government to factious attempts as well as to the exaggerated demands of parties, and he believed that it was now necessary to continue this policy, and to adhere to it irrevocably and constantly. As this prince



POPE PIUS IX.

nevertheless observed, under every circumstance, the strict letter of the constitution, the honour of having done so remains his in history, although it was powerless to preserve his throne against the course of events.

4. Whilst the action of the Government seemed thus paralysed, as it were, within the country, it was also powerless abroad in consequence of its fatal dissension with England on the subject of the Spanish marriages. The two powers were, however, agreed in supporting in Portugal the throne of the young Queen Donna Maria, which had been shaken by the twofold insurrection of the Miguelists and the Ultra-Radical party. The French Government, however, failed in its attempt to mediate between the contending parties in

Switzerland where the Radicals, who had a majority in the Diet assembled at Berne, suppressed by force of arms a league called the

**The Sunder-
bund league in
Switzerland,
1847.**

Sunderbund which had been formed between the seven Catholic cantons for the purpose of preserving their cantonal authority against the usurpers of the federal power. A circumstance still more injurious to the influence of France had recently taken place in Italy. Astonished and disturbed by the liberal reforms of Pius IX. in the Papal States, and emboldened also by the rupture between England and France, Austria had entered the possessions of the Holy See for the purpose of preserving her Italian possessions from the contagion of Liberalism. Her troops had entered Ferrara, in spite

**Occupation of
Ferrara by the
Austrians, 1847**

of the energetic protests of the cardinal legate, in August, 1847, and the occupation of that fortress by the Austrians had thus all the characteristics of an armed invasion. Irritated public opinion associated this fact with the deplorable act by which the Republic of Cracow had been, in the course of the preceding year, annexed to Austria, with the consent of Russia and Prussia: and it bitterly reproached the Cabinet with its abandonment of the liberal cause in Europe, with its ill will towards Italy, and its weakness and powerlessness in its relations with Austria and the other great powers of Europe.

5. Such was the position of home and foreign affairs when, in consequence of the retirement of Marshal Soult, M. Guizot became

**Guizot Presi-
dent of the
Council.**

President of the Council, September, 1847. The Opposition organised an agitation throughout France, and had recourse also to other means for rousing and agitating the people. To this end, for two months past, banquets had been organised in Paris and the principal towns in the kingdom, at which those who wished to strike the dynasty at its roots had unhappily mixed with many who desired, by reforming, to strengthen it. The prejudiced opinion of the public

**Agitation of
the reform
banquets.**

led them to receive and to credit the most absurd and often the most unfounded charges, and a fatal concurrence of circumstances during the year 1847 gave dangerous food to the popular ill will and irritation. Various inquiries, forced on by the public outcry,

revealed, in some of the offices under the Ministers of War and Marine considerable frauds committed, to

**Great scandals,
1847.**

the great injury of the State, by subaltern agents of those in power. These revelations, grave enough in themselves, proved but the prelude to still greater scandals. Two peers of France, M. Teste and M. Despons de Cubières, both of them formerly Ministers, and till recently members of the Cabinet, were accused, with their accomplices, and sent to trial, the former for receiving bribes in the exercise of his duties, the second for having facilitated the concession of a mine by means of corruption exercised on a Minister of State. The Court of Peers did not shrink from their duty, and pronounced them both guilty. To these and other great scandals among which may be mentioned the

attempt at suicide by M. Teste, the suicide of Count Bresson, the French Ambassador at Naples, and the frightful murder of the Duchesse de Praslin by her husband, who subsequently poisoned himself, were then added great misfortunes. The perturbations brought into commercial affairs as the result of the troubles of the two preceding years, and still more the unbridled abuse of speculation and the fever of stockjobbing, had caused in all ranks numberless failures. In vain the gallantry of the army in Africa threw a last lustre upon the reign; it had subdued the Kabyles and driven the Emir to his final retreat. Abd-el-Kader surrendered to Lamoricière, thus brilliantly inaugurating the Duc d'Aumale's government of Algeria. But at this epoch, alas! as under Charles X., after the conquest of Algeria, the country showed itself but little touched by a glory of which some part belonged to an unpopular Ministry, which, by holding on to power after the opinion of the country was against it, had inflamed, strengthened, and rallied against itself the entire opposition assembled at the numerous banquets which agitated France in the name of parliamentary and electoral reform. Such were the events forerunning the legislative session of 1848, the last of the reign.





CHAPTER VIII.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1848—REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY. *January and February, 1848.*

1. LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1848: DEBATES ON THE ADDRESS: AMENDMENT TO THE DRAFT OF THE ADDRESS. 2. DEBATE ON THE REFORM BANQUETS: DEFIANCE OF M. DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE: AGITATION IN FRANCE: POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION OF FEBRUARY 22: IMPEACHMENT OF THE CABINET. 3. REVOLUTION OF 1848: RAPID PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION: MM. THIERS AND BARROT INVESTED WITH POWER: THE KING'S LAST REVIEW: ABDICATION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE: NOMINATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. **A**T the end of the year 1847 nothing was irrevocably lost. Matters, it is true, were pushed to an extreme both from within and from without; but the elasticity of constitutional institutions is great, and the throne of July, although tottering and threatened, might have still recovered itself, had not M. Guizot blindly persisted in his opposition to popular opinion in resisting the electoral law and the qualification for candidates for the Chamber of Deputies. Impotent to gain the public vote for himself, he disdained it, he braved it; and while the storm was growling from every point of the political horizon, the Cabinet presented itself before the re-assembled Chambers with its head erect and bold, and with death at its roots. It accelerated the tempest by inserting, at the commencement of the session, in the address to the throne, after some promises of progressive ameliorations, an imprudent phrase—by which the Opposition considered that all the opponents of the administration were accused of cherishing blind or guilty passions and were stigmatised as enemies to the monarchy.

The drawing up of the address in answer to this speech gave rise to a discussion in the two Chambers, which was rendered solemn by the serious position of affairs. The principal interest of the debate in the Chamber of Peers was centred in the foreign policy of the Cabinet, which was accused of having displayed, in the speech from the throne, too much deference for Austria, by remaining silent with respect to the reforms promised by Pope Pius IX. and some other of the Italian princes. M. Guizot replied to this reproach by pointing out the danger of exciting the revolutionary passions, already too much inflamed in Italy, where demagogism, rallied under Mazzini's flag, threatened, as usual, to compromise, by lamentable excesses, the reforms already effected or projected. These great questions were discussed with even more force and vehemence in the debate on the address which took place in the Elective Chamber. Many of the most eminent orators, including MM. de Lamartine, Odillon Barrot and Thiers, denounced the Cabinet to the country as guilty of having sacrificed to Austria the liberal cause in Poland, Italy and Switzerland. M. Guizot had recourse, in his defence, to the principal arguments already produced in the Chamber of Peers, and produced proofs that, in respect to Poland, his wishes had been overruled by the force of circumstances, and that in Italy and Switzerland he had defended really liberal interests; but added that he could not

Debates on
the address.



LAMARTINE.

blame Austria for opposing the rash and dangerous attempts of the revolutionary Radicals. The Ministry, however, displayed great weakness when it attempted to rebut the reproach of electoral corruption hurled against it by eminent orators on every bench of the Opposition, and, amongst others, by M. Billault, who submitted the following amendment to the draft of the address:—
“We associate ourselves, Sir, with the wishes of your Majesty by demanding of your Government that it should before all things exert itself to the utmost to develop the morality of the people, and no longer to enfeeble it by fatal examples.” M. Billault then appealed to the conscience of the Chamber, by showing that the electors sold their votes for offices; that the deputies looked to the Ministers to

Amendment to
the draft
of the address

reimburse them for the expenses of their election; and that the Ministers, although, doubtless, honest themselves, governed by these detestable means. He also reproached MM. Guizot and Duchâtel, with having abandoned their principles on various occasions for the sake of retaining power; and in support of these accusations he enumerated a long series of facts which were already known, and the fatal consequences of which to the morality of the country he forcibly set forth.

2. A still more violent debate took place respecting the answer to that phrase of the speech from the throne, by which many peers and a hundred deputies, who had taken part in the banquets by which France had been agitated, considered themselves to be particularly attacked; and the legality of those banquets was at the same time discussed with extreme violence. The Keeper of the Seals, M. Hébert, in an eloquent and sensible speech, enumerated the grounds on which the Government would have the right to prevent such assemblies when they tended to disturb the public peace, and declared that it would not give way before any seditious manifestation. To this defiance M. Duvergier de

**Defiance of M.
Duvergier de
Hauranne.**

Hauranne replied by another. He would not yield, he said, to the ukase of a Minister, and he was ready to join all who, by some decided act of resistance, would prove that the rights of Frenchmen might not be destroyed by a mere decree of the police. This proof was to consist in the assembly of the principal deputies of the Opposition at a reform banquet which had been already arranged to take place in the 12th Arrondissement of Paris, and which had been interdicted by the authorities. This formidable defiance, which had the effect of transferring the debate from the floors of the Chambers to the public thoroughfares, was followed by the vote of the address, in which the Opposition had not succeeded in procuring a single amendment, or the insertion of any decided promise of reform on the part of the Ministry. The day for the announced demonstration drew near. The stormy debates on the address had caused

**Agitation in
France.**

the greatest excitement amongst the numerous classes of the population, which were already disturbed and inflamed by the speeches delivered at the seventy reform banquets which had taken place in the principal cities of the kingdom. The hope of obtaining the revenge so long postponed had returned to the Republican and Legitimist enemies of the dynasty; and the secret societies, the anarchists, and the political refugees, recruited by the demagogues, resumed their courage, silently armed themselves, and prepared for the final struggle with the Monarchy. Intimidated, with too much reason, by these terrifying symptoms, the deputies of the dynastic Opposition and the Cabinet itself hesitated to provoke a dangerous explosion; and they agreed that the banquet demonstration should be reduced to a simple meeting, and such formal proceedings as would be sufficient to enable the legal authorities of the country to decide the question of the right of holding public meetings. The Radical Opposition,

which desired to struggle at any price, would no rest contented with so peaceful an arrangement, and called upon the schools, the National Guard, and all Paris, in fact, to take part in a decided, although pacific demonstration, which was announced on February 21 for the morrow in the Radical journals, *The National* and *The Reform*. On the unexpected appearance of this programme, M. Odillon Barrot and his friends of the Dynastic Opposition determined not to take part in the banquet. Being divided, however, between the honest sentiment which led them to abstain from what they thought might cause public misfortunes and a dread of losing their popularity by appearing to shrink from danger, and being at the same time controlled by their antecedents and a fatal position, they deposited in the bureau of the Chamber a formal accusation against the Cabinet, which, without proving of any advantage to themselves, added fresh fuel to the popular excitement. The dreaded Revolution burst forth on the 22nd February, amidst shouts of "Long live Reform!" "Down with Guizot!"

3. Feeble at first, and uncertain, the insurrection appeared, on the first day, at several points at once; at the Champs Elysées, on the Place de la Concorde, and in certain faubourgs, where barricades were erected and abandoned. The flames which were everywhere sullenly brooding, were slow to burst forth, but, being only timidly suppressed, they speedily grew fierce, and on the second day had involved all Paris. All hope, however, was not yet lost; the resources of the Government were great, the garrison did its duty, and various regiments hastened to march upon the capital. But the National Guard answered badly to the Government summons, and the few weak battalions which took up arms appeared much more disposed to interfere between the regular troops and the insurgents than to oppose the latter. The adoption of this attitude by the National Guard at length made the King resolve to yield to necessity, and on the evening of February 22 it became known that he had invited M. Molé to form a new Cabinet. Paris now immediately illuminated, and this news was everywhere received with tremendous acclamations as a happy omen of conciliation and peace. But on this same evening a fatality caused everything to be lost. A battalion of infantry of the line, stationed in front of the Foreign Office, in the Boulevard des Capucines, provoked by a pistol shot from some one in an approaching crowd, fired without orders upon the mob which crowded the Boulevard and the adjacent streets, and in an instant the ground was strewn with victims of every age and either sex. At this sight the fury of the people was once more aroused to its utmost pitch; the fatal news flew from mouth to mouth; the faubourgs arose; Paris became covered with an interminable network of barricades; and by the morning the quarter of the Tuileries was almost entirely covered with them. Before such perils as these M. Molé was powerless, and withdrew; whilst the Court perceived that a vigorous and desperate resistance had become absolutely necessary. The victor

Revolution of
1848. February
22, 23, and 24.

of the Isly, Marshal Bugeaud, was appointed before daybreak to the command-in-chief of the troops, and every preparation was made for a bloody and decisive battle. In the meantime the King entrusted the conduct of affairs to the leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition, MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, who, trusting too implicitly to their popularity, believed that they could appease the Revolution by their mere words and presence. They put a stop to the firing of the troops, and recalled Bugeaud, who, with grief and rage, saw his sword broken in his hands. Distracted by contrary orders, the soldiers remained some time in a state of indecision and inaction, then abandoned the barricades to the insurgents, and to a great extent fraternised with them. After this the insurgents became innumerable, and advanced in a dense mass towards the Tuileries.

Louis Philippe, at the instigation of the Queen, mounted his horse, and reviewed at the Carrousel several regiments and a few weak battalions of the National Guards. The regular troops received him with cries of "Vive le Roi!" But the National Guards replied with the cry of "Reform! Reform!" the password of the Revolutionists, and the discouraged Monarch re-entered his palace. From this time the irresolution of the King, and all who possessed even a semblance of authority, became greater and greater, while the insurrection incessantly increased, filled all the approaches to the palace, knocked at its doors, and was at the point of bursting through them. What a spectacle then was presented by the ancient home of the French sovereigns! Louis Philippe still deliberated. Beside him was the Queen, filled with inexpressible grief, but resigned. Around him were the princesses in tears, stupefied courtiers, mute generals, powerless and terrified ministers. The word abdication was uttered; many voices repeated it, and urged the King to consent to and sign it. Louis Philippe, apparently calm and emotionless, took his pen and wrote these words, "I abdicate in favour of the Count de Paris, my grandson; and I hope that he may be happier than I have been." After he had signed this act of abdication the King retired by the only means of exit which remained free, and the mob forthwith burst into the Palace.

A woman clothed in mourning—the Duchesse d'Orleans—was the last to leave the Tuileries with her two children, and in this extremity many voices expressed a wish that the regency, which the law gave to the Duc de Nemours, could be conferred on the Duchess. Courageous, and resolved to brave death in the fulfilment of a great duty, she passed through the threatening crowd in order to present her son to the two Chambers. She proceeded, under the escort of the Duc de Nemours and the protection of a few friends, to the Chamber of Deputies, where M. Dupin introduced her as the Regent of the kingdom; and when the Duchess took a seat in front of the tribune with her brother-in-law Nemours

MM. Thiers
and Barrot
invested with
power.

The King's
last review.

Abdication of
Louis Philippe,
Feb. 24, 1848.

and her two sons, M. Dupin and M. Odillon Barrot endeavoured to procure such an enthusiastic reception for the new King by the deputies as had been accorded, after the Revolution of July, to the Duke of Orleans. But the Elective Chamber, which did not represent the nation and public opinion, as it did in 1830, had no influence with the public, but was also penetrated with a sense of its own weakness. Its place of assembly was violated, whilst it was actually sitting, by armed bands, and its president, M. Sauzet, himself abandoned it. Four deputies—MM. Crémieux, Marie, Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine—demanded the nomination of a Provisional Government, the members of which were immediately pointed out with acclamations by the voices of the insurgents, and those of a few deputies mingled together. Chambers, regency, royalty, all, disappeared in the tempest; and on the following day the Provisional Government proclaimed the Republic.






CIVITA VECCHIA.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC. February, 1848, to December, 1852.

1. DEPARTURE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY: THE NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. 2. DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: ATTEMPTED RISING OF THE RED FACTION: EXECUTIVE COMMISSION: RENEWED DEMONSTRATION OF THE REDS. 3. FRESH OUTBREAK: TERMINATION OF THE STRUGGLE. 4. ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT: SUCCESS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON. 5. TRIAL OF BARBES, BLANQUI, ETC.: ARMED INTERVENTION IN PAPAL STATES: OCCUPATION OF ROME: ATTEMPTED RISING IN PARIS. 6. RESTRICTION OF FREE DISCUSSION: THE PRESIDENT'S DOTATION BILL: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. 7. THE COUP D'ETAT: ARREST OF THIERS, CHANGARNIER, AND OTHERS: THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORTERS. 8. THE PLEBISCITE OF DECEMBER 21, 1851: NEW CONSTITUTION: SPOILIATION OF THE ORLEANS FAMILY. 9. LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1852: REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE: THE PLEBISCITE OF NOVEMBER 21, 1852.

1.  HISTORY of the events which happened in France from the beginning of the Second Republic to the end of the Second Empire, can be little more than a bare chronicle of occurrences from year to year. To attempt to trace events to their remote causes would be attended with certain failure until the progress of time and the revelation of much that is now hidden from all but the chief actors in this part of the great play in human life has unravelled the tangled string of

diplomatic action, and thrown the bright light of personal memoirs and state papers on things which are now obscure and shrouded in a dense political haze of mystery and uncertainty. As soon as it was evident that there was no hope of establishing the Count de Paris on the throne of his grandfather, the Duchesse d'Orleans and her brothers-in-law, the Dukes de Nemours and de Montpensier hastened to quit Paris and repaired to England with the ex-King and Queen of the French and took up their residence in Claremont, which was placed at their disposal by Leopold, King of the Belgians, to whom the palace then belonged. The principal members of the Provisional Government of February 24, 1848, were Dupont de l'Eure, President of the Council; Lamartine, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Cremieux, for Justice; Ledru-Rollin, for the Interior; Goudchaux, for Finance; Arago, for Naval Affairs; Carnôt, for Public Instruction; Bethmont, for Commerce; Marie, for Public works; and General Subervie, for War. Colonel Courtais was appointed Commander of the National Guard of Paris, and Garnier Pages, Mayor of that city with control of the police; while General Cavaignac was made Governor of Algeria in place of the Duc d'Aumale. In addition to these the proclamations of the Government were signed by Armand Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc and Albret, who, in that spirit of pride which is apt to ape humility ostentatiously added *ouvrier* (artisan) to his signature; but these men held no higher office than that of Secretaries to the Government. The first act of the new Government was the proclamation of the Republic from the Hôtel de Ville on February 26. At the same time another proclamation was issued, declaring that monarchy was abolished for ever in France; while measures were taken for the re-organisation of the National Guard, and the relief of the working classes, amongst whom there was much distress at the time; and a declaration was made to the effect that the Government considered it its duty to provide work for all citizens who were able and willing to do it. Death for political offences was abolished; and April 9 was fixed on for the election of members of a new National Assembly, whose duty it would be to frame a new constitution for the country. It was to be composed of 900 members. Every Frenchman of 21 years of age was to be entitled to vote if nothing untoward had occurred to deprive him of civil rights, and each department was to return members in proportion to its population.

Departure of
the Royal
Family.

The new
Provisional
Government.

New
National
Assembly.

2. It is not to be supposed that the members of the Provisional Government occupied a position that was free from danger during their period of office. Troubles arose through the dissatisfaction of the officers and men of the old National Guard at the manner in which the new body was re-organised, and on March 26, a great demonstration of the working classes was directed against the Government, but any evil that might have arisen was prevented by the calmness and tact of Lamartine, who appears to have acted

with judgment and moderation during his continuance in office. A more serious attempt to overthrow the Provisional Government and to prevent the establishment of the Republic on a safe and sure basis was made on April 16, by the insurrectionists and members of the revolutionary clubs, the Red Republicans as they were aptly termed, who, at the instigation of Barbès and Blanqui sought to postpone the elections indefinitely, which had already been put off

to April 27, and to form a "Committee of Public Safety" after the pattern of the tribunal of that name which wrought such cruelty and bloodshed in the First Revolution of 1793. The Government, however, had timely information of their intention. The command of the troops was given to General Changarnier, and as the insurgents commenced a movement on the Hôtel de Ville, they found themselves literally surrounded by the thousands of National Guards, who had hastily run to arms at the summons of Lamartine and his colleagues. No further opposition was offered to the elections. On May 4, the National Assembly was formally opened; the members of the Provisional Government resigned office, and on the 10th, an executive commission was appointed by ballot, consisting of Arago, Lamartine, Marie, Garnier-Pages and Ledru-Rollin. Scarcely had this been done when the Reds, led by Barbès and Blanqui and encouraged by Louis Blanc, took occasion of a proposal to send aid to Poland, which was to be discussed in the Assembly, and to which Lamartine and three of his colleagues were known to be opposed, to attempt to create new disturbances; and on May 14, the Palais Bourbon, then the Legislative Palace, in which the meetings of the Assembly were held, was invaded by 20,000 armed rioters. General Courtais, who had the command of the National Guard, having taken no precautions to prevent the attack. For a few hours the ruffians

of the faubourgs had it their own way, and even went so far as to establish a Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville; but by nine in the evening, owing to the prompt measures taken by Lamartine, Barbès and Raspail, with others of the leaders, were arrested, and the *émeute* was brought to an end. General Cavaignac was then appointed Minister of War, and General Courtais was replaced in the command of the National Guard by Colonel Clement Thomas. On the following day a grand review of the National Guard was held in the Champ de Mars, and shortly after Blanqui was arrested and sent to Vincennes.

3. Among the earliest acts of the new National Assembly was a decree declaring the perpetual banishment of Louis Philippe and the Orleans Princes, and a temporary revival of the decrees against the Bonaparte family, in consequence of the return of Prince Louis Napoleon for the department of the Seine and three other departments; consequently the Prince did not take his seat as member of the Assembly. Although the late attempt of the Reds to subvert the Government had been frustrated, the revolutionists were in no way disposed to submit, and, in consequence of the

Attempted
rising of the
Red Faction.

Renewed
demonstrations
of the Reds.

declared intention of the Government to close the national workshops, the working-classes, incited by the clubbists and revolutionary agents, ran to arms throughout Paris on the night of June 23. On the following morning, Paris, bristling with barricades, was declared in a state of siege by General Cavaignac, who promptly drove the insurgents from the left bank of the Seine. Severe fighting and much bloodshed followed, and it was not until the



PRESIDENT BONAPARTE.

evening of the 25th, that the Faubourg du Temple, the last stronghold of the insurgents, was stormed and taken after a heavy cannonade, and the city once more brought under the control of the Government. M. Affie, the archbishop of Paris, was mortally wounded in a barricade in the Place de la Bastille while he was imploring the insurgents to lay down their arms, and it is estimated that at least 16,000 persons were killed and wounded in this outbreak, while 11,000 were taken prisoners or arrested for having been concerned in it. Among the chief instigators of the revolt were Louis Blanc and Caussidière, but being present when a

motion was brought on for their prosecution in the National Assembly, they made their escape and fled to England. General Cavaignac was then appointed head of the executive, with the title of President of the Council, and on July 4, a formal announcement was made of the suppression of the National workshops.

4 The National Assembly now turned its attention to the preparation of a constitution for the new Republic, which was solemnly promulgated in front of the Tuileries in the month of November. By this it was provided that there should be but one legislative chamber, and that the head of the executive should be a president

Election of
President.

who should be elected by universal suffrage every four years, as in the United States. The temporary enactment against the return of the Bonapartes to France, to which reference has been made, was revoked by the Assembly, and Prince Louis Napoleon, who had taken his seat in September for the department of the Seine, became a candidate for the office against General Cavaignac, Raspail, Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine. The last three got but few votes, and the contest lay in reality between the Republican general and the heir of Napoleon I., of whom the latter was elected by 6,048,072 votes to 1,479,121 registered for his opponent. The Prince was formally proclaimed as President of the French Republic on December 20, his tenure of office to continue till May 9, 1852. On the following day he took his oath of office to preserve the Republic inviolable, and, shortly after, announced the formation of his cabinet, at the head of which was Odillon Barrot.

5. The extreme section of the Republican party were by no means contented with the measures that had been taken to re-establish order in France, and, undeterred by their defeat in the preceding June, again sought to rouse the working classes into action against the Government in January, 1849. Information, however, respecting the intended outbreak, was conveyed to the Government, and prompt measures were taken to prevent a rising. The revolutionists had their friends in the National Assembly, and these, disappointed at finding that the governing powers were stronger and more on the alert than they had hoped, proposed the impeachment of ministers through their chief spokesman, Ledru-Rollin, and even carried the proposal by a small majority in the National Assembly. The ministry was strong enough to disregard this; and, to show how little they feared the attacks of the Red Party, either within or without the Assembly, immediately took measures for bringing the instigators of the insurrections of May and June in the preceding year to trial before a High Court of Justice, held at Bourges in March, 1849; the result being that Barbès and Albret (ouvrier) were transported for life, Blanqui for ten years and Raspail and others for shorter terms. It was not only in France that the Revolution of 1848 worked mischief to all classes. Contagious as the most virulent epidemic, the poison of discontent and rebellion against duly constituted authority broke out in fever flushes of insurrection in many parts of Europe, and

in the Papal States a constituent assembly was formed in 1849, and the Roman Republic proclaimed. The Pope appealed to the Catholic States of Europe for aid against his rebellious subjects, and France, contrary to the general expectation, was the first to respond to his cry for assistance. A large majority in the National Assembly decided on giving immediate support to the Pope by armed intervention, and General Oudinot was sent to Italy at the head of a considerable force, and after landing at Civita Vecchia, marched on Rome and made preparations for an attack on the city on the west side. The siege commenced on June 3, but the defence was bravely sustained by Garibaldi for more than three weeks. In spite of his efforts, however, several of his positions were carried by assault, and on June 30, the defenders capitulated by order of the National Assembly. The Pope's authority was immediately re-established throughout his dominions, but he was not sufficiently powerful to repress any further outbreak that might happen; it was thought better that General Oudinot and his troops should occupy the city and secure the Pope against a second expulsion from his territory. The steps taken by the French Government to destroy the newly-born Roman Republic were extremely distasteful to the Reds, who saw in it only too certain a proof of the strength of the ministry and the postponement at least of the scenes of disorder and bloodshed that were so dear to them, since they reaped individual gain from the national loss that was attendant on anarchy. On June 14, Ledru-Rollin and the chiefs of the Red Party made a fresh attempt to excite insurrection in Paris. A few barricades were thrown up here and there, but the rising was speedily suppressed, and the instigators of the outbreak compelled to preserve their liberty by immediate flight to England, whose hospitality they violated by constant plotting against the Government they feared and hated.

Armed Inter-
vention in
Papal States.

Occupation of
Rome
June 30, 1849.

Attempted
Rising in
Paris.

6. This for some years was the last open act of rebellion against constituted authority in Paris. The year 1850 was not marked in France by any incident, social or political, that deserves particular notice, except the measures that were taken in September of that year, to place certain restrictions on freedom of discussion, in consequence of the undue license of language used by a great part of the French press against the President and his ministers. As it had been in the time of the monarchy so it was again under the republic: the governing powers were slow to profit by the experience of the past, slow to learn that there is less danger in the free expression of opinion, whatever the opinion may be, than in permitting it to smoulder in men's minds under laws of repression, which, though they may damp the flame for a time, cause the fires of discontent to gather gradually in force and volume, until, breaking through all restraint, they break forth into the fatal blaze of revolution. The new repressive press laws, were, as might have been expected, distasteful to the Republican Party; General Changarnier, an Algerian

veteran, who was Commander-in-chief of the National Guards of Paris, and the troops of the first military division, did not hesitate to express his opinions freely of the course sanctioned by the President, and this led to a misunderstanding which resulted in his

removal from his command in January, 1851. The
*The President's
 Dotation Bill.* Legislative Assembly also took occasion to express its disapproval of the acts of the President and his ministry.

Odillon Barret was now no longer in office, his cabinet having been dismissed in 1849, for its decision on many questions which were presented to the members for discussion. A vote of want of confidence in the ministry was proposed, and carried by a large majority, and this was followed by the rejection of the President's Dotation Bill. A motion for the revision of the constitution was passed, it is true, on June 19, but, the majority in favour of the motion not being large enough according to French Parliamentary law at that time, it was declared to be rejected. It was clear that a gulf was opening between the President and the National Assembly that could be bridged over by nothing except arbitrary measures on one side or the other, which would tend to destroy the party, whichever it might be, against whom they were directed. The assembly thwarted the President and his ministers, and strove to throw on them the odium of all repressive measures that might be passed; while the President himself, when on a tour of inspection in some of the departments, did not hesitate at Dijon to speak of the Assembly, as being willing enough to sanction any laws of repression that were proposed to them, although they took care to offer the most persistent opposition to any measures that were proposed by the government for the amelioration of the condition of the people at large.

7. It must be remembered by all, in considering the event that is about to be described, that Louis Napoleon, from an early period of his life, had always aimed at attaining supreme power in France, and that his conduct since his elevation to the Presidential chair, had been sedulously shaped to the realisation of that end. His defence of the Pope's

*The
 Coup d'Etat,
 Dec. 2, 1851.*

rights in Italy had won over the clergy to his side: his frequent reviews and addresses to the French troops, in which, naturally enough he dwelt on the glory reaped by the soldiery of France under the Empire, secured the army; while the rural population were attracted by the desire, which he so frequently expressed during his tours, to effect an amelioration of the condition of the artisan classes, whether agricultural or manufacturing. It was difficult to procure any fundamental change in the constitution through the Legislative Assembly, because it could not be made without the sanction of three-fourths of the members and there were too many of the Republican Party in the Assembly to render success in any project of extending the term of the President's authority by this means even probable. Nothing remained, but to effect this by the subversion of the existing constitution; and as the Legislative Assembly had rejected, in November, a bill introduced at the sugges-

tion of the President for the establishment of universal suffrage in France, it was resolved by Louis Napoleon and his advisers, to resort to violent, and indeed unconstitutional means for the accomplishment of his chief object—his continuance in power. A *coup d'état* was resolved on, and this was carried into effect on December 2, 1851. Various decrees were issued, by one of which the Legislative Assembly was declared to be dissolved, while by another uni-



MARSHAL ST. ARNAUD.

versal suffrage was ordered to be re-established throughout France. Paris was also declared in a state of siege, and it was proposed that a President should be elected for ten years and a second chamber formed. It would have been dangerous to the success of the President's projects to have those men at liberty who were likely to be most able and most willing to take steps to thwart them, and accordingly M. Thiers and the Republican generals, Changarnier, Cavaignac, Bedeau, Lamoricière, and Lefô, with about seventy others, were arrested in their houses a little before dawn, and taken quickly and silently to the castle of Vincennes. M. Berryer, the eminent Legitimist

Arrest of
Thiers, Chan-
garnier, &c.

barrister, and about 180 members of the Assembly, who attempted to meet when the news was bruited abroad on the following day, were also placed in durance, and every part of Paris was occupied by troops, which had been marched to their destination in the dead of night. By vigorous and well-directed action, the President had removed all who were likely to offer serious opposition to the course he had adopted, and prevented much of the bloodshed that must have followed, had those whom he arrested been at large. As it was, an attempt at insurrection was made in many parts of Paris on December 3 and the day following; barricades were erected and many fell under the fire of the troops, but the promptness of the generals in command brought matters to a close on the 5th, and Paris was spared much of the destruction, loss of life and horror that would have ensued, had the resistance to the *coup d'état* been

The President's supporters.

general. It may be well to pause here a moment and note the names of the men who were mainly instrumental in aiding Louis Napoleon in carrying out his bold stroke for arbitrary power in France. Those most intimately associated with him were M. Persigny, afterwards Count Persigny, who had been concerned in all his previous plots, and for long years the most devoted of his adherents; M. Morny, afterwards the Duc de Morny, a clever schemer and financier, possessed of many great personal gifts; and General Fleury, one of his aides-de-camp, a good horseman and without any scruples of conscience in carrying out anything he might undertake. Subordinate to these were General, afterwards Marshal, St. Arnaud, who had been made Minister of War on October 27; M. de Maupas, who had been appointed Prefect of Police at the same time; General Lowéstein, commander of the National Guard; and Generals Magnan, Forey, Canrobert and others, many of whom acquired considerable renown under the Empire in subsequent years.

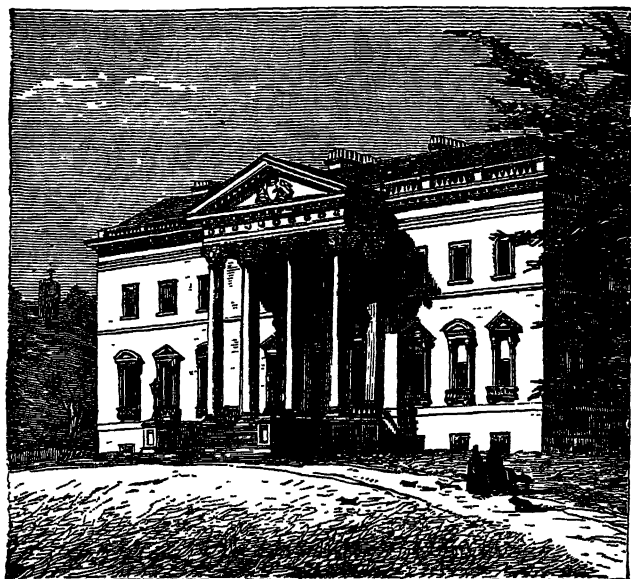
8. In accordance with the principle of universal suffrage, enunciated in one of the decrees of December 2, the people were asked, on December 21, to vote, throughout the whole of France, for or against the following plebiscite: "The French people desire the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegate to him the powers necessary for establishing a constitution upon the basis proposed in his proclamation of December 2, 1851."

The Plebiscite of December 21, 1851.

The result showed that 7,439,216 persons voted in the affirmative, while only 640,737 signified their dissent from the plebiscite: so, on New Year's Day, 1852, the President was formally installed in office in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and took up his official residence in the Tuileries. Soon after this, Changarnier and most of those who had been imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes, were conducted across the Belgian frontier and set at liberty, on the condition that they would not seek to return to France without permission. Upwards of eighty members of the late Legislative Assembly were sent into exile, and about six hundred more who had taken up arms to resist the *coup d'état* were transported to the

penal settlement of Cayenne. The National Guard was disbanded and immediately re-organised; and on January 14 a new constitution was promulgated, and the titles of the French nobility, which had been abolished at the Revolution of 1848, were restored. In the new constitution, regulations for the election of the second chamber were duly propounded. One deputy was to be returned by every 35,000 electors in a department, with one in addition, if there should happen to be

New Constitution.



CLAREMONT.

a surplus population of 25,000 in the department. Thus, for example, if a department contained 105,000 electors, it was to return three members; but if the surplus over this number brought the total up to 130,000 or upwards, it was entitled to four members. Every department was to be divided into as many electoral districts as it was entitled to deputies, according to the number of electors that it contained. All Frenchmen above the age of twenty, being in full possession of all civil and political rights, were entitled to vote. If the principle of universal suffrage be right, the President and his advisers seem to have acted fairly enough in regulating the exercise of this political privilege; but, to use no harsher term, it was an ungenerous feeling that led to the promul-

gation of the decree which compelled the Orleans family to dispose of all the personal property they possessed in France within a year, and confiscated the private property which Louis Philippe had possessed and settled on his family, prior to his accession to the throne, to annex it to the domains of the State. The ex-King of the French, it is true, did not feel its harshness, for he had died at Claremont on August 26, 1850; but the President, who was even then meditating the revival of the Empire, might have acted less harshly to the widow and sons of a King who had once pardoned his attempt, abortive as it was, to subvert the Government, and permitted the remains of Napoleon I. to return to France, there to repose in French soil in the heart of the French capital.

9. It was not until March 29 that the new Legislative Chambers met in the Tuileries. The session was opened in considerable state by the Prince-President, who sought to disabuse the minds of his hearers of the thought that, perchance, might be lurking there, that it was his intention to seek the revival of the Empire, by openly declaring that he had no intention of doing so, unless the conduct of seditious factions compelled him to adopt such a course. "Let us," he said, "maintain the Republic; it menaces nobody, but reassures all." The birthday of Napoleon I., August 15, was ordered to be kept as a fête-day throughout France; and the good understanding that assuredly existed between the governor and governed in the country was increased by an act of amnesty which permitted the return of M. Thiers, Changarnier and other political exiles of December 2 to France. There can be but little doubt that one thought had been predominant in Louis Napoleon's mind since he had grown to manhood, and that that thought was the revival of the Empire. Whether measures were taken by himself and his supporters to set the tide of public opinion in the direction which it assuredly took soon after his installation as President for ten years, it is impossible to say. However it may have been excited, the wish for the restoration of the Empire was at this time paramount in

Spoliation of the Orleans Family.
Legislative Session, 1852.
Revival of the Empire.
 France. It was openly mentioned in all parts of France. In September a petition was presented to the Senate, asking for the "re-establishment of the hereditary power in the Bonaparte family," and this was followed by many others to the same effect. At Lyons, whither the President had gone to be present at the inauguration of an equestrian statue of Napoleon I., the spectators broke out into enthusiastic cries of "Vive l'Empereur." At Bourdeaux, in a tour through the southern departments, the President, in allusion to the evident wish for the revival of the Empire, took occasion to say, "The Empire is peace;" an avowal, in fact, of his intention to promote industry, commerce and the arts of peace throughout France as long as the country remained under his rule. It was during this tour that he performed a graceful act of clemency towards a fallen foe of France, by permitting Abd-el-Kader to retire to Asia Minor, on condition that he would

never again take up arms for the recovery of Algeria. At last, when the Senate met in November, gladly yielding to the wish of the nation at large, the Prince-President ordered that a plebiscite should be issued respecting the revival of the Empire, for or against which the people might record their votes on November 21. The plebiscite ran thus: "The French people wills the resuscitation of the Imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, with succession in his direct legitimate or adopted descendants." ^{The Plebiscite of Nov. 21, 1852.} The number of votes recorded in favour of the plebiscite was 7,864,189; only 253,145 were registered against it. On December 1, the Senate and Legislative body proceeded to St. Cloud to acquaint the President with the result of the voting, and Louis Napoleon signified his acceptance of the Imperial crown, and his intention to assume the title of Napoleon III. On the following day, the anniversary of the *coup d'état*, the Empire was proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville, and the Emperor entered Paris amid the acclamations of the people. Such was the ending of the second Republic, after a brief existence of four years and ten months.






THE VALLEY AND REMAINS OF THE VILLAGE OF INKERMEN.

CHAPTER X.

THE SECOND EMPIRE. December, 1852, to September, 1870.

1. MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON III: THE EMPEROR'S KINDLY FEELING TOWARDS ENGLAND. 2. THE EASTERN QUESTION: OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES: DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST RUSSIA: BATTLE OF ALMA. 3. BATTLE OF BALACLAVA: BATTLE OF INKERMEN: BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA: EVACUATION OF SEBASTOPOL BY THE RUSSIANS. 4. HOME EVENTS: ROYAL VISITS, 1855: BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL. 5. ORSINI'S PLOT: WAR WITH CHINA: PEACE OF TIENTSIN: OPENING OF THE DOCKS AT CHERBOURG. 6. WAR WITH AUSTRIA: BATTLE OF MAGENTA: BATTLE OF SOLFERINO: PEACE OF VILLAGRANCA. 7. RENEWAL OF WAR WITH CHINA: COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH ENGLAND: ABOLITION OF PASSPORTS. 8. SPEECH OF PRINCE NAPOLEON AGAINST THE POPE: FINANCIAL EMBARRASMENTS. 9. THE WAR IN MEXICO: CONVENTION OF SOLEDAD: MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO: SUCCESSES IN ASIA. 10. HOME EVENTS, 1863: GENERAL ELECTION: PROPOSED CONGRESS OF EUROPEAN STATES. 11. LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1865: SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL MEETINGS: TERMINATION OF THE MEXICAN OCCUPATION. 12. AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR: BATTLE OF SADOWA: WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH TROOPS FROM ROME. 13. SECOND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, 1867: NEUTRALISATION OF LUXEMBURG. 14. REORGANISATION OF THE FRENCH ARMY: SHORTCOMINGS OF THE WAR OFFICE: REPRESSIVE MEASURES. 15. PRESS AGITATION AGAINST PERSONAL GOVERNMENT: GENERAL ELECTION, 1869: ABANDONMENT OF PERSONAL GOVERNMENT BY THE EMPEROR: THE OLLIVIER MINISTRY. 16. VICTOR NOIR SHOT BY PRINCE PIERRE BONAPARTE: STRIKE AT CREUGOT. 17. NEW PLEBISCITES: RIOTS IN PARIS: PLOT AGAINST THE EMPEROR'S LIFE. 18. MISUNDERSTANDING WITH PRUSSIA: DECLARATION OF WAR: PROMPTNESS OF PRUSSIA. 19. COMPARISON OF NUMBERS, ETC. 20. BATTLES OF WEISSENBURG, WOERTH AND FORBACH: BATTLES OF COURCELLES, VIONVILLE AND GRAVELLOTTE: SORTIES FROM METZ; BATTLE OF SEDAN: CAPITULATION OF SEDAN: THE EMPEROR A PRISONER OF WAR. 21. DETHRONEMENT OF NAPOLEON III.: FLIGHT OF THE EMPRESS.—POSTSCRIPT.

1.  NE of the first acts of Napoleon III., after the reception of the Imperial crown, was the promulgation of a decree confirming the succession to Jerome Bonaparte, ex-King of Westphalia, and his male heirs, if he himself should die without issue in direct legitimacy; and having provided for this contingency he began to seek Marriage of Napoleon III. for a suitable consort. It is said that he was at first anxious to contract an alliance with the Princess Caroline Vasa of Sweden, but that the northern powers refused to give their consent to the match. Failing in this quarter, he offered his hand to the Countess Eugénie Marie de Montijo, the daughter of Count de Montijo, a grandee of Spain, who was a young lady of considerable personal attractions, and in every way was calculated to adorn the high position to which she was called. The marriage took place in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame on January 30, 1853, and was immediately followed by an amnesty by which between 4,000 and 5,000 persons, who were undergoing punishment for political offences, were pardoned. This act of clemency had but little effect on the Republican Party, or the extreme section of it, who before the year had expired concerted a plot against the Emperor's life. Fortunately, it was discovered before it could be carried into effect, and the intended assassins were variously punished according to their complicity and importance by transportation for life, or imprisonment for a greater or less number of years.

2. For many years of his life a resident in England, the emperor, besides having become impressed with the value of free institutions and real personal liberty, was imbued with a feeling of genuine liking and real friendship towards the country that had afforded him an asylum in the time of adversity, and sought every opportunity of cultivating a good understanding, not only between the governments of France and England, but also between the people of the respective countries. About this time the The Eastern Question. Eastern Question, as it was called, was attracting considerable attention in and throughout Europe, especially as Russia was seeking to turn it to such account as would enable her to carry out the sinister designs she had long entertained against Turkey. The Emperor of Russia, as head of the Greek Church, had long been endeavouring to persuade the Sultan of Turkey, by virtue of former treaties, to give to that Church the principal authority over the Holy Places at Jerusalem at which many of the chief events in our Saviour's life were said to have taken place. The Emperor of France as "Eldest Son of the Church" supported the right of the Latin or Roman Catholic Church to claim and exercise an equal degree of authority over these spots, and the dispute was still in abeyance when the Czar suddenly claimed from Turkey the protectorate of the Greek Christians in that country and the right of settling all complaints that might be lodged against the Greek patriarchs and bishops in Constantinople. He even went so far as to suggest to England that it was time to divide Turkey between England and Russia; an overture which the British Government

promptly declined, asserting plainly at the same time its intention of upholding the integrity of Turkey at any cost. At this juncture the Emperor also declared his intention of acting in concert with England in behalf of Turkey, and a combined French and English fleet was sent to the Dardanelles. Reassured by the friendly attitude of the Western powers, the Sultan no longer hesitated to refuse to accede to the demands of his northern neighbour, and on



THE EMPRESS EUGENIE.

July 2 a Russian army crossed the south and occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. On September 27 the Porte made a formal declaration of war against Russia, and entered into the struggle with spirit and alacrity. England and France exhausted every endeavour to induce the Czar to forego his demands, withdraw his troops and resume friendly relations with Turkey; but finding that their efforts to preserve peace were futile, they declared war against Russia and immediately dispatched troops to the seat of

Declaration of
War against
Russia, March
1854.

war in the east. After a delay of five months, which was spent in accumulating men and materials of war at Varna, the allied French and English armies sailed across the Black Sea and landed in the Crimea on September 14. The disembarkation of the troops was unopposed by the Russians, but in their march southward on Sebastopol the allies found a strong Russian force under Menschikoff posted in a commanding position on the south bank of the Alma to dispute the passage of the river. The English troops made a vigorous attack on the centre and the right of the Russian position and carried it, after the Russian left, resting on the sea, had been turned by General Bosquet's division, consisting of zouaves and other picked French troops, who scaled the cliffs abutting on the sea and, by their unexpected appearance on the Russian flank, secured the victory for the allies. Menschikoff immediately fell back and entered Sebastopol, whither Lord Raglan, the English commander in-chief, wished to follow him at once and attempt to carry the city by a *coup de main*; but Marshal Saint Arnaud, who held the command-in-chief of the French, who was worn out with illness and died nine days after the victory, was indisposed to agree to Lord Raglan's proposal, and the troops of the allies, passing the city by a flank march to the left, took up a position on the plateau to the south of Sebastopol, and having secured communication with the fleets at Balaclava Bay, proceeded to commence operations for the investment of the city.

3. The Russians having gradually recovered the depression produced by their defeat on the Alma, commenced a series of strenuous efforts to dislodge the allies from their positions, and interrupt them in their preparations for the siege, which was commenced on October 17. Sortie after sortie was made, but on October 25 a general action took place in the valley of Balaclava, by which the Russians sought to crush the allies between the city and its forts, and the attacking party from without; and this was followed, on November 5, by the battle of Inkerman, in which a large body of English troops, after having exhausted their ammunition against the Russians, who returned repeatedly to the attack, were succoured by the timely arrival of the French. Both of these battles terminated in the repulse of the Russians. No further attack of any importance was made by the besieged, and the batteries of the besiegers seemed to make but little impression on the outworks of the city during the long and dreary winter that ensued, and in which the allied troops endured the greatest hardships and privations. Sardinia joined the Western powers against Russia in 1855, and in the spring of that year sent a small contingent of troops to the seat of war, shortly after the death of the Czar Nicholas of Russia, who was succeeded by his son Alexander. On June 6 and the following day the French obtained possession of the White Works and Mamelon, but an attack on the Malakhoff by the French

Battle of the
Alma, Septem-
ber 20, 1854.

Battle of Bala-
clava,
October, 25,
1854.

Battle of Inker-
man,
November 5,
1854.

and on the Redan by the English, on June 18 proved a failure. At this time General Pelissier, who had seen much service in Algeria, had superseded General Canrobert in the command-in-chief of the French; and shortly after General Simpson assumed the chief command of the English, Lord Raglan having died in camp on June 25. On August 16 an attack was made on the English and Sardinian camps in the valley of the Tchernaya, which was repulsed; and on September 8, after a terrific bombardment for three days, the French carried the Malakhoff, but failed in their assault



VALLEY OF THE ALMA.

on the little Redan, as did the English in an attack on the Redan.

In the evening, however, the Russian troops evacuated the city and withdrew to the north side of the harbour, and on the following day the allies took possession of it. Austria now interfered to bring about peace, and in February, 1856, an armistice was signed and hostilities suspended. Peace was definitively signed on April 29; Russia pledging herself to regard the Black Sea for the future as neutral water, closed to the fleets of all nations, and to keep up no maritime force therein.

4. Nothing of particular importance had occurred at home during the year 1855, except an interchange of visits between Napoleon III. and Queen Victoria. On April 17 the former, accompanied by the Empress, arrived at Windsor on a visit to the Queen, and were entertained by the Lord Mayor of London at the Guildhall on the 19th, while on August 18, the Queen and Prince Consort made a brief stay in Paris. On April 28 an attempt was made on the life of the Emperor, while riding in the Champs Elysées, by an Italian named Pianori, who was captured on the spot, tried and sentenced

to death. On May 15, the Paris Universal Exhibition of Industry was opened, being the second of the series of industrial shows which had been inaugurated by the great Exhibition in London in 1851. Another attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor on November 8, but the assassin was arrested by a police agent, who struck down his arm as he was about to fire. The man proved to be a dangerous lunatic. The year 1855 was further marked by the readiness with which the French people responded to the call of the government for a loan of 500,000,000 francs. So great was the confidence and such was the prosperity of all classes in France at that time, that nearly twice this sum was offered in a few days, although a loan of 250,000,000 francs had been subscribed for at the commencement of the war. A few months after, a third loan, of 500,000,000 francs, was asked for, and in response more than three times the sum required was offered, principally by small investors, who sought thus to turn their earnings to good account. The year 1856, which witnessed the restoration of peace, is noteworthy for the birth of Napoleon's only child, the Prince Napoleon Eugène Louis, who was born on March 16; an event which was hailed with the utmost satisfaction by the French nation, and which at that time bid fair to secure the maintenance of the dynasty. The national prosperity, however, suffered a check in the latter part of the year by destructive inundations in the south of France, which caused great loss of life and property, while there was much distress in the money market, and numerous important commercial failures. The working classes, in spite of these occurrences, were prosperous and happy, for work was abundant, owing to the measures adopted by the government for the improvement of the capital.

5. Although the conduct of the Emperor since his accession to power had been such as to merit the affection and esteem of all his subjects, the Revolutionary faction were untiring in seeking to assassinate him. On January 14, 1858, as the Emperor and Empress were proceeding along the Rue Lepelletier on their way to the Opera, several detonating shells were thrown under the carriage in which they were seated. These exploded without injury to the Emperor, but mortally wounded two of the escort and injured several of the bystanders, while the carriage was shattered in many places by the fragments of the missiles. The chief conspirators were an Italian, named Orsini; Pierri, another Italian; Rudio and Gomez. They were arrested shortly after, and Orsini and Pierri, being sentenced to death, were guillotined on March 13. This and other similar plots were undoubtedly hatched in England. A remonstrance was addressed to the English Government, urging them to make their laws more strict against political refugees. Lord Palmerston, who was in office at the time, brought in a bill for this most necessary and desirable purpose; but the bill was rejected by the House of Commons, and Lord Palmerston resigned. This tended, in a measure, to impair the cordial understanding between the govern-

Orsini's Plot,
January 14,
1858.

ments of France and England, which in the previous year had sent a combined fleet and army to China, to punish the Chinese for their frequent attacks upon foreigners and to compel them to respect the treaties into which they had entered from time to time. Canton was bombarded and taken on December 29, and the allies then proceeded northwards to Peking. Having entered the Peiho and taken the forts at the entrance to that river, the Chinese became alarmed and made overtures for peace, which was concluded at Tien-tsin on June 29, and signed by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the plenipotentiaries of England and France respectively. The failure of Lord Palmerston's "Conspiracy to Murder" bill, as it was called, and the acquittal of Simon Bernard, a Frenchman, who was implicated in Orsini's plot against the Emperor's life, and who was brought to trial for the offence in London, caused a great deal of angry feeling in France, and a portion of the army clamoured loudly for war with England. A Public Safety bill and some restrictions on the press were adopted at this time in the French legislative chambers, but not without protest on the part of M. Emile Ollivier, who was already coming into prominence as one of the chiefs of the Liberal party. At this time France was divided into five great military commands, for the better security of the country against attacks from without and internal discord. The most notable event of the year was the opening of the new naval docks at Cherbourg, in the presence of the Emperor and Queen Victoria. This port had been rendered a secure harbour of refuge by the completion of the breakwater, which had been commenced in the year 1783, while the strong cordon of forts with which it was surrounded towards the sea rendered it impregnable to any attack from that quarter.

War with
China, 1857.

Opening of
the Docks at
Cherbourg.
Aug. 4, 1858.

6. Since 1856 the peace of Europe had remained unbroken, but public confidence in its maintenance was shaken by the words addressed by Napoleon III. to the Austrian ambassador at the usual New Year's day reception of the representatives of foreign powers at the Tuileries, January 1, 1859. "I regret," said the Emperor, "that our relations with your government are not so good as formerly." The marriage, on January 30, of Prince Napoleon, the son of Jerome Bonaparte, with Clotilde, the daughter of the King of Sardinia, seemed to point to a good understanding between France and Italy; but the full meaning of the Emperor's remark to the Austrian ambassador was not revealed until the following month, when Austria called on Sardinia to disarm, and menaced her with war in case she refused to comply with the demand. On this the Emperor openly declared his intention of assisting Sardinia, if Austria declared war against her; and this having been done in consequence of the steady refusal of Sardinia to disarm, a French army was sent across the Alps and entered Italy in the beginning of May. The Austrians, who had entered Piedmont, were compelled to retreat. They were beaten

War with
Austria.

in succession in the battles of Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, and Melegnano by the Franco-Sardinian army, and, on June 8, the Emperor Napoleon and King Victor Emmanuel entered Milan. A few days after, the victory of Solferino, in which fortune again declared for the allies, rendered it necessary for the Emperor of Austria to make overtures for peace. An armistice was concluded and the terms of peace arranged at Villafranca on July 8, although peace was not definitively signed until November. By this treaty Lombardy was ceded to the Emperor of the French, who, in accordance with his engagement to that effect, handed over the ceded territory to Victor Emmanuel. This was the first link in the chain of events which culminated, in 1861, in the acquisition of the entire peninsula of Italy by Victor Emmanuel, with the exception of the territory surrounding Rome, and the assumption of the title of King of Italy. In 1860, while these events were yet in progress, a treaty was concluded between France and Italy by which Savoy and Nice were ceded to the former power.

Battle of Magenta,
June 4, 1859.
Battle of Solferino, June
24, 1859.
Peace of Villafranca.

7. After the conclusion of the peace of Tien-tsin, it had been agreed that ambassadors from France and England should for the future take up their residence at Peking; but the envoys and their escort were fired on while passing the Peiho forts. This compelled the French and English governments to send another expedition to China, under the orders of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, and commanded by Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban. The Taku forts, at the mouth of the Peiho, were carried by assault and destroyed, and the allies sacked and burnt the Chinese emperor's summer palace, near Peking, and invested the capital. Once more the Chinese authorities found themselves compelled to sue for peace, and a treaty, on favourable terms to the European powers, was concluded at Peking on October 24, 1860.

At home the year was marked by the conclusion of a commercial treaty between France and England, arranged by Mr. Cobden, the eminent advocate of Free-Trade, by which the products and manufactures of each country were received in the other, duty free, or at merely nominal rates of duty. The Emperor also took occasion, about this time, to neutralise the ill effect produced by a portion of the French press, which was always clamouring against the alliance with England, by writing a letter to Count Persigny, the French ambassador in London, in which he disavowed any feeling whatever of hostility towards England on the part of the French government, and, as if to give evidence of this by some tangible proof, he proposed to allow Englishmen to enter France without passports on and after January 1, 1861. This period of Napoleon's reign found him not only endeavouring to promote a feeling of cordiality and good will between England and France, but doing his utmost to extend political and religious liberty in his own dominions. Greater freedom of speech than heretofore was permitted in the Senate and Legis-

Commercial
Treaty.

lative Assembly, while many of the restrictions on the press were relaxed.

8. Up to this time the clergy, almost to a man, had supported the Emperor; but a bitter feeling was roused in them against him when he suffered a speech, made by Prince Napoleon, against the temporal power of the Pope, to pass by without reproof. It also tended to alienate the more rigid Catholics from the Emperor; while so openly shown was the hostility of the priests to the throne

Speech of
Prince Napo-
leon against
the Pope.



MARSHAL BAZAINE.

that it was found necessary to forbid them to meddle with politics, and to remind them that there were duties which they owed to Napoleon, as their temporal sovereign, as well as to the Pope, the temporal head of the Church. This was followed by embarrassments in the finances, which caused the Emperor to summon the eminent financier, M. Achille Fould to his aid. This able man then

Financial
Embarrass-
ments.

became Minister of Finance; but the only step he could take towards relieving the pressure on the State coffers, was to reduce the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock to 3 per cent. and impose new taxes and stamp duties. He also prevailed on the Emperor to abstain from contracting any loans in future without the sanction of the Legislative body.

9. In 1862, the Mexican Expedition was attracting considerable attention, not only in France but throughout the whole of Europe. The misconduct of the Mexican government towards foreigners of different nationalities residing in that country had become so glaring that England, France and Spain resolved to send an allied fleet and army thither, to compel the Mexicans to make suitable reparation for past offences and to promise to abstain from similar acts for the future. The Spanish troops, who were the first to arrive in the Gulf of Mexico, landed and occupied Vera Cruz in December, 1861, and early in 1862 the French and English contingents arrived. Juarez was then president of Mexico, but there was a strong party in the country opposed to his government, and some of the chiefs of this party entered into a convention with the allied troops at Soledad, the terms of which were satisfactory to the English and Spanish governments, but not to the French, who determined to prosecute the war in the hope of re-establishing a stable government in the country. Napoleon III., in short, proposed to establish an empire in Mexico and place the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, on the throne. The French troops, under General Forey, remained in Mexico though the English and Spanish contingents were withdrawn; considerable reinforcements were sent out, and arrangements entered into with the Mexicans, who were hostile to Juarez, for the revival of the Mexican empire. In 1863 a provisional government was formed and the crown was formally offered to Maximilian, who did not arrive in the country, however, until May 29, 1864. Meanwhile Forey had been recalled, and Bazaine had assumed the command of the French troops. In Asia the French arms gained, in 1862, more notable successes than in America; a large part of Cochin China was conquered and annexed as a dependency of the French empire, and a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded with the ruler of Anam.

Maximilian,
Emperor of
Mexico.

Successes in
Asia.

10. At home, affairs were beginning to wear a gloomy appearance, for considerable distress had arisen in the manufacturing districts owing to the civil war then raging in America between the Northern and Southern sections of the United States having stopped the supply of cotton, on which the prosperity of the cotton manufacture was of course entirely dependent. This was followed by discontent among the working classes, which was promptly worked on by the Revolutionary party, by whom an agitation against the Emperor was immediately set on foot. This agitation was aided, indirectly, by the opposition shown by the Liberal party in the Legislative Chamber, to the system of personal government which had hitherto been adopted, and carried out with success, by the Emperor. Just at this period the legislative body was dissolved, and Count Persigny, who was then Minister for Home Affairs, took reprehensible measures to influence the electors in their choice of representatives—thus reviving the worst feature of government interference with

Home Events,
1863.

political freedom under the monarchy, in his desire to obtain a chamber the majority of whose members should be subservient to the Emperor's views. He failed, however, to carry the elections; M. Thiers, Jules Favre, Ollivier, Jules Simon, Ernest Picard and other well-known opponents of the government were returned for Paris, and Persigny and other members of the cabinet, finding the results generally unfavourable to them, resigned. M. Billault too, the Minister through whom the views and wishes of the Emperor were generally expounded to the Legislative Chamber, died in October, 1863, and was succeeded as Minister of State by M. Rouher. Towards the close of 1863 the Emperor made a proposal for a general European Congress, to settle any differences that might exist and to regulate matters in the future; but although most of the states of Europe were, without doubt, willing and even desirous to accede to the proposal, England declined participation in it on the plea that dissensions might arise in the course of the discussions that might place the general relations of the states in a worse position than they were before; and so the matter fell to the ground.

Proposed
Congress of
European
States.

11. The Legislative Session of 1865 was opened by a speech from the throne which promised fairly enough, as far as the words went in which it was couched, and the assurances which it contained. The country was congratulated on the probability of the continued maintenance of peace and a revival of prosperity; and the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, which had been maintained there since 1849, was spoken of as an eventuality which would probably happen. A repeal of the French navigation laws and a consequent extension of the principles of free trade was promised; and measures for the extension of the powers of local management in departments and communes, without the intervention of the State; the right of provisional release from detention before trial, with or without bail as might be found necessary, even in criminal cases; and a total suppression of personal arrest for offences in civil or commercial matters. It was also desired to provide for compulsory instruction throughout France; but a bill to this effect which was introduced by M. Darney, the Minister for Instruction, was negatived by the Legislative Chamber. The realisation of these proposals would have been an advance in the right direction towards the attainment of a fuller system of personal freedom in France; but at the same time the government took measures to stifle public discussion by the suppression of public meetings. Indeed, no more than twenty persons were allowed to meet together for this purpose, and M. Garnier-Pages and several of his friends who had met together at his private residence to talk over some election business were actually punished with fines for violation of this law.

Termination
of the Mexi-
can Occu-
pation, 1867.

During the session the opposition, and a great part of the French press, were unanimous in condemning the Mexican occupation as a grave error, and in demanding the recall of the French troops. The Emperor, to satisfy the

wishes of the nation, agreed to the withdrawal of the army of occupation in the following year. This was done, and Maximilian, who had been induced to accept the crown on the understanding that the Emperor would accord him the support of the French arms as long as might be necessary, was abandoned to his fate. For a short time he struggled to maintain his crown against the attacks of the followers of Juarez, but he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies at Querataro on May 14, and, after being tried by court martial, was shot to death in cold blood by order of Juarez on June 19.

12. It is necessary now to direct attention to the brief but bloody war that raged in 1866 between Prussia and Austria. These powers had combined in 1864 to crush Denmark and deprive her or the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, over which she had long held jurisdiction, on the pretence that they formed part of Germany and ought to be transferred from Denmark to that country. Denmark was defeated

Austro-Prussian War
1866.

in the unequal contest, and Austria and Prussia were unable to agree about the appropriation of the spoil. An appeal to arms was the consequence. Prussia, always ready for war, hastily took the field and, after a brief contest, now known as the "Seven Weeks War," opened the road to Vienna by the victory of Sadowa, or König-gratz, over the Austrians, and was preparing to follow up the advantage thus obtained when Napoleon III. stepped in as mediator between Prussia and her

Battle of
Sadowa,
July 3, 1866.

prey, and obtained peace on better terms than Austria could have obtained had not the French Emperor come to her assistance. The price paid for his timely aid was the cession of Venice to Italy, which had combined with Prussia to attack Austria and ultimately gained her chief object in doing so, though the Italian troops were defeated in more than one engagement by the Austrians. From this time, the animosity that had been cherished for years towards France by Prussia deepened in intensity, while the conduct and expressions of the French towards Prussia in no way tended to allay it. Both countries felt that war must eventually break out between them, and took no conciliatory measures to prevent it. The ill-feeling was further augmented on both sides by the rejection by Count Bismarck, the Prime Minister of Prussia, of a request made by the French Government that the rectification of the French frontier to what it had been in 1814 should be taken into consideration by Prussia. This application met with a peremptory and uncourteous refusal. Among other events for which the year 1866 is noteworthy is the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. The evacuation was commenced in the winter of 1865 and the last detachment left the Eternal City on December 13, 1866, after receiving the blessing of the Pope, who took no pains to conceal his regret at their departure. The withdrawal of the French troops revived the desire of the Italians to make Rome once more the capital of united Italy, but the Italian Government took no

Withdrawal
of French
Troops from
Rome, Decem-
ber, 1866.

steps to encourage their aspiration in this direction after a declaration, made by M. Rouher in the Legislative Assembly, to the effect that Italy should never seize on Rome to the prejudice or injury of the Pope, a substitute was found for the army of occupation in a new Pontifical army, which was recruited from the most enthusiastic of the Catholics in France, Ireland and other countries.

13. The lead which had been taken by England in the promotion of the comparison of industrial progress made from time to time by all nations was carefully followed by France; and as the first Exhibition in London in 1851 was succeeded by a similar one in Paris in 1855, so the second International Exhibition, held in the Metropolis of the British Empire in 1862 was followed by a Great International Exhibition in France in 1867. The building in which it was held was erected in the Champ de Mars, and whilst it was open—the inaugural ceremony was held on April 1—it was visited by the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia, and others of the crowned heads of Europe. Whilst this great show of the world's art and manufacture was being held in Paris, a Conference was opened in London with respect to Luxemburg, whose fortress, which belonged to the King of Holland as Grand Duke of Luxemburg and was reckoned to form a part of the German empire, was occupied by Prussian troops. France, jealous of the maintenance of this fortress on her north-eastern frontier by Prussia, called on that power to withdraw its troops; and, by a treaty signed in London on May 11 by the representatives of France, England, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Italy, Holland and Belgium, it was agreed that the defensive works of Luxemburg should be dismantled and the territory henceforward should be considered neutral.

14. Public attention had, for some time, been directed by the government to the necessity that existed for the reorganisation of the French army, and a proposal made with this object in the Legislative Assembly in 1867 had met with rejection. The uncertainty, however, of any long continuance of peace had much to do with weakening the opposition that had previously been shown to this measure; and, in 1868, a new army bill was passed through the Senate and Legislative Assembly, by which it was arranged that 200,000 men should be added to the army annually, the period of service being fixed at 12 years. This would have placed a standing army of 1,200,000 men constantly at the disposal of the government, and the plan, if it had been properly carried out, would, in time, have passed a great part of the population of France through the army and rendered her an armed nation, like Germany. It is asserted that the money voted annually for this reconstruction of the army was not used for the purpose for which it was intended, but was appropriated by the authorities at the War Office. Whether this be a true statement or not the future alone can prove; but it is a grave fact, that goes far to substantiate it, that when the safety of France depended on her army and the state of

preparation for war in which her army was found, its numerical strength, when in the field, was far under what it had appeared to be on paper, and, whilst the men had lost none of the admirable qualities that have always distinguished the French soldier, the officers, especially those in the higher grades, with many honourable exceptions, of course, were found to be ignorant of the art of war, incapable and utterly unable to command the respect and confidence of the men who had to follow them. In addition to the measures taken for the addition of new recruits annually into the army, it was resolved to form a new national guard, or *garde mobile*, which might be sent as the government might direct, from one part of the country to the other, while the old national guard, or *garde nationale sédentaire*, as it was termed, was only to be called on to operate in its own locality. The government further thought fit to continue repressive measures against the press in consequence of the unbounded licence of language which was indulged in by several of them against the Emperor and members of his family. Among these the most scurrilous and offensive was *La Lanterne*, a journal whose satire was as weak as its language was disgusting, which was edited by M. Henri Rochefort, a man of good birth, who aped the *sans-culottism* of the infamous Philip Egalité and other men of rank who made themselves notorious as the abettors of the Great French Revolution and the excesses which sprang from it. But even while instituting proceedings against the press, the government certainly showed no disposition at this time to stifle free discussion; for despite the law which forbade more than twenty persons to meet together for purposes of political discussion, large private meetings were held in different parts of France to determine the line of conduct to be pursued at the approaching general election in 1869; and, as the government showed no disposition to interfere with them, it was considered that the right of the people to hold political meetings at pleasure was fully conceded.

15. At the customary reception of the representatives of foreign powers on January 1, 1869, the Emperor again took occasion to declare that everything promised the continuance of peace and that the internal prosperity of the country was increasing. A great part of the press, however, declared that the prosperity of France could never be placed on a secure basis until the Emperor abandoned his system of personal government, and a bitter outcry was raised against M. Rouher, whose position as "speaking minister," or mouthpiece of the Emperor in the Legislative Assembly, as well as his alleged subserviency to his imperial master and his inability to conceive or carry out anything for the real benefit of the country, rendered him an object of popular dislike. That the Emperor spoke more truthfully than the press can be substantiated by the fact that the financial position of France at the time was good; reduction of taxation had been promised; the floating debt had been lessened, and it was estimated that the revenue for the financial

Shortcomings
of the
War Office.

Press Agita-
tion against
Personal
Government.

year 1869-70 would exceed the expenditure by about 100,000,000 francs. Still a feeling against the Emperor, his advisers, and his policy had sprung up; and, being carefully nurtured by the Opposition, bore its fruit in the general election of 1869, which was held in June, the Legislative Assembly having been dissolved on April 26. The elections in Paris were attended with attempts at insur-



LEON GAMBETTA.

rection, but these were promptly suppressed by the government. The result, in the capital, was the return of several candidates notoriously hostile to the Emperor, among whom were Thiers, Jules Favre (the Republican barrister), Garnier-Pages and Jules Ferry, while among the representatives for the department of the Seine were Gambetta, Jules Simon, Ernest Picard, Eugène Pelletan, and other extreme Republicans. The suppression of *La Lanterne* in France and apparent persecution of Rochefort by the government

exercised considerable influence on the elections. The journal, whose publication was continued in Belgium, whence it was smuggled into France, was eagerly purchased in the capital; and to such an extent did Rochefort carry the scurrility of his language that in June the government commenced a prosecution against him, and, being sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 francs or to be imprisoned for three years, with loss of civil rights in default, he made his escape into Belgium to avoid arrest. When the new Legislative Chamber assembled at the end of June, it was found that the opposition had nearly trebled in number, and the Emperor, who had given a forecast of his intentions in the *Presse* before the elections took place, now announced his abandonment of personal government for the future and the introduction of ministerial responsibility; the ministry to be selected as in England, in accordance with the views of the party who possessed for the time the majority in the Chamber. This was followed immediately by the resignation of M. Rouher and his colleagues. M. Rouher became president of the Senate and M. Chasseloup-Laubat took the post of president of the new Cabinet, in which Marshal Niel was minister for war, Forcade de la Roquette for the Interior, and La Tour d'Auvergne for Foreign Affairs. In August, however, Marshal Niel died, and his place was filled by General Leboeuf. It was not long, however, that this ministry remained in office, for they resigned on December 27 in consequence of the opposition shown by the Chamber to all the measures which they proposed, and the evident leaning of the majority towards the programme of M. Emile Ollivier and his partisans, which comprised a thorough revision of the electoral law, the abolition of official candidatures and a complete municipal reform. A revision of the army bill was also a prominent feature, as well as restoration of trial by jury and the relaxation of the press laws. In November, a fresh election having become necessary for Paris, M. Rochefort had re-entered France to offer himself as a candidate. He was arrested soon after crossing the frontier, but the Emperor ordered him to be provided with a safe conduct during the election, which terminated in his return to the Legislative Chamber.

Ollivier
Ministry.

16. The reception of the foreign ambassadors on New Year's Day was promptly followed by the announcement of the new liberal ministers. The new Cabinet was formed of M. Ollivier, minister for Justice; Count Daru, for Foreign Affairs; Chevalier de Valdonne, for the Interior; Marshal Leboeuf, for War; and Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, for Naval Affairs. Among other changes Baron Haussmann, who had acquired deserved celebrity for the improvements he had effected in Paris, was replaced as Prefect of the Seine by M. Chevreau, who had hitherto been Prefect of the Rhone. Hardly had the new ministry assumed office when an event happened which was eagerly taken advantage of to rouse the passions of the mob against the Emperor and his family. The notorious Rochefort had repaid the clemency lately shown him by the Emperor by the publication of an extreme Republican organ,

called the *Marseillaise*, in which he indulged in the same scurrilous animadversions against the Emperor and his family that had distinguished *La Lanterne*. Prince Pierre Bonaparte, one of the Emperor's cousins, a man of indifferent character and violent passions, had retorted on the writer of one of these articles, a man called Grousset, in a Corsican paper, and Grousset sent two of the staff of the *Marseillaise*, a journalist called Salmon, who wrote under the assumed name of Victor Noir, and another, Ulric de Fonvielle, to the Prince with a challenge. The Prince refused to fight any one but Rochefort, whereupon Victor Noir, as the Prince asserted, struck him in the face, while de Fonvielle pulled out a revolver. On this Prince Pierre Bonaparte also took a revolver from his pocket, and fired two or three shots, one of which mortally wounded Victor Noir, who died a few minutes afterwards. The Prince immediately surrendered himself to the police, and was tried in March at a High Court of Justice held at Tours. He was acquitted of any intent to murder, but was ordered to pay £1,000 as compensation to the family of the man whom he had shot. The funeral of Victor Noir attracted a considerable number of persons, but nothing serious took place. Rochefort was prosecuted for an article which appeared in the *Marseillaise* immediately after Noir's death, and sentenced to pay a fine of 3,000 francs and be imprisoned for six months. The enforcement of his sentence and his arrest caused an outbreak in Belleville and some of the low faubourgs of Paris, but it was promptly

Strike at
Creuzot.

suppressed by the authorities. Among other occurrences which occupied public attention at this time was the strike of the engineers and workmen at the great works of M. Schneider, the president of the Legislative Chamber, at Creuzot. This was fomented mainly by a man named Assi, the agent of the International Society, a dangerous association into which the working classes were inveigled by the specious arguments of a few unprincipled men, who sought, on the pretence of benefiting those whose lot it was to live by the labour of their hands, to introduce socialistic principles of the worst description, aiming at the redistribution of property, the abandonment of the social institution of marriage, and, in short, the complete subversion of the existing state of society.

17. Much surprise was occasioned towards the end of March by a letter written by the Emperor to Ollivier advising certain modifications of the Constitution, which were to apply more especially to the Senate, and had the effect, in one respect, of assimilating the functions of the Legislative Chamber to those of the British House of Commons in determining that supplies should be voted and Imperial taxation directed by that body only. The Senate was still permitted to initiate bills, but only twenty Senators per annum might be added to their ranks besides those who sat there by right. Any modification of the Constitution was to be made by the Sovereign alone, who would submit the proposed change to the nation at large through a plebiscite. The proposed step was adopted by the Senate and preparations were made for submitting

it to the national vote. In the Legislative Chamber it was strenuously opposed on the plea that the whole arrangement looked very much like a return to the principle of personal government, and Count Daru and others of the Cabinet resigned. The Emperor, however, issued a proclamation calling on the people to ratify the change and by their vote to place order and liberty on a firm basis and render the transmission of the crown from himself to his son in time to come easier than it might be under the Constitution as it then stood. The nation responded to his appeal the number of votes in the affirmative being 7,527,379, while those in the negative numbered 1,530,909. A good deal of rioting occurred on the day of voting and two following days, but the barricades that were thrown up were soon taken and destroyed and the ringleaders were arrested. The Ollivier Ministry was reconstructed, the principal appointment being that of Duc de Grammont for Foreign Affairs. The plotters against the Emperor's life were as active as ever; one was detected in April and the conspirators arrested; while another was discovered by the police in July, just about the time that the Orleans princes demanded from the Senate permission to return to France, which was refused by 173 votes to 31.

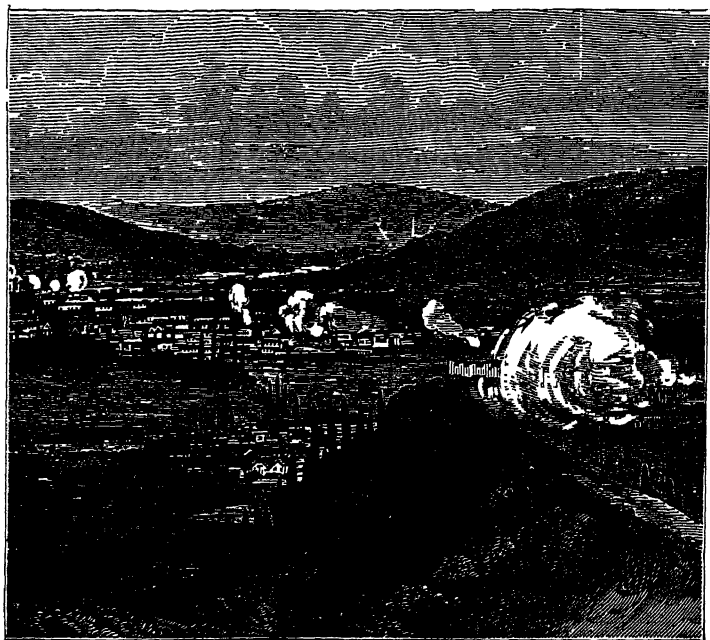
Riots in
Paris.

Plots against
the Emperor's
life.

18. That we cannot tell what a day or an hour may bring forth is as true in politics as in ordinary events of life, and after the solemn ratification of the Emperor's acts by the French nation through the plebiscite of May 8, it seemed unlikely that anything would occur immediately to impair the stability of the dynasty and cut short the reign of Napoleon III. In 1868 a revolution had driven Isabella II. from the throne of Spain; and from that time the government had been carried on first by a body provisionally chosen from among its leaders and instigators and then by Marshal Serrano as regent. Great efforts had been made to procure a candidate for the vacant crown and at last it was accepted, with permission of the King of Prussia by Prince Anton of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen for his son Prince Leopold. The French government were by no means desirous of seeing a cadet of the Royal Family of Prussia on the throne, as they considered naturally enough that if Prussia made war on France, Spain under her influence would make common cause with her and attack the common foe on the south. The Duc de Grammont requested M. Benedetti, the French ambassador at Berlin, to signify to the King of Prussia that the candidature of Prince Leopold for the Spanish crown was most distasteful to his government and request him to order his relative to withdraw from it. Before the king had replied, Prince Anton, acting for his son, announced that he would not accept the Spanish crown, and M. Benedetti was then directed to ask the King of Prussia to guarantee that the Prince should not accept the Spanish crown if perchance it should be again offered to him. This the king refused to do, saying that he reserved to himself the right of acting in the future as

Misunder-
standing with
Prussia.

circumstances might direct. He further refused, or, at all events, it was said that he refused, to hold further intercourse with M. Benedetti, in consequence of an attempt made Declaration of War, July 17, 1870, by the latter to press the matter on the king for further consideration when walking in the public gardens at Ems. The asserted insult to France in the person of her



METZ BESIEGED BY THE GERMANS.

ambassador was dwelt on in both Chambers, and war was resolved on amid the cheers of the Senate, the acclamations of all save a few members of the Left in the Legislative Chamber, and the frantic cries of the Parisians, who, in ignorance of the weakness of the army, thought that a few weeks would see their troops at Berlin. That war was as welcome to the German authorities as it was to France there can be no doubt. The Emperor Napoleon, incapacitated by illness from inquiring assiduously into the condition of the army as he had in the early part of his reign, and trusting to the false reports of Marshal Lebœuf and others, who had reported the organisation of the troops and *materiel* of war to be perfect, and every regiment at its full strength, though more inclined for peace as far as he was personally concerned, thought that a successful

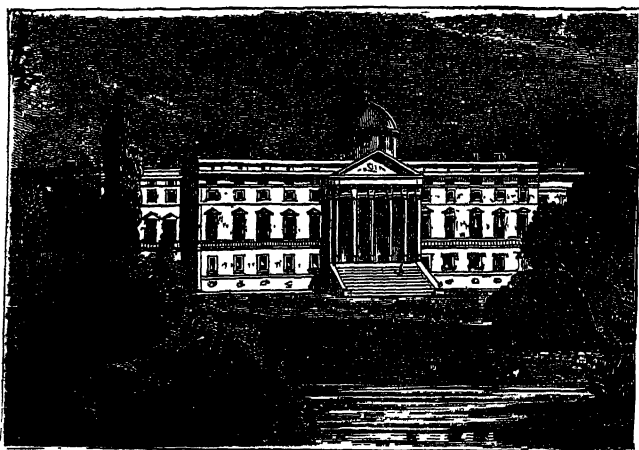
contest with Prussia and the rectification of the Rhine frontier might add to the stability of his dynasty; while Bismarck saw in it the opportunity of avenging the check that Prussia had received at the hands of France after Sadowa, in 1866 and of rendering Prussian influence paramount in Germany by the consolidation of the minor German states into an empire the crown of which should be hereditary in the Prussian royal family. The Prussian system of military training, which obliged every man to serve in the army during a certain period of his life and afterwards to be liable for service in the reserve, or landwehr, enabled Bismarck to take the field with overwhelming forces and to assemble vast masses of troops on the French frontier before the declaration of war was a fortnight old. In the meantime, too, he had secured the co-operation of the minor German states, who furnished a considerable contingent to the allied armies.

19. The Emperor Napoleon III. took the field at Metz on July 28, at the head of an army of about 300,000 men, divided into six army corps under Marshals MacMahon, ^{Comparison of numbers, etc.} Bazaine and Canrobert and Generals Frossard, Ladmirault and De Failly: the Germans numbered about 640,000 men, of whom about 220,000 were disposed about the Elbe and in Hanover, to resist invasion in that quarter; while of the remainder, 180,000, under Prince Frederick Charles, formed the right wing; 80,000, under Von Steinmetz, the centre; and 160,000, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, the left wing. The King of Prussia took the command of his army in person, the famous Prussian strategist Von Moltke being second in command. The French were over-matched in numbers as well as in intelligence, the Germans being superior in the "absolute unity of their command and concert of operation; their superior mechanism in equipment and supplies; the superior intelligence, steadiness and discipline of the soldiers, the superior education of the officers and the dash and intelligence of the cavalry" as was fully evinced by the events which subsequently happened.

20. The first operation of any importance was an attack on Saarbrück by the French, at which the Emperor and Prince Imperial were present, on August 2, when the Prussians were dislodged from the town and compelled to retire. Two days after the Crown Prince crossed the Lauter and ^{Battles of Wissembourg, Aug. 4; Woerth, Aug. 6; Forbach, Aug. 8.} entered France, and forced back the 2nd army corps under Frossard with fearful loss, after storming the lines of Wissembourg and Geisberg. The battle of Woerth followed on the 6th in which the Crown Prince defeated the army of the Rhine under MacMahon and compelled him to retire on Nancy, while on the same day the Prussian centre re-occupied Saarbrück, and took the French town of Forbach. Nothing was left to the French but to fall back along the whole line. Marshal Bazaine assumed command of the French at Metz while MacMahon and Canrobert endeavoured to rally and re-construct their broken battalions while retreating on the Moselle. The news

of these disasters in Paris enforced the resignation of the Ollivier ministry, while a new cabinet was formed under General Montauban, Count de Palikao. The Germans left the French little

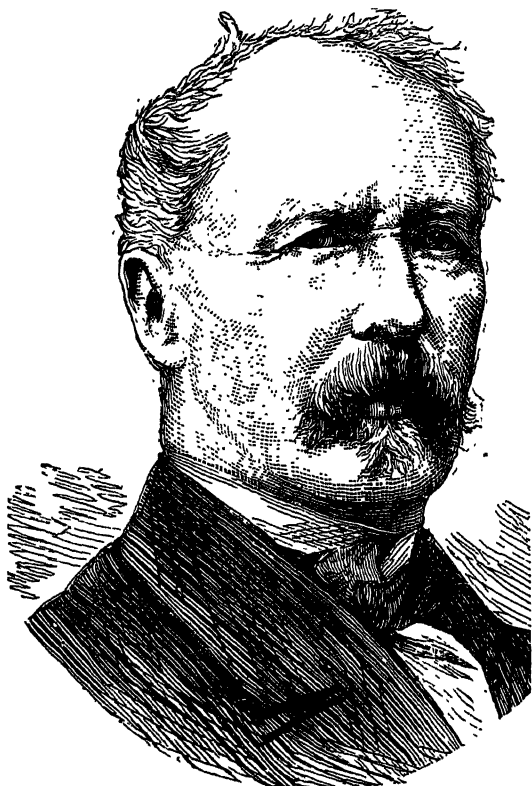
^{Battles of}
Courcelles, Aug. 14, Vionville, Aug. 16; Gra-
velotte, Aug. 18. or no time to recover from the shock of the first disasters. They occupied Nancy, laid siege to Strasbourg, and while considerable numbers pressed on in pursuit of MacMahon, the main mass was directed against Bazaine and the troops before Metz. Here three famous battles were fought; Von Steinmetz gaining the battle of Courcelles on August 14, Prince Frederick Charles that of Vionville on August 16, and the combined forces of these generals under the King in person winning that of Gravelotte on the 18th. These defeats in



WILHELMSHOHE.

succession prevented Bazaine from continuing his retreat to the westward and forced him to shut himself up in the district round Metz. The Emperor had managed to leave Bazaine on the 14th and join MacMahon at Chalons two days after. MacMahon then started northwards with his army in an endeavour to effect a junction with Bazaine, but in consequence of the slowness of his movement he was unable to effect his object. Bazaine, closely watched by Prince Frederick Charles, made a sortie from Metz in the hope of breaking through the Prussian lines and marching to effect a junction with MacMahon, but his efforts to escape were thrown away. In the meantime the Crown Prince of Prussia had occupied Chalons and was pressing forward in pursuit of MacMahon, whom he overtook and defeated near Beaumont, between Mougou and Moulins, on August 30, partial engagements

having taken place at Busancy on the 27th and Stenay on the 28th in which the French were defeated. On the 31st while Bazaine was endeavouring to break out from Metz to join MacMahon a second time, the Germans entered Carignan; and after defeating the French on the plains of Douzy, compelled MacMahon to fall back on



MARSHAL MACMAHON.

Sedan. The encounter was renewed before Sedan on September 1. MacMahon had his thigh broken in the action, and after a gallant struggle for many hours against superior numbers, the French became completely demoralised by their repeated defeats and the Emperor, who had in vain sought death at the head of his troops during the battle, to save the remnants of the French armies which were huddled together in confused masses in and about Sedan

resolved to give up his sword to the King of Prussia. Terms of capitulation were accordingly arranged by general Wimpffen, on whom the command of the French had now devolved, and the Emperor, after a brief interview with the King of Prussia at the Chateau of Bellevue, was sent by the latter to Wilhelmshohe, near Cassel, where he was to remain a prisoner of war till the conclusion of the contest.

21. Alarmed and justly so by the rapid advance of the Germans after Woerth and the continued reverses of the armies in the field, energetic measures were taken for the defence and victualling of Paris by General Trochu as early as August 18; the general having been appointed governor of the city on the preceding day. On September 3 universal consternation, which subsequently deepened into a feeling of unwarrantable excitement against the Emperor, was paramount in Paris on the reception of the news of the defeat of MacMahon, the capitulation of Sedan and the surrender of the Emperor as a prisoner of war. These disasters, however, were not formally acknowledged by the Government until the following day when they were announced to the Legislative Assembly by the Count de Palikao. The Republican party were not slow to seek to profit by the Emperor's misfortune, and Jules Favre, while proposing to continue the struggle to the utmost, took occasion to make an attack on the dynasty, and proposed the concentration of power in the hands of General Trochu. At the suggestion of M. Thiers, the Chamber proceeded to appoint a commission of government and national defence, and ordered the convocation of a constituent assembly. But the Parisians, stung by the defeats and disgraces that had marked the short campaign, were already shouting for the dethronement of the Emperor and a renewal of the Republic, and a considerable crowd burst into the hall in which the deputies were deliberating, insisting on the acceptance of their demands. Most of the deputies retired, but Jules Favre, Gambetta, and other members of the extreme left, proclaimed the deposition of the Imperial dynasty and the establishment of the Republic. The government, apparently paralysed and helpless, took no steps to retrieve the position; General Trochu too eagerly took advantage of the offer made to him by Jules Favre and his colleagues to assume the Presidency of the Provisional Government of Defence, forgetting that honour and the duty he owed to the Emperor and the Empress as

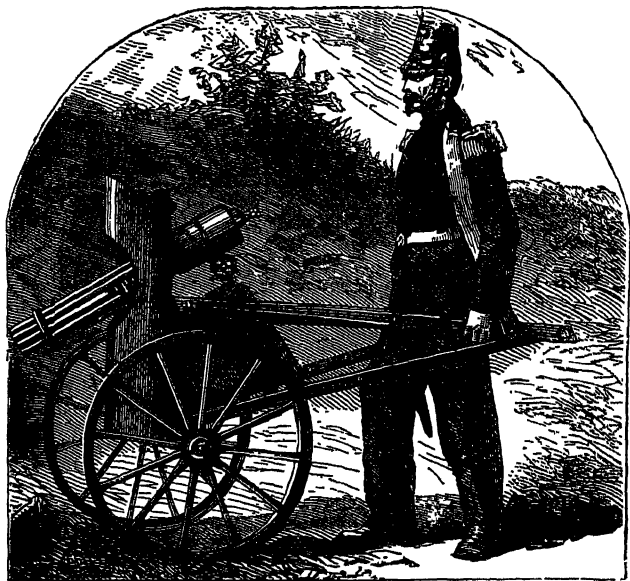
**Flight of the
Empress.**

Regent compelled him to maintain the post that had been entrusted to him to the death. As the evening drew on, Ollivier, the Count de Palikao, and other members of their respective cabinets quitted Paris in haste, and the Empress, deserted by all, fled from the city in disguise and made her way to England, where she was joined by the Prince Imperial, who, before the slaughter and surrender of Sedan, had been sent in haste by his father across the frontier into Belgium. So ended the second Empire, on September 4, 1870, just seventeen years and nine months after its establishment.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE events that followed the disaster of Sedan are too fresh in the memory of all, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, to need recapitulation in detail. The King of Prussia, who, on his entrance into France, had declared that he came only to fight against the dynasty, and not against Frenchmen, pushed on for Paris, invested the city, and overran with his irresistible troops the greater part of the east and north of France, and penetrated to some distance into the heart of the country. Many efforts were made by General Trochu and the well-armed but badly-disciplined levies in Paris to break through the iron circles of Germans that isolated the capital from the outer world. Sortie after sortie was made in vain, and every army that was raised in the provinces, on the Loire and in the East, suffered defeat after defeat, and disaster after disaster, brightened only, at long intervals, by transient flickers of success. Fortress after fortress yielded, department after department was despoiled by the troops of the Fatherland, until the peasants were beggared and the more wealthy reduced to poverty. Conditions of peace had been offered and debated on between Count Bismarck on the one side and Jules Favre on the other, in his capacity of Minister of Foreign affairs in the Government of Defence, but so hard and humiliating were they that they were rejected. At last Paris, worn out by famine, capitulated, dragging the whole of France with her in her fall, on January 28, 1871, and peace was purchased on the German terms, bitter as they were. Alsace and a great part of Lorraine were given up to the conqueror, and no less a sum than £400,000,000 was demanded, of which half was to be paid in cash, and the remainder in instalments, over a period extending to 1873. By the war, a strong south-west frontier had been secured for Germany, and the unity of the Fatherland accomplished, the King of Prussia having been proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles on January 18, 1871; the Austro-German States being the only portions that remained without the pale of the confederation. The terms of peace being arranged, a Constituent Assembly was elected, and its members having received the resignation of the Government of Defence, and agreed on the maintenance of the Republic, M. Thiers was chosen President. Then followed the establishment of the Commune in Paris by the Ultra-Republican party, the retreat of the new Government and Constituent Assembly to Versailles, and the fratricidal struggle which ensued between the troops of the Government and the soldiers of the Commune for the possession of the Capital. The closing scenes of this wanton strife were marked by frightful excesses on the part of the leaders of the Communists, who murdered the Archbishop of Paris and several priests and gentlemen whom they had seized as hostages, on whom to make reprisals should any of their party fall into the hands of the Government, and

finally, when all was lost, and MacMahon's troops had effected a lodgment within the walls of the city, fired the capital in impotent revenge, and gave to the flames the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hotel de Ville and other public buildings, whose historic interest, it would have been thought, would have been sufficient to induce even Communists and members of the International Society to spare them to posterity. Order, however, was restored at last, and the French nation turned to the task of reconstructing her shattered and demoralised army, and healing the wounds with which fire and sword, requisitions and pillage, had scarred and seamed both capital and country. With what success these efforts may be attended the future alone can show.



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